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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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VOL. IX.—1907-08.

EDITED BY

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AND

(FROM PAGE 145)

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 4, para. 1, line 7,—for Mahēndrapaladēva read Mahēndrapālādēva.
- " " " 10,—for Haddāla read Haḍḍālā.
- " 7, footnote 17, line 1,—for nistrimsa read nistrimṣa.
- " 9, text-line 46,—for -bhūpālams= read -bhūpālāmś=
- " 16, line 3 from bottom,—for Śāntaras read Śāntaraś
- " 17, " 9,—for Āluva read Āluva.
- " 48, line 2 from bottom,—for Chēdī read Chēḍī.
- " 56, line 1,—for Thursday read Friday.
- " 58, para. 2, line 2,—for Godavarī read Kistna
- " 60, line 13 from the top,—for Jhālrapātan read Jhālrapāṭan
- " 65, footnote 6, line 1,—for actua read actual.
- " 71, line 4 from the top,—[I think the word *tāmbūlāya* should mean "betel chewe with areca-nut and ohunam" which the women spat out of grief This is re and may be compared to rubies (*padmarāga*).—H. K. S.]
- " 72, last line,—for Jāvalipura read Jāvālpura.
- " 75, verse 12 —[There is no allusion to any legend here. The poet wants to say the Brahman out of arrogance (*dambhatah*) weighed the king's prowess (*i.e.* the sun) on one side and his fame (*i.e.* the moon) on the other and found the tw balanced so well on the scale of which the rod was the (heavenly) Gaṅgā, the the pin (*kaṇṭaka*) in the middle was *dhruva* (*i.e.* stable) The other meanin intended is the Pole star (*Dhruva*) which occupies the middle of the heavenl orbit and is almost fixed in space —H. K. S.]
- " 99, last but one para, line 3,—for Polikesin read Polikēsin.
- " 100, text-line 2,—for वन read वन.
- " " 17,—for लक्ष्मी read लक्ष्मी.
- " 119, footnote 3, line 2,—for Sūdra- read Śūdra-.
- " 120, text-line 3,—for Mamdōdarivashpa- read Mamdōdarivāshpa-.
- " 125, line 10,—for Kandika-bandha read Kaudika-bandha.
- " 143, translation of B,—for Rātūla read Rājūla.
- " 156, footnote 5, last line,—for Kushmāṇḍinī read Kūshmāṇḍinī.
- " 160, para. 3, line 5,—for Tirathgarh read Tirathgarh
- " 165, footnote, line 6,—for Dattakamimānsā read Dattakamimāṁsā.
- " " line 8,—for Rudrāmba read Rudrāmbā.
- " 166, para. 3, line 2,—for 1783 read 1779
- " 168, line 9 from the top,—for Pāḍī read Pāḍi
- " 169, line 2,—for Lākshmīdhara read Lākshmīdhara.
- " 170, text line 6,—for -prasūta sama[sta*]- read -prasūta-sama[sta*]-.
- " 170, text-line 8,—for ravidinā read ravidinā
- " 171, para. 5, last line,—for °chchhrēṣhta read °chchhrēṣṭha
- " 172, line 8,—insert a hyphen at the end of the line.
- " " footnote 7, line 2,—for Śāmbilaka read Śāmbilaka
- " 175, line 4,—insert (Nāgarī) after Sanskrit.
- " 176, line 16,—for Mēḍipōta read Mēḍipōta
- " " footnote 2,—for Yājñavalkya read Yājñavalkya.
- " 178, line 13 from bottom,—for Mālavā read Mālava

- Page 179, footnote 1, line 3,—for *Sakkara-kôttam* read *Śakkara-kôttam*
 „ 180, footnote 5,—for *Siyadoni* read *Siyadōni*.
 „ 181, para. 5, line 4,—[*Mudhasēli* perhaps stands for the Telugu *mudhasali* which means
 ‘old, ancient,’ i.e. a headman respected on account of old age, compare *nāṭṭu-*
 mudumai, above, p. 21, footnote 3 —H K S]
 „ 185, text-line 4,—for *तप पयोषि°* read *तप पयोषि°*.
 „ „ footnote 1, line 2,—for *Devakūta* read *Dēvakūta*
 „ 205, para. 3, line 4, for *Kārttikēya* read *Kārttikēya*.
 „ „ footnote 7,—for *Conjeeverum* read *Conjeeveram*
 „ 223, No 63, translation, line 2,—for *Uttara=Phalguni* read *Uttara-Phalguni*
 „ 235, para. 3, line 2,—for *Ayurūr* read *Ayurur*.
 „ 236, lines 15 and 17,—for *Ayrūr* read *Ayurur*
 „ „ text-line 9,—for *-kkī-* read *kil-*.
 „ 237, text-line 17 and translation, line 7,—for *Ayurūr* read *Ayurur*
 „ 238, lines 3 and 11 and footnote 10,— Ditto
 „ 257, footnote 4,—[From the Palnādu inscriptions we learn that the *Kākatīya* king
 Ganapati was ruling from his capital *Orumgallu*, already in *Śaka-Samvat* 1173
 and that his daughter and successor *Rudramahādēvi* was also ruling from the
 same city in *Śaka* 1191 —H K. S.]
 „ 261, footnote 6, line 7 from bottom,—for *Kulōttunga-Chōla I* read *Kulōttunga-*
 Chōḍa I.
 „ 266, line 4,—for *Kākatī* read *Kākatī*.
 „ 282, para. 5, line 4,—for *Khariar* read *Khariār*.
 „ 283, line 7,—for *Tūndrā* read *Tūndrā*.
 „ 284, translation, line 1,—for *Sarabhapura* read *Śarabhapura*.
 „ „ footnote 6, line 3,—for *Jējabhukti* read *Jējabhukti*
 „ 300, line 9,—[Comparing the symbol for *i* in *°pilupati* with the *i*-symbol in *°parihīnam*
 (line 19) and in *°ndirgha* (line 24) it appears as if the form *Mahāpilupati*
 was also meant here as in the *Sāṅkhēdā* plate of *Śāntilla* (*Ep Ind.* Vol II.
 p. 23) —H. K. S.]
 „ 307, table, 1st column,—for *Gazni* read *Ghazni*.
 „ „ „ 3rd „ for *Ādil Shah Aynā* read *Ādil Shāh Aynā*.
 „ 313, line 2,—for *Halavur* read *Halavūr* and for *Banvāsi* read *Banavāsi*.
 „ 316, para. 3, line 3,—for *bhaṇḍārī* read *bhaṇḍārī*.
 „ „ line 8 from bottom,—for *Brahmaṇḥāka* read *Brahmaṇḥāka*.
 „ 321, last para., line 6,—for 493 read 793
 „ 330, footnote 8,—for *Amuktamālyada* read *Āmuktamālyada* and for *Vishṇuchittiyam*
 read *Vishṇuchittiyam*.
 „ 331, para. 4, line 7,—for *Kuttakkāl* read *Kuttakkal*
 „ „ „ 8,—for *Pāṭṭaikulam* read *Pāṭṭaikulam*.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME IX.

NO. 1 — TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, CIE ; GÖTTINGEN.

IN February 1904 Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur in Rājputāna most kindly sent me photographs of two Sanskrit inscriptions on copper-plates, which had been found some years before at Ūnā, a town in the southernmost part of the peninsula of Kāthiāwād, in the Junāgadh State¹. Both inscriptions are of the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Mahēndrapāla* or, as he is called in one of them, *Mahēndrāyudha*, of Kanauj, and record grants to a temple of the Sun by two feudatories of his, *Balavarman* and his son *Avanivarman II. Yōga*, who belonged to a *Chālukya* family. One is dated in the [Gupta-] *Valabhi* year 574, corresponding roughly to A D 893, the other in the [Vikrama] year 956, corresponding to about A D 899. In March 1904 I gave a short account of the contents of these inscriptions, in *Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, and I have since tried to secure impressions of the originals. Not having succeeded in doing so, I now venture to publish the texts from Mr. Ojha's photographs.

A.—Plates of *Balavarman*; *Valabhi-samvat* 574.

These are two plates, each of which is inscribed on one side only. They contain 36 lines of on the whole well-preserved writing in *Nāgarī* characters². The language is Sanskrit, it is generally easy to understand, but line 17 contains a revenue term which I have not met with elsewhere and am unable to explain. Lines 7-9 give two verses on the vanity of fortune, *etc.*, and the necessity of works of piety, and lines 22-29 six of the ordinary imprecatory verses, the rest is in prose.

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahāśānta* *Balavarman*, the son of *Avanivarman [I]*, of the *Chālukya* lineage, a feudatory, who had obtained the five *mahāśābdas*, of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāvara Mahēndrāyudhadēva* who meditated on the feet of the *P M P Bhōjadēva*. From *Nakshispura*, *Balavarman* informs the various officials and others that, after fasting on the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of *Māgha*, he gave the village of *Jayapura*, belonging to the *Nakshispura* group of eighty-four which

¹ See *Indian Atlas*, quarter sheet 13, S E, Long 71° 5', Lat 21° 49'.

² Since no facsimiles can be published, it would be useless to give full particulars regarding the forms of individual letters, but I may mention here that the conjuncts *ry* and *rih* are denoted by (well known) special signs which contain no superscript *r*.

he had acquired by his own arm (*svabhūṣṭāpārjita-Nakṣasapūra-chaturāśīlīkā*), to (a temple of) the Sun under the name *Tarunādityadēva*, which stood on the banks of the river *Kanavīrikā*. The boundaries of the village were—on the east the village of *Sihavāhalaka*, on the south the village of *Rā[jyastha]la*, on the west the village of *Pēdhullaka*, and on the north the village of *Amvullaka* (*Ambullāka*). After the usual admonition to preserve this gift, and six imprecatory verses, lines 29-34 give the names of twelve witnesses—four Brāhmanas, four merchants, and four *Mahattaras*. They are followed by the name of the writer, which cannot be read with certainty, and this, again, is followed by the date *śrī-Valabhi-samvat 574 Māgha-suddha 6*, the numerals of which are ordinary decimal figures. The inscription, in line 36, ends with the signatures *sva-hastā=[tra] śrī-Va(ba)lavarmmanah ||* *sva-hastāḥ śrī-Dhīka*, where (the second) *sva-hastāḥ* is preceded by a mark which seems to represent the actual sign-manual of Dhīka. Who this Dhīka was, does not appear from the present inscription, but the grant B makes it probable that he was a high official of the king Mahēndrāyudha (Mahēndrapāla), whose permission was necessary for the making of the grant.

B.—Plates of Avanivarman II Yōga; [Vikrama]-samvat 956.

These are three plates, the second of which is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third are inscribed on one side only. They contain 68 lines of well-preserved writing in Nāgarī characters. The engraving is done carelessly, so that the text contains numerous mistakes, the correction of some of which, especially in two passages where proper names are concerned, is very difficult. The language is Sanskrit. Lines 1-45 contain twenty-four verses which, after glorifying the Sun, treat of the genealogy of the donor and of his and his ancestors' exploits, and two imprecatory verses are cited in lines 65-67, the rest of the text is in prose.

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahāśīmanta Avanivarman* [II], surnamed *Yōga*, of the *Chālukya* race (verse 2). In this race there were two 'great kings' (*mahā-mukhi-pati*), the brothers *Kalla* and *Mahalla* (v 3), the former of whom is eulogized in conventional terms (vv 5 and 6). *Kalla* had a son, whose name cannot be made out with confidence (v 7), and this chief had a son whose name ended with *dhavala*, and whose full name perhaps was *Vāhukadhavala* (v 9). This last named chief destroyed (or defeated) in battle a certain *Dharma*, conquered kings who were well-known *rājādhi-rāja paramēśvaras*, and defeated a *Karpāṭa* army (vv 10 and 11). His son was *Avanivarman* [I] (v 12), and his son, again, was *Balavarman* (the donor of the grant A, above). *Balavarman* defeated a certain *Vishadha* (v 16) from whom he took away a pair of big drums (*uru-dhakkā*), and, by slaying *Jajjapa* and other kings, 'freed the earth from the Hūna race' (v 17). His son was *Avanivarman* [II], also called *Yōga* (v 18), who routed the armies of a certain *Yakṣhadāsa*¹ and other kings whose countries were invaded by him (vv 19 and 20), and put to flight *Dharanivarāha* (v 21).

In lines 45 ff. this *Mahāśīmanta Yōga* (= *Avanivarman* II.), a feudatory of the *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Mahēndrapālādēva* who meditated on the feet of the *P M P Bhōjadēva*, informs his officials and others, as well as future kings, that, with the approval of the illustrious *Dhīka*,² he gave the village of *Amvulaka* (*Ambulaka*),³ which

¹ Verse 19 records that, after destroying the army of *Yakṣhadāsa*, *Avanivarman* took away from him the musical instrument (*tūrya*) called *Sagarakāṣṭhaka*.—In my previous account of this inscription I suggested that *Yakṣhadāsa* may have ruled the Madra country; but this is wrong. As the engraver of the grant in several other places has engraved *m* instead of *y*, the actual reading *muddha-bhāmam* in line 36 must undoubtedly be altered to *vuddha-bhāmam*, not to *Madra bhāmam*.

² The inscription, the text of which is not quite certain here, seems to indicate that *Dhīka* was an *antapāla* or 'frontier-guard' of Mahēndrapāla's, and that *Avanivarman* II was a subordinate of his (as his father *Balavarman* had been before him). See the end of the grant A.

³ This village (*Ambulaka* or *Ambullaka*) is mentioned also in the grant A.

belonged to the *Nakshisapura* eighty-four (*Nakshisapura-chaturāsiti*) in the *Saurāshtra mandala*, to (a temple of) *Tarunādityadēva*, located near the river *Kanavirkā* in the vicinity of the village of *Jayapura*¹. The boundaries of the village were—on the east the village of *Viyaraka*, on the south the village of *Jayapura*, on the west the villages of *Sēnduvaka* and *Kōrintbaka*, and on the north the village of *Vavulika*. After the usual admonition to preserve this gift² and two imprecatory verses, the inscription, in line 68, ends with the date *samvat 956 Māgha-sudi 6*, the numerals of which here also are ordinary decimal figures.

The *Chālukya* chiefs mentioned in the preceding are not known from other inscriptions. The large *Bilhari* inscription, in *Ep Ind* Vol I p 266, mentions a *Chaulukya* *Avanivarman* whose daughter *Nohalā* was married by the *Kalachuri* *Chēdi* king *Yuvarāja I Kēytravarsha*. That *Avanivarman* may have been a contemporary³ of *Avanivarman II Yōga* of our grant B, but—even assuming that the terms *Chālukya* and *Chaulukya* might be used synonymously⁴—he cannot be identical with him, because his father and grandfather were *Sadhanva* and *Simhavarman* (not *Balavarman* and *Avanivarman*).

For *Balavarman*, a feudatory of *Mahēndrāyudha* (*Mahēndrapāla*), the grant A furnishes a date in about A D 893. We therefore may assume that his grandfather *Vāhukadhavala* (?) lived about the middle of the 9th century A D, and was almost certainly a feudatory of *Mahēndrapāla*'s predecessor *Bhōjadēva* (*Mihra*) of *Kanauj*, for whom we possess dates from A D 843 to A D 881. Now in the inscription No 77 of my *Southern List* this *Mihra* (*Bhōjadēva*) is stated to have been defeated by the *Gujarāt Rāshtrakūta* *Dhruvarāja II*. This at any rate would show that he was at war with the *Rāshtrakūtas*, and I believe that such a war is actually referred to in the account of *Vāhukadhavala*'s (?) exploits related in the grant B. In my opinion, the *Karnāta* army which is said to have been defeated by him can only have been an army of the *Rāshtrakūtas*. As regards (the king) *Dharma* who is stated to have been destroyed (or defeated) by the same chief, I know of no king *Dharma* who could have been a contemporary of his, excepting the well-known *Pāla* king *Dharmapāla*, and I see no reason why *Dharma* should not be identified with that *Pāla* king, who at one time or another undoubtedly was at war with the rulers of *Kanauj*.

Balavarman himself defeated a certain *Vishadha*, and by slaying *Jajjapa* and other kings 'freed the earth from the *Hūna* race'. Who *Vishadha* was, it is impossible to say. Wars with *Hūna* kings are frequently mentioned in Indian inscriptions of the Middle Ages,⁴ and we know of a *Hūna* princess, *Āvalladēvi*, who was married by the *Kalachuri* *Karna* in the 11th century, but in recording the name of *Jajjapa* our grant B for the first time discloses the name of an individual *Hūna* king, who must be placed in about the last quarter of the 9th century.

The kings or chiefs mentioned as opponents of *Avanivarman II. Yōga*, for whom we have a date in about A D 899, are *Yakshadāsa* and *Dharanivarsha*. The former is unknown to us. The latter I do not hesitate to identify with the *Chāpa Mahāśaktmantādhipati* *Dharanivarsha*, known to us from his *Haddālā* plates⁵ which were issued from *Vardhamāna* (or *Wadhvān*) in

¹ This village was granted to the same temple of the Sun by the grant A.

² A daughter of the *Kalachuri* *Yuvarāja I, Kundakadēvi*, was married by the *Rāshtrakūta* *Amoghavarsha III* *Baddiga*, for whom we now possess dates in A D 937 and 939.

³ In Nos 354 and 356 of my *Northern List* certain chiefs are described as both *Chālukyas* and *Chaulukyas*.

⁴ See my note on the grammarians' *ajayaj-Jarā Hāda* in *Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1903, p. 305 ff. The *Pāla* *Dēvapāla* humbled the pride of the *Hūnas* (*Ep Ind* Vol II p 163, v 18), according to the *Kharḍa* plates of the *Rāshtrakūta* *Kakkarāja II* *Amoghavarsha* of A D 872 this king fought battles with the lord (or lords) of the *Hūnas* (*Ind Ant.* Vol XII p 265, l 32); the *Paramāra* *Utpala* (*Mufjarāja*) took away the life of the *Hūnas* (*ibid* Vol XVI p 28, l 41), his younger brother *Sundharāja* conquered the king of the *Hūnas* (*Ep Ind* Vol I p 235, v 16), etc.

⁵ See my *Northern List*, No 353.

Kāthiāvād) in A D 914, and in which he is represented as a feudatory of a *Rājādhirāja* Mahipāladēva whose proper identification, as will be seen below, can no longer offer any difficulty

The place **Nakshisapura**, the nine villages mentioned in connection with the two grants, and the river **Kanavinka** I have not, I regret to say, been able to identify. The main point of general interest connected with these localities is, that the **Nakshisapura** group of eighty-four, which was held by the two donors, according to the inscription B belonged to the **Saurāshtra** *maṇḍala*. The name **Saurāshtra** we know to denote the southern part of Kāthiāvād, and since the two chiefs Balavarman and Avamvarman II describe themselves as feudatories of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahēndrāyudhadēva or Mahēndrapaladēva (of Kanauj), it follows from these inscriptions that towards the end of the 9th century A D the kingdom of Kanauj extended as far south as, and included, the province of Kāthiāvād. Moreover, it becomes quite certain now that the *Rājādhirāja* Mahipāladēva, who in the Haddāla plates of A D 914 is mentioned as the overlord of the Chāpa *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Dharaṇivārsha, must be identified with the *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahipāladēva of Kanauj (whose Asmī inscription is dated in about A D 917), the successor of Mahēndrapaladēva, and cannot have been one of the Chūḍasāmās of Gūrnār-Juṇāgadh.

In the grant A the king, known to us from the grant B and other inscriptions as Mahēndrapala, is called **Mahēndrāyudha**. This name of course at once recalls the names **Indrāyudha** and **Chakrāyudha**, the former denoting a king who according to the *Harivamsa Purāna* was ruling the north in Śaka-samvat 705=A D 783-84, and the latter another king, to whom the sovereignty of Mahōdaya (Kanauj) was given, after the defeat of Indrarāja (i.e., in my opinion, Indrāyudha), by the Pala Dharmapāla, and who was defeated by Nāgabhatta, the grand father of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj. It may also be mentioned that in Rājāsēkhara's *Karpūra-maṇḍari*² a certain merchant is represented as having gone to 'Kanauj, the capital of **Vajrāyudha**, the king of Pañchāla'. That story would seem to show that in the opinion of Rājāsēkhara, who was Mahēndrapala's *guru*, a name with the somewhat unusual ending *āyudha*, such as **Vajrāyudha**, was a suitable or characteristic name of a Kanauj king. Most probably Mahēndrapala himself was known to Rājāsēkhara also by the name Mahēndrāyudha.

The date of the grant A, *śrī-Valabhi-samvat* 574 *Māgha-suddha* 6, is by a long way the earliest date in which we find the technical expression *Valabhi-samvat*. In the inscriptions of the Valabhi kings themselves the year of a date is ordinarily preceded by only *saṃ*, rarely by *samvat*, and hitherto the earliest inscription containing the term *Valabhi-samvat* was the Vērāval inscription of the temple-priest Bhāva-Bihaspati of *Valabhi-samvat* 850 (No 503 of my *Northern List*). In the Mōrbi plate of Jāinka (*ibid* No 502) of the year 585 of the same era the number 585 in line 19 is preceded by simply *samvat*, while in line 17 the year is described as a *Gauṇya* (i.e. Gupta) year. — It is curious that in Kāthiāvād we should find the Gupta-Valabhi, Vikrama and Śaka eras employed in dates of the same period and in almost the same localities.

A.—PLATES OF BALAVARMAN, VALABHI-SAMVAT 574.

TEXT.³

First Plate

- 1 Om⁴ [||*] Jayaś=ch=ābhayudayaś=cha || Svasti [||*] Nakshisapurāt-parama
bhattāraka-mahārāj[ā]dhi-

¹ Of Nāgabhatta Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha has discovered in the Jōdhpur State a stone inscription dated in about A D 815 (*samvat* 850 *sa*[f] 872).

² See Dr Sten Konow's edition, pp 74 and 266.

³ From a photograph supplied by Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

⁴ Denoted by a symbol.

- 2 rāja-paramésvara śrī-Bhōjadēva-pād[ā*]nudyāta-paramabhattachāka-mahārājādhirāja-para-
 3 mēsvara śrī-Mahēndrasyudhadēva-pāda-piśādākshta-¹samadhigata-pañchamah ā śa v d a -
 (bda)-mahāśāmantas=[Ch]ā-
 4 lukyanvaya-prasūta śrī-²Avanivarman-suta-śrī Va(ba)lavarmmā sarvvān=ēva rāja-
 rajanya-i-āsthanīy-ōpanīk-āmā-
 5 tyā-[cha]tabhata-bhatta-[da]ndavā(pā)ska-dand[ō]ddharanika-³drāmgika-mahattara-chāru-⁴
 chāra-bhata-hastyaśvārōha(ha)ka-piabhritīh⁵
 6 yuktaka-myuktakām svān=ā(a)nyām[ā=cha.] yathāsamva(ba)dhyaśānakān=
 samanuvo(bō)dhayaty=astu vah samviditam yathā padma-pattē⁶
 7 sthita-jala[va] taralā sī drishta-nashtañ=cha jīvitam⁷ | ⁸Padmapatra-jalavimdu-
 chamchalam jīvitavyam=akhilās=cha sampadāh |
 8 ity=avētya jagatah sthiti[m*] nripāh kum dhanah kuruta dharmam=anidyah⁹
 || Pallavāgra-jalavimdu-chamchalē klēsa-
 9 jālā-parivēshitē bhavē | yō na chintayati kaṁma-satpatham tasya janma
 bhavat-iha nibphalam¹⁰ || ēvam sarvvam=adhrva-
 10 m=ālō[kya] dharmō math sthāpyatām || Tan=mayā ¹¹svabhujōpārjita
 Nakshisapurechaturasitikā-pratava(ba)ddhō Jayapur-ā-
 11 bhūdhānō grāmah¹² Māgha-sūklapaksha-shashtyām¹³ upōpya(shya) gandha-dhūpa-
 pushya(śhpa)-dīpa-snāna-vilēpan-ōpalēpana-[saumā¹⁴]
 12 rjana-khaṇḍasphutita-sudhā-kūrchchak-ādi-susū u(sī ū)shā-kritē sva-mātāpitrōr=ātmanaś=
 cha¹⁵ aṁhik-āmushm[i*]ka-punya-yasō-
 13 bhivīddhayē bhagavatāh sarit-Kanavirikā-tat-āvasthita-Sahasradīdhitēh śrīmatas=
 Taru[nā]dityadēvāya¹⁶ bhakti-bhā-
 14 vīta-manasī¹⁷ udak[ā*]tisarggēna dharmadāyō nīsrīstah pratupāditaś=cha || Yasya
 pūrvvatāh Sīhāvāhalaka-grāma-
 15 sīmā maryād[ā*] [i*] dakshinatāh Rā[jyastha]la-grāma-sīmā maryādā |
 apātatah Pēdhillaka-grāma-sīmā [ma*]ryādā | nta-
 16 ratah Amvullaka-¹⁸grāma-sīmā maryādā | ēvam chaturāghāta(ta)n-ōpalakshitah
 sa-bhōgabdhāgah sa-hirany[ā*]dānah
 17 sa-daūdadaśāparādhah sa-sīmāparyantah s-ōdra[m*]gah sa-vrikshamālākulāh
 sa-parikarah chōllakavimvai-
 18 gikakōshyadī-sahitah¹⁹ āchātābhatspravēśa-varjitatō²⁰ bhūmichchidra-nyāyāna
 dharmadāyō nīgn(sri)stah ||
 19 Asya bhūmijātō bhōjāpayatah krīshatah karshāpayatō vā asmad-vamsājair=anyair=
 vvā bhoktribhīh

¹ Read, probably, -piśaddikrita-² Read sry-³ Instead of this word which I do not remember to have met with elsewhere, I should have expected here, next a dandapāśika, as in other grants, -chaurōddharanika⁴ It is just possible that the two aksharas chāra were struck out in the original, and that the intended reading here is chāra bhata⁵ Read -prabhriti=nyuktaka nyuktakān=⁶ Read -patra-sthita-jalāt=taralā śrīr=⁷ Read jīvitam⁸ Metre of this verse and of the next Rāthōddhatā — Read Padmapatra⁹ This of course cannot be right, but the actual reading does not suggest to me a suitable conjecture¹⁰ Read nīshphalam¹¹ Originally svābhū¹² was engraved, but the sign for d has been struck out¹² Read grāmō¹³ Read shashtyām=¹⁴ Read samdhārjāna¹⁵ Read =ch=¹⁶ Read, in accordance with the preceding, ¹⁷dāsyā¹⁷ Here and in other places below the rules of sandhi have not been observed¹⁸ Read Amvullaka, in line 54 of the grant B the name is spelt Amvullaka¹⁹ This term, the reading of which is quite clear in the photograph, I am unable to explain. The word chōllak occurs above, Vol III p 267, l 23, and Prof Hultzsch draws my attention to Vol VI p 88, note 9²⁰ One would have expected here achātābhatspravēśah, and some other term ending with varjitah (like e.g., vārpadatta dāivābhaddya-varjitah)

- 20 pratishê[dhô] na karaniyah pâlayitavyas=cha || yataḥ sâṃ[â*]nyam bhûmida-
phalam=avêty=âyam=asamâ-dâ-

Second Plate

- 21 yô-numantavyô smat-prity=âbhyarthanayâ cha pâlanîya ita || Tathâ ch=ôktam
[bha]gava-
22 tâ vyâsê(sê)na¹ Vyâsena || ²Yân=îha dattâni purâ narêndriah dânanî dharm-
ârtha-yâsa-
23 s-karâni | nirmâlâya-vânta-pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuh punar=âdadita ||
24 ³Shashtur=vvarsba-sahasrâni svarggê tishthati bhûmudah | [â]chchb[ê]ttâ ch=
ânuntantâ cha [tâny=ê]-
25 va narakê vasêt || Va(ba)hubbu=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjanah⁴ Sâgar=âdibhîh |
yasya yasya yadâ [bhû]-
26 mis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam || ⁵Shashtu=vvarsba-sahasrâni ⁶shashtu=vvarsba-
sâtâni [cha] | [gavâm kôta-pradânê]-
27 na bhûmi-harttâ na sushyati || Vimdhy-âtavishv-atôyâsu(su) sushka-kôtara-
vâsinah | [kṛṣṇâhaya] hî jâ]-
28 yantê bhûmi-dâyam haratta(ntu) yê || Sva-dattâm para-datt[âm*] vâ .ya[ta]âd=
raksha narâdhupa | mahim mahibh[ritam] srêsthita]
29 dânsch=chhrêyô=nupâlanam || ☉ || Ava(tra) sâkshi via(brâ)hmana-Dêhada-suta-
Bhâvah | tathâ vrâ(brâ)hmana-[Kau ?]-
30 nara-suta-Nâgêsvarah || tathâ vrâ(brâ)hmana-Jajjaka-suta-Harih || tathâ
vrâ(brâ)hmana-Bhâ[skara]-suta-
31 Vâsudevah || tathâ vanik⁶ Nôgha-suta-Isuvah | tathâ vanik⁶ Nâga-suta-
Pâ[ha]llah || ta-
32 thâ ⁷vam-Jeulla-suta-Nannakah | tathâ vanak⁸ Sangama-suta-Dêuthah || tathâ
sa(ma)hattara-Dram[g]iya-
33 suta-Sihah | tathâ ma(ma)hattara-Gôvâsa-suta-Ajannah | tathâ mahattara-Gôvâsa
suta-Mâha[m]pa[ka]-
34 h | tathâ mahattara-Dhûra-suta-Kanhakah || Lakhitam ch=antan-mi(ma)yâ kula-
putraka-⁹Datta-suta-[Dhâ ?]-
35 [r]âdi[tyê]n=êta || ☉ || Sri-Valabhi-samvat 574 Mâgha-suddha 6 || ☉ ||
36 Sva-hastô=[tra] sri-Va(ba)lavarmmanah || ☿¹⁰ sva-hastah sri-Dhika¹¹ || ☉ ||

B.—PLATES OF AVANIVARMAN II YOGA; [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 956

TEXT.¹²

First Plate

- 1 Ôm¹³ || [I*] Jayaś=ch=âbhy[n*]dayas=cha || Jayati¹⁴ jagatâm prasûtur=visv-âtmâ
sahaja-bhûshanam nabhasah | drutaka-
2 nakasâdprâsa-dâsâsâsatamayîkha-mâl-ârchatap¹⁵ Savitâ || [I*] ¹⁶Ast=îha sârô va(ba)hir=
amtarâ cha chchhidrah part-

¹ Read, probably, *edavyâsena*

² Metre *Indravajrâ*

³ Metre of this verse and the rest *Slôka* (Anushtubh) — Read *shashtim varsha-*

⁴ Read *râjadhâh Sagar-*

⁵ Read *shashtim varsha-*

⁶ Read *vanig N*

⁷ Read *vamg-Jê*

⁸ Read *vanik-Sam*

⁹ The same word occurs e.g. in *Ind Ant* Vol. XII. p. 161, line 69

¹⁰ This mark, which does not look like a letter, apparently represents the signature of Dhika

¹¹ One would have expected *-Dâitkara* See line 52 of the grant B.

¹² From a photograph supplied by Mr. Gauramhankar Hirachand Oja

¹³ Denoted by a symbol

¹⁴ Metre *Ârya*

¹⁵ Read *-mâl-dohitah*

¹⁶ Metre *Indravajrâ*

- 3 tò na vipatrasātah¹ | bhēdyah parān = n = aiva mahipatinām Vā(chā)lukya-
nām = āpara-tunga-[vam]śah |(l) [2*] ²Va(ba)bhūva-
4 tuti(s=ta)[tra] mahā-mahipati mah[ā*]-mati Kallā-Ma[haj]hā-samjūta | yāyōh
sitā kirtur-upāgamad-gu-
5 naiḥ parām prasiddhi(m) satata[m*] sunirmalāḥ || [3*] ³Saubhāratān=cha
yayōr=āśi(s) d=anyōnyam=avibhūta(nna)-
6 yō[h*] |(l) kalavappamāmyātam⁴ Rāma-Lakshmanay[ō]r=iva || [4*] Madhyé⁵
nripānām suvibhūyī(śu)tānām
7 rāja Kallāh kula-kī[r*]tū-yu[kta]h | kā[m*]tyā mahatyā sthūryā sriyā
va(cha) kalpadrumānām=1-
8 va pāyātā[h] || [5*] Rājya[m]⁶ ma[chra ?]⁷ mahipatān gunagan-ālamkārabhūte
sati kshinā[rā]tū-pa-
9 rākram-ān[v]ita-tansu nribhātaka⁸ śāsata | lōkānām=abbavan=manō satī-yuta[m*]
dharma-pra-
10 [dh]āna[m] sadā tustit=[vva(bba)ndhu]janasya gaunya-janitā dānān=cha
satyātūsha(?)⁹ || [6*] ¹⁰Tasmān=mahis[a*]d=vi-
11 tatōka-virtti¹¹ lakshmi-nidhānam śaīanam gunānām |(l) śaurasya bhūmr=
vvasatur=mmatīnām
12 rājya-abbhāma(?)¹² tanayā(yō) va(ba)bhūva || [7*] ¹³Valgattiyaraggamātuga-
mattamātanga-duggamān | yach-cha-
13 ndadandatasrastah śatratō=sisriyan=vana || [8*] Ajam¹⁴ tatō=pi śrīmām[ngā ?]-
hukadhavalō¹⁵
14 mahāvu(nu)bhāvō yah | dha[r*]mmam=avann=api nityam ranōtyamō(?) |
ninasadramam¹⁶ |(l) [9*] ¹⁷Rajādhirā-
15 ja-paramēvara-bhūmmā[th]ān=yas=tān=api svabhūja-vīrya-vasāda-viṇṇ[yā]ś |
16 nistiamsaibhaya-vilō[ḥ]ripūttimāgar=avajair=ivē ksbti talam

Second Plate, First Side

- 17 samatē puvinya || [10*] ¹⁸Kunta[thā ?]śāsi[ba]si-pa[ch]ura nara-kari-pāḥā(jya)-
valgat-turāngam

¹ Read *vipatrasākhah*, i.e. both *vi-pattra sākhah*, 'without leaves and branches' and *vipattra-sākhah*, 'whose branches protect from misfortune'. A bamboo (*vamsa*) has leaves and branches. But the Chālukya race (*vamsa*) is a different kind (*apara*) of *vamsa*, one that has no leaves and branches, i.e., in the other sense of the adjective, it is a race the branches of which protect from misfortune. Similarly the other epithets in the verse suggest other differences between the two kinds of *vamsa*. The word *apara* of the last Pāda is practically equivalent to *apūva*, which is employed in a similar verse above, Vol III p. 298, line 6 of the text. *Apara* is used in the same way (not in the sense 'before which no other excels') in the verse in *Ind Ant* Vol XII p. 193, line 10.

² Metre Vamśastha

³ Read *kuladharmma samāyātāḥ*

⁴ Metre Sārdūlavikridita

⁵ Read, probably, *nribhātakaḥ*

⁶ Metre Indravajrā

⁷ I am unable to give the name of the chief, concealed in this corrupt passage. The verse would be right if we were to read *Rājendra-nāma*, but I am not sure about this conjecture.

⁸ Metre Ślōka (Ānushubh) — Read the verse *Valgat turāngamat= tūnga-matta-mātanga durgandā yach-chaṇḍadandatasrastah śatratō=sisriyan=vana* || For *chaṇḍadanda* see above, Vol VI p. 10, v. 2v.

⁹ Metre Āryā

¹⁰ Here again I cannot give confidently the name intended in the original. The right reading may possibly be *śrīmān=Vāhukadhavalō*.

¹¹ Read *ranōdyatō=śrīmān=Dharmam*. The name at the end of the verse undoubtedly is *Dharmam*.

¹² Metre Vasantlakṣa — Read the second half of the verse *nistiamsaibhaya-vilō[ḥ]ripūttimāgar=avajair=iva ksbti talam samatē pravāḍya* ||

¹³ Metre Sragdhārā — Read *Kuntaprasādhastha*.

- 18 Karnnâtam śai(śai)nyam=âjô(jau) bhayarahita-manâ bhârîśô-bhu(nu)praviśya |
 êkâkî khadga-
 19 yashtyâ drutam=aśustayâ¹ yô-rimûddhi-pravâha[m] vâh-ârûdhô=vagâdham kamala-
 20 vanam=iva śrattya-khêda² lulâva || [11*] ³Tasmâd=amjâyata sutô śvanivarmma-
 nâmâ śsurya-pratâ-
 21 pa-vinay-âdi-guṇanupâtâh⁴ | sannâhavad=bh[r*]śam=imâm=avatâ dhanirîm=
 anvarthâtân=nijam=a
 22 niyata yêna nâma |(l) [12*] ⁵Avaniva[r*]mmani ya[tra] sukarmmani
 vyathita-śâtravamarmmani valmmani(?) [l]
 23 yuvati-nurmita-naimmani bhûpatô(tau) na janatâbhîr=sâs[r*]mmani śa[m*]kitam ||
 [13*] Tasya⁶ sūnur=ajan=îha
 24 sukarmâ mitra-va(ba)ndh[u]janantabira-⁷śa[r]mmâ | kirttitô vidita śâtravamarmâ
 yô janair=abhi-
 25 dhayâ Va(ba)lavarmmâ || [14*] ⁸Satatam=avitath-okti śnâna-jâpy-âdi-śâ(śi)lah
 pranayîśatasahasra-
 26 dhîna-vistîrnnasampat | bbrijasurn-⁹vibit-âśô yah sad=ârabhya vâ(bâ)lyâtvî(t=Trî)-
 nayana-charan-â-
 27 rebhâśilavân=samprajâtam(h) |(l) [15*] Prathita-karitarangam śâtanistrmśa-pâm¹⁰
 Vishaḍham=avaśa-
 28 m-îśah sâdhu jivâ samikê [r*] sthîrataram=urudhakkâ-yugmam=âśu dradhîyan¹¹
 śruti-sukha-
 29 dam=akhuṇḍô yô-grahin=ma[m*]dra-nâdam || [16*] Chatura-turaga-durggân=samyati
 dhvasta-śâtru[h*] sphuta-
 30 m-îha jagatîśân¹² Jajjap-âdin=nihatya | prasabham=abhumanaskô yô vyadhatta
 [ksh]itîśô
 31 bhuvanam=udam=ahinô Hûna-vamśêna hinam || [17*] Kuvalayadala-nêtrah
 sannat-âmsasthâlâ-¹³
 32 kah | prakatam=Ava[u]livarmmâ [n]âma tasy=[â]tmsj[ô]=bhât | prithula-
 katir=udârâh kshâma-ma-
 33 dhyas=tathâ yô vidita yâ jagatyâm Yôga-nâmn=âparêna || [18*] Saṅgrâmê¹⁴
 Yâkshadâśa[m*] va(ba)la-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 34 m=a[kh]ilam=api¹⁵ dhvamsayitvâ pravirô yah samjagrâha tûryam patutara-
 nnadam Śôgarakshôbha-
 35 nâma | yasy=âlamkâra-bhûtâm¹⁶ pta-ripa jagruh pattayô=pi pratîhâ
 śamkha- [chchha]tra-dhvajâdî-¹⁷
 36 n=ahamahamukayâ mu(yu)ddha-bhûmm praviśya || [19*] Kôḍanda-dhvasta-dhârâ-
 sara-kara-nakharê vi[kra]m-âva(ba)ddha-
 37 chitê lîlâbhîm(nu)-ânyasê(śê)nâ samadagajaghatâ-tumbhatumgasthalikê¹⁸ | yasmin=
 â[kra]mya bhûmm

¹ Read =aśustayâ yô-rimûddhâ-² Metre Vasantatilakâ — Read Tasmâd=ajâyata³ Metre Drutavilambita⁴ Metre Svagatâ⁵ Metre of verses 15-18 Mâlinî⁶ Read dhyâ-guru-⁷ Read dradhîyân=⁸ Read jagatîśân=⁹ Read sannat âmsasthâlîkah pra⁹¹⁰ Metre of verses 19 and 20 · Sragdarâ.¹¹ The syllable p was originally omitted and is engraved in the margin¹² Read bhâtân=¹³ Read -chchhatra-dhvaj-âdî-¹⁴ Read -tunga-kumbhasthâlîkê | yasmin=¹⁵ Read arasta-khêdâh¹⁶ Read -guṇair=upâtâh¹⁷ Read -bandhujanat âhita¹⁸ Read -pânir=

- 38 [sth]tavatī hī nujā¹ sghavad=Yakshadāsa-[kshō]nīp ādyasikumaragan-iva² ripu-
nivahaiḥ dūrataḥ sram
39 prañśē || [20*] ³Vyōmā yāntam=adhikam mṛgay[ā*] piyō yah satra⁴ na
muñchati sa kum Dhairanivaiśhah [i*] maty=ē-
40 ti [vō]mpuṇihayā⁵ sahaś(s)=aiva jasya dūrān=nanāmśa⁶ matimām Dharanivarāḥah
|| [21*] ⁷Khadga-khamdita-dhandāsa[m]⁸
41 unda-mundāgha-⁹manditam | ya'i=ājibh[ā*]ji jati[ti] sasapānai¹⁰ ianāmganam ||
[22*] ¹¹Naiapatim=amum muktvā
42 kalē kalau sati sa[m*]piati tiyagati paritūktum saktō na kaśchid=ap-iha
mām | su[ja]na-niva[hō] ma-
43 tv=ēti va nnatikamavi[kra]ma¹² satana-manasam śtimamam yam samāśi ayad=
u[chchhr]ita[m*] || [23*] Tēna¹³ piava(cha)ndamarūda[bhru]-
44 chalā[m*] vi[bhūtum ?] [padmāsth ?]itāmva(bu)kanikā-ta[ra]lātan=āśū[n]¹⁴ |
vidy[u*]dvilāsa-va(cha)palāñ=cha vichu[m*]tya la-
45 kshimī prāvaityate sphutam=ayam kshitidāna-dha[ri]mmah || [24*] Sa cha
mahāśānta-si-Yōga ēvam=u[kta ?]vān patha¹⁵
46 ¹⁶sapraman=ēv=ūbbhisamvadhayakam svān=anyāms=[cha] gamibhāvi-bhūpālams=cha
samanuvō(hō)dhayaty=astu
47 yah samviditam yath=āsmābhīh pratāpapiṇata-samastāśānta-sō(mam)lmāḍi-āchita-
chayanay-
48 galasya śasādhaakaniakai-āmalayaśa[h*]piavaha-dhavalita-dhaiāvalayasya
samihitābhya-
49 dhikapiadān-ānandita-vamdivrind-ōpagiyamāna-samastagunaganasya paramabhattā-
50 ka-mah[a*]i ājādhiraja-paiami(mē)śvaia-si-Bhōjadī(dē)va-pādānu d h y ā t a - p a r a m a -
51 bhātāraka-mahār[a*]jadhurāja-paiamēsvaia-si-Mah ē m d r a p ā l a d ē v a - p i a s ā -¹⁷

Third Plate

- 52 pāda-prasād-āpāpta¹⁸ tantu(nm)yukta-tam[ti am cha ?]pāla¹⁹śrī-Dhika-pratva(ba)ddha=ta-
53 d anumatyā cha Sau(sau)rāshtramandal-āntahpāta-Nakshisapurachaturā(ra)śi ti-
prati-

¹ Read *nyām simhavad*=² Read *ādyash kuramga*= iva ripu nivahasi=³ Metre Vasantatilakā — The general meaning of the verse clearly is that a certain Dharanivarāḥa, for whose identification see above, p 3 f, was put to flight by, or fled before, Avanivarman. But I am not sure about every detail of the verse — The first words of the verse perhaps are either *vyōmā-dpī yāntam* or *vyōmā prayāntam*=⁴ Read *sattvam*⁵ I cannot correct this⁶ Read *nanana matimām*=⁷ Metre Śiśka (Anushubh)⁸ Read, probably, *dandāram* (in the sense of 'elephant')⁹ Read *mund āgha*-¹⁰ Read *lastra-pānu*¹¹ Metre Harini¹² Read *Trivikrama vikramam*¹³ Metre Vasantatilakā¹⁴ Read *taralāśa=atāh=āśūn*¹⁵ Read *yathā* (?), but the words *ēvam=uktān yathā* would be quite out of place here¹⁶ Read *sarvān=ēv=ūbbhisamvadhayamānān-si ān=anyāms=ch=āgamidhān*¹⁷ These two *aksharas* (the first two syllables of the word *prasāda*) are quite out of place here. In agreement with the preceding adjectives one would have expected *Mahēndrapālādharaya*, but the writer proceeds as if the whole preceding passage, commencing with *pratāpapiṇata*, were a single compound, qualifying *Mahēndrapālādēva*.¹⁸ Here, in my opinion, some words have been omitted. As the text stands, we do not learn from it what the chief Yōga had received from Mahēndrapāla.¹⁹ The two *aksharas* in brackets are quite doubtful. I can only suggest that the intended reading may possibly be *tadantapāla*.

- 54 va(ba)ddha¹-Amvulak-ābhūdhāna-grāmah sa-vrikshamālakaṇḍaḥ sa-simāparyan[t*]²ah
 55 sa-bhogabhāgah sa-hiranyādānaḥ sa-dandadasaparādhaḥ sābhajamānavēśhtikah
 56 sakala-rājakiyānām=ahastapraکشهpanima(ya) ā-chamdr-ārکش(rkṣ)-ārnava-kahitā-
 sarit-par[rv]ata-sama-
 57 kālīnah³ ih=aiṛa Jayapura-grām-ābhyāsē Kanavirkā-sand-upakanthā nivish[t*]⁴a-
 Ta[ru]nā-
 58 dityadēvāya khandasphutita-suka(dhā)-dugdha-rā[r]chchaka-smapana-vilēpana-pushpa-
 dhūpa-dīpa-t[ai]la-nē(nai)vē-
 59 dya-dārik-ādy-upakritayē m[ā*]⁵tāpitṛt-ātmanas=ch=[ai]huk-āmushmika punya-yas[ō]-
 bhivriddhayē bhūmichohhidra-
 60 nyāy[e*]⁶na pravi(t)ipāditas=tad-ajam svadha[r*]⁷mradāya-nirthi(rvvi)sēpra(sha)h
 pālāya(yi)avyō gūna(ma)ntavyas=cha || yāśya(sya) ch=ā-
 61 ghātānāni pūr[rv]ato Vīyaraka-grāma simā | dakṣiṇatō Jayapura-grāma-
 sinā(mā) || aparatah Sē-
 62 ṇḍuvaka-Kōrinthaka-grāma-simē | uttanatah Vavulka-grāma-simā | tad=ē[na]m
 chaturāghātano(na)-pari-
 63 kshipta-grāmam bhūmijātō bhōjayatah ksha(kri)shataḥ karsha[ya]taḥ pratidāsa-
 tē(tō) rā(vā) na kauscha[n=ā]lp=āpi paripam-
 64 thanā vyāsē⁸ vā kāryah | yatah sāmānyasanaḥpalam=avity=⁹asmat-prityā pālānyā
 ita(ta) || Tathā d(ch)=ō-
 65 kām Vyāsē(sā)na | ¹⁰Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājani(bh)h Śa(sa)gar-
 ādibh[ā]h [i*]¹¹ yasra¹² yanya yadā bhūmīsūśa tasya ta-
 66 rā palam || ¹³[Y]ān-īha dahā[na]¹⁴ purā narēndrar=ddānāni¹⁵ |
 mmārāgrasāsaskarāni | nummalyavāna-prati-
 67 māni tāni kō nāma śā(sā)dhuh punar=ādadita ||
 68 Samvat 956 Māgha-sudi 6 [i*]¹⁶

No 2 — VASANTGADH INSCRIPTION OF PURNAPALA,

THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1099

By PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, CIE, GOTTINGEN

About the year 1840 the stone, which bears this inscription, was taken by Captain T S Burt from a tank at Vasantgadh¹¹ in the Sirohi State of Rājputāna, and the inscription was published in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol X p 664 ff, from a very unsatisfactory transcript prepared by Pandit Kamalākānta. For a long time the stone seems to have been lost sight of; but it has lately been rediscovered by my indefatigable friend, Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur, and is now deposited at the town of Sirohi. I re-edit the text from impressions which have been kindly sent to me by Mr Ojha.

¹ Read *ddh-Ambulak*. In line 16 of the grant A. the name is spelt *Amvullaka*.

² Read *śtipadyamānavēśhtikah* (or *vēśhtikah*, which occurs often elsewhere).

³ Read *kālīna*

⁴ Read *vydāśh*

⁵ Read *sāmānyāna dāna-phalam=avitya*

⁶ Metre. Śloka (Anuvāṭh)

⁷ Read *yasya yasya yadā bhūmīs=tasya tasya tadā phalaḥ*

⁸ Metre: Indravajrā

⁹ Read *daṭṭāni*

¹⁰ Read *ni dharmm āriha-yasas-karāni | nummālyavāna-*

¹¹ Vasantgadh (Basantgadh) apparently is situated to the east of Mount Ābā, but I do not find it on the map of the Rājputāna Agency. At or near the same place an important inscription of the time of king Varmalāta, of the [Vikrama] year 682, has lately been discovered.

The inscription contains 23 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2' broad by 1' 4½" high. At the upper proper right corner part of the stone is broken away, so that between about 15 and 2 *aksharas* are missing at the commencement of lines 1-9. Otherwise the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty nearly throughout. The size of the letters, between ⅜ and ¾". The characters generally differ little from the ordinary Nāgarī, but they include a few signs which are peculiar to the earlier northern inscriptions. The letter *b* everywhere is denoted by a sign of its own, and the secondary *d* is often written by a superscript line, once (in *Trashtuh=prasāddi*, l 13) we have the sign of the *upadhimānīya*, and once (in *bhāryām*, l 12) the conjunct *ry* is made up of the full sign for *r* and the secondary form of *y*. Between verses 32 and 33 and at the end of the text a conch-shell has been engraved, and between verses 33 and 34 a circular ornament. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, excepting the words *asy=anvayō=pi* and *nagay=anvayō=pi* in lines 8 and 13, the whole is in verse. Both the language and the verses often are incorrect, and as a piece of literary composition the inscription is worthless. Here, to show how very limited was the author's knowledge of grammar, I need only point out forms such as *nāmam*, l 5, *vēsmam*, l 9, *vēsmah*, l 14, and *vyōmā*, l 21 (for *nāma*, *vēśma*, *vēsmabhih*, and *vyōmni*), from passages regarding the reading of which there cannot be any doubt. And what liberties were taken by him, simply for the sake of the metre, in the spelling of words, may be seen from instances like *Pūrnāpāla*, l 7, *samdhāt*, l 19, *svapāna*, l 15 (for *Pūrnāpāla*, *samdhv*, *sōpāna*), etc.¹

The object of the inscription is, to record that a queen named Lāhni, a younger sister of the Paramāra Pūrnāpāla and widow of a king Vighararāja, at Vata² (Vata-nagara, Vata-pura) restored an ancient temple of the Sun, and restored or founded a tank (*vāpi*), apparently the very tank where this record has been found. And the inscription is divided into three parts, the first and second of which give the genealogies of Lāhni and Vighararāja, while the third glorifies the town Vata and the pious work executed there by the widowed queen. The whole is introduced by two verses, in one of which (so far as it is preserved) the author pays homage to Mahēśvara (Śiva), Prāchētasa (the poet Vālmiki), and Vāni (the goddess of eloquence), while in the other he invokes the protection of the god Hari (Vishnu).

Verse 3 relates that through the anger of (the sage) Vasishtha there was produced a youth or prince (*kumāra*) from whom the Paramāra (or Paramāra) family took its origin.³ In his lineage there was Utpalarāja; from him sprang Āranyarāja, and from him Adbhutakrishnarāja. His son (or, if a name should have been lost at the commencement of line 4, his son's son) was Mahipāla, and from him sprang Dhandhuka. To Dhandhuka there was born from his wife Amritadēvi Pūrnāpāla, who ruled the Ārbuda territory (*bhū-mandalam=Ārbudāsya*).⁴ In his reign, his younger sister Lāhni was married by king Vighraha (Vighararāja).

Vighararāja's genealogy, in verse 12, commences with a twice-born named Yōta, who by his bravery acquired the title of king (*bhūpa*). In his lineage there was the king (*nrpa*) Bhavagupta, who, after restoring the temple of 'the Sun dwelling at Vata' (*Vata-vās-bhānu*), reigned at Vata. In his lineage, again, there was Sangamarāja, who ruled Badari in Vamsāratha. From him sprang Durlabharāja; from him, Chacha, and from him, Vighararāja, who, as stated

¹ The author's mistakes have been more fully pointed out in the notes on the text. The inscription emphatically teaches us that the mistakes which may be found in an inscription need not necessarily be ascribed to the writer or engraver.

² In line 3, verse 13, the word is used in the plural (*Vatshu*), and in the inscription of Varmalāta, mentioned above, the place appears to be called *Vatīkarasthāna*.

³ See e.g. *Ep Ind* Vol II p 190, verse 18. In the present inscription we have the name *Prandira* in verse 8, and *Paramāra* in verse 10. The name is written *Prandira* also in the unpublished Bhārūda inscription of Pūrnāpāla of the [Vikrama] year 1102, of which I possess impressions.

⁴ In the Bhārūda inscription mentioned in the preceding note Pūrnāpāla is said to rule the *Ārbuda-mandala*. The inscription actually has *Ārmarudamandalam prāsādāt*.

- vijitya lōkân || [15*] ¹Dvijhavaripuvāhano lalanakāntarāmānvitah || kulōchchaya-
kūtonnatu=vvīdhitachhālakshmi-
- 11 vapuh || svapanūshadhritāvanu=balaṇviṣṭachakrō ²lāhān || babbūva nivarōttamah
sa naranūpādhiṇ=Madhavaḥ || [16*] ³Piōṭphullastakamala mukhām karatala-
sukumūapamkaja-nibhā[ng]im || Śuyam=iva kulajam iajūi-Lāhinim=ūdha-
- 12 vām³ sah || [17*] Bhūyām⁴ sa ch=āvūpya gunaiḥ sametam chrit-ēpsitām=var⁵
bubhuje cha bhōgam || s=āpi priyam pi=pya patin=tu iēmē yadvach=Chach=
Indrēna samam varēm⁶ || [18*] A=am=mitō bhaittari daiva-yōgād=bhātūr=
griham s=āpi gatō viyuktō || āvāsit= vai nagarē Vātē=smin=daivāt=pra-
- 13 hinē bahusāh kramēna || [19*] || Nagai-ānvayō=pi⁷ || || Taptaṇ tapam⁸
Vānin=āpi yattra nyagio[dha-sakt-a]srama māpavasya⁹ || sthānē=rikka-Bharggau
svanato¹⁰ Vasishthi muktī-pradan sthūpitavān=varishthah || [20*] Tadyad=Vat-
ākyam nagaram vanē=smin¹¹ Tvashṭuh=prasādit=kritivam¹²
- 14 n=Vasishthah || prākāra-vapr-ōpavannas=tadā[g]rih prāsāda-vēsmā¹³ sughanam
sutumgah || [21*] ¹⁴Śrutimantr-odam=akshobhyam shadalagayarita-samkulam ||
vēd-ārṇavam dvijāḥ samyag=yatīa tīrtv=āpy=agarvitaḥ || [22*] ¹⁵Lōkair=
dharma paraiḥ svakarmma-nratāiḥ sadbhīḥ sad=āvāsitam ||
- 15 vrityartham¹⁶ [cha sa?]māgatāiḥ praudisām nityam vanigbun=vitam || [pa]-
rālāh¹⁷ panikajanan=vyasamkūḥ sū(sū)raiḥ=janaiḥ samkulam || Indira-sthānam=
iv=āparau Vata-puram lshōni-talē samsthitam || [23*] ¹⁸van-udgatā yattra
sarit=Sarasvatī svapāna-pamkt=iva¹⁹ nrinām
- 16 nūmajattm || sapunypashūpōdalaphēna-vāhmī dvij-āstāmānām rananēvadhushtitā²⁰ ||
[24*] YC²¹ sarvām=pūlayantē nagaiḥita-ratih²² nūtmam²³ b prasāmitāḥ ||
dēvān=viprān=yajantē kanakadhanaḥahivastmatnūdi-dānāḥ || khyātu=yēshām cha
nityam tu(tu)bhavāna-
- 17 valayē sad-gunan=ēva nitā || ti=smin=paurāḥ samastāḥ sakalajana-hitā Bhānavē
bhaktimantah || [25*] ²⁴S=ātr=āgatā Lāhinī-nama-iājūi bhaittu=vyiyōgādhi-
nūpīdātmgī || smin=purē vipra-janaiḥ samētya tūpta [tu] tēsham [va]chanāt=
prabuddhā || [26*] Bhā-
- 18 nōi=griham daiva-vasād=vibhagnam Vāsishtha-paurāḥ sukriam yad=āsīt ||
vanāśi²⁴ sarvām saha jivitēna jūātvā griham kūtitam=usū Bhānōh || [27*]

¹ Metre Prithi

² This apparently is intended for an Āryā verse, but it is quite incorrect. Ed omits the whole or it

³ Read *van=sah*

⁴ Metre of verses 18-21. Indravajrā

⁵ Read *ēpsitam vai*, or, perhaps, *ēpsitam vai*

⁶ Read *vaī śna*

⁷ Instead of these words and of the first half of the following verse Ed has *Vasishtharājō=pi atr=āstātātōm*
yam Vasishtharājōdnayōd'pi (jāmatratra Tarnunāpi) atra nyagrōdhasy=ācānnaḥ

⁸ Wrong for *tapō*

⁹ The intended reading may be *Mādhavaḥ*, but I am not sure about the meaning of the verse. Some
legend, which is unknown to me, seems to be referred to.

¹⁰ Read *sva-nataḥ*, or, perhaps, *sva matou*

¹¹ Read *smin=s=Tea*

¹² Read *=kṛtāvān=Va*

¹³ Wrong for *vīmadhīḥ*, which would not have suited the metre

¹⁴ Metre. Ślōka (Anushtubh)

¹⁵ Metre. Śārdūlavikṛitā

¹⁶ Read *vrittyartham* — The *sa* in the following brackets seems to be engraved below the line

¹⁷ There is hardly any doubt here about the actual reading, but the text must be incorrect. I cannot suggest
a satisfactory emendation. Ed has *paardnāv=gaṇikājanān=*

¹⁸ Metre. Vāmśustha

¹⁹ Wrong for *sōpāna pamktir=iva*, which would not have suited the metre

²⁰ Read *janan=iva nishthitā*

²¹ Metre. Sragīharā.

²² Read *-rād*

²³ Metre of verses 26-30. Indravajrā

²⁴ Wrong for *vindīḥ* (or *vandīkām*), which would not suit the metre.

- ¹Susishṭa-samdhim ruchira[m] supādam śail-śeṣṭakam cha sthūa-singha-karnnam² || yadvad=Dhmāduś=śikharas=cha tadvat=kṛtvā
- 19 mkētam Vata-vāsi-bhānōh || [28*] Lōka-prap-aśiṣā sulcitā cha vāpi susishṭasamdhī-gṛhatitōpalā³ cha || sōpāna-pamktyā susubhā(bhā) subaddhā mīrē(erē)mi-bhūt=ēva divaukasasya || [29*] Dēvaih samastan=11,11)shibhīs=cha jushṭā pāpāpāḥ vyāpya jagat=sthitā yā || jñnō-
- 20 dhṛitā⁴ Lāhīni-punyahētōh Śārasvatī śēsha-janasya vāpi || [30*] Nishpādya⁵ sukṛtau kṛtvā⁶ artham datvā⁷ punah-punah || vaināśikam=idam ch=ānya[*]= jñātvā lōkasya charppitā⁸ || [31*] ⁹Yāvad=gaur=llōka-dh[ā*]trī pravahati [pa?]rutō¹⁰ yāvad=arkō=ntarikshē || yāvad=vichyas=sa-
- 21 mudē pavana-vidhūntāh¹¹ samtātāh prōchchalantī || yāvad=vyōmē¹² susigham piacha[la?]ti mihura-syamdā(da)nasya=aika-chakram || vāpy-ōkau tāvad=āstām=¹³ udukara sadrisau śrēyasē kārakasya || [32*] || ¹⁴Kṛt=ēyam Harī-puttrēna Mātrīsarmma-dvjanmanā || śāstrī-llōka hītā-
- 22 rthāya Lāhinyās=cha¹⁵ hit-aishinā || [33*] ¹⁶Āśich=cha Nāgāt=sṭhapatēs=tu Durggah || Durggārkkatō Dēuka-sūtradhārah || asy=āpi sūnuh Śivapāla-nāmā || yēn=ōtkrit=ēyam¹⁷ susubhā prāsastih || [34*] ¹⁸Navanavastir=ih=āsīd-Vikramāditya-kālē || jagati
- 23 dasāsātānām=agratō yattrā pūrnā [*] prabhavati Nabha-māsē sthānakē Chnttrabhānōh || Mṛigaśirasī śāśāmkē kṛishna-pakshē navamyām || [35 **]

No 3 — ALUPA INSCRIPTIONS AT UDIYAVARA.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, Ph D, HALLE (SAALE)

The ancient royal family of the Ālupas is one of those whose early history is wrapped in obscurity—'carent quia vate sacro' as Horace (*Carm* IV 9) expresses it. All that was until recently known regarding them will be found on page 309 of Dr Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*. A few additional records of them were published by Mr Rice in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*. The Ālupas or Ālūvas are referred to in inscriptions of the two Western Chalukya kings Pulakēśin II¹⁹ and Vinayāditya, of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III,²⁰ and of the Kādamba Jayakēśin I, and the poet Bilhana mentions them in connection with his patron Vikramāditya VI. They are thus proved to have existed as a ruling family in the period from the seventh to the eleventh centuries of the Christian era.

As regards the name Ālupa, Dr Bhandarkar suggested that it 'seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabar coast'²¹. This is very improbable, because Ālūvāy (Alwy) is situated in Travancore, while the inscriptions of the Ālupas are

¹ Ed omits this verse

² Read *svīhakarnnam* — This word *svīhakarna* apparently is a technical term, relating to architecture

³ Read *-gṛhatitōpalā*; the preceding *samdhā* for the sake of the metre stands for *samdhī*,

⁴ Read *dāhṛitā*

⁵ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh) 1

⁶ Observe the hiatus

⁷ Read *datvā*

⁸ Read *chardppitā*

⁹ Metre Śṛagdhāś

¹⁰ Read *puratō*(?)

¹¹ For the sake of the metre for *vidhānāśidh*

¹² Wrong for *vyōmē*, which would not have suited the metre

¹³ Thus *āstām* is wrongly used here for *datvā* (from *da*) or *syātām* (from *as*).

¹⁴ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

¹⁵ The name of the queen is written here with (the dental) *ś*

¹⁶ Metre Indravajrā

¹⁷ *Utkṛitā* wrong for *utkṛitā*

¹⁸ Metre Mālinī — Ed omits the last Pada of the verse and has instead of it *sa 1099*

¹⁹ See now above, Vol VI p 10

²⁰ See below, p 16 and note 7.

²¹ *History of the Dekkan*, p 61, note 8

found in South Canara, Kadû and Shimoga. The original meaning of the word *Âlupa* or *Âluva* is probably 'a ruler,' from the Dravidian root *al*, 'to rule'

A few individual names of kings are preserved to us. The Sorab plates of Vinayâditya were issued at the request of Gunasâgara-Âlupendra's son Chitravâha-Mahârâja, who was in possession of the district (*urhaya*) of Edevolal in the NE of Banavâsi in North Canara.¹ According to the Harihar plates of Vinayaditya which are dated two years after the Sorab plates, another village in the district (*bhaya*) of Edevolal forming part of the Vanavâsi-mandala, was granted at the request of Âluvaraja² & perhaps Chitravâha-Mahârâja. The same two princes (Gunasâgara and Chitravâha) may be meant in an inscription at Kigga in the Koppa tâluka of the Kadû district,³ which states that, when Âluvarasa, whose second name was Gunasâgara, was ruling the Kadamba-mandala,—Aluarasa, (his) great queen and (his son) Chitravâhana made a grant to a local temple.⁴ Another inscription (Kp 37), which is on the other face of the same stone, is dated while some Chitravâhana was ruling Ponbuchchu,⁵ the modern Humcha.⁶ Finally, an inscription at Mavali in the Sorab tâluka of the Shimoga district states that in the time of Pribhûtarasha Gôundarasa, & the Rashtrakûta king Gôvinda III, a certain Chitravâhana ruled the Âluvakhêda six-thousand, while Râjâdityarasa ruled the Banavâsi-mandala.⁷

If the Chitravâhana of the first Kigga inscription was really the same person as the Chitravâha of the Sorab plates, it would follow that the Âlupa or Âlupa prince Gunasâgara was governor of the Kadamba-mandala, & the Banavâsi province, in or immediately before the time of the Western Chalukya king Vinayâditya, and that Gunasâgara's son Âluvarâja Chitravâha or Chitravâhana (I) granted two villages in the district of Edevolal, which formed part of the Banavâsi province, during Vinayâditya's reign. Consequently Chitravâhana I seems to have succeeded his father Gunasâgara in the government of Banavâsi. In the time of Gôvinda III, however, the Banavâsi-mandala had been taken from the Âlupas and was entrusted to Râjâditya, while the Âluvakhêda six-thousand was administered by a second Chitravâhana, who on the strength of his name may be assumed to have belonged to the Âlupa family. To judge from the Mavali inscription, he proved troublesome and had to be coerced by the force of arms. That Chitravâhana, whom the second Kigga inscription mentions as residing at Humcha, may or not be identical with this Chitravâhana II, but must be distinct from Chitravâhana I, whose capital was most probably Banavâsi. If this identification is correct, Ponbuchchu, the modern Humcha, would have been the head-quarters of the Âluvakhêda six-thousand, which in a later record is mentioned as Âlvakhêda among the boundaries of the Poyasala kingdom.¹

Mr Rice's volumes contain many records of certain later families which seem to be connected with the ancient Âlupas. These are the Changâlvâs,⁹ Kongâlvâs,¹⁰ Nâdâlvâs,¹¹ Sântaras,¹² and the rulers of Kalasa and Kârkala.¹³

In the course of a tour in 1901, Mr H. Krishna Sastru, B.A., discovered a number of archaic Kanarese pillar inscriptions of the Âlupas at Udiyâvara near Udipi in the South Canara

¹ *Ind Ant* Vol. XIX p. 147. A facsimile of the Sorab plates has since appeared in *Ep Carn* Vol. VIII. p. 92 of the Translations.

² *Ind Ant* Vol. VII p. 302, and *Ep Carn* Vol. XI Dg 66.

³ *Ep Carn* Vol. VI Kp 38.

⁴ A further remark on the same inscription will be found below, p. 21, note 8.

⁵ The Kanarese text has *pinduvudle* for *Ponbuchchudle* in the Roman text.

⁶ See p. 17 below.

⁷ *Ep Carn* Vol. VIII Sb 10, with Plate facing p. 3 of the Roman texts.

⁸ *Ep Carn* Vol. VI Cm 180, line 5.

⁹ *Id* Vol. IV Introduction, p. 16, Vol. V p. viii, Vol. IX p. 19.

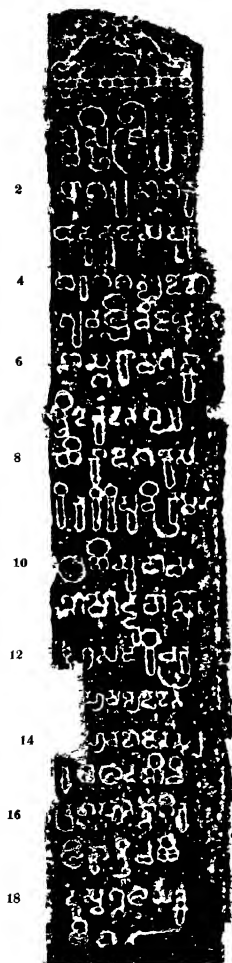
¹⁰ *Id* Vol. V p. viii, Vol. IX p. 18.

¹¹ *Id* Vol. V p. viii.

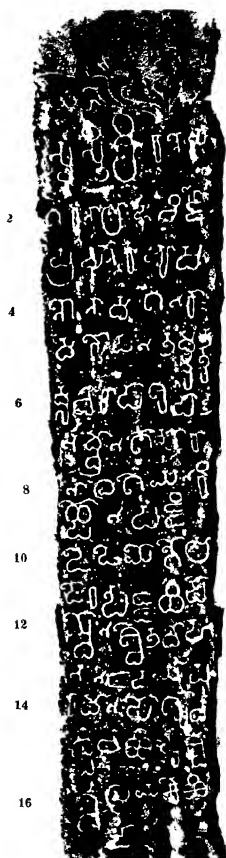
¹² *Id* Vol. VI p. 10, Vol. VII p. 17, Vol. VIII p. 6. Compare *Dyn Kan Distr.* p. 458 and note 2.

¹³ *Ep Carn*, Vol. VI p. 19. Compare above, Vol. VII p. 103 ff and Vol. VIII p. 124 ff.

I — Scale one sixth



II — Scale one fifth



district Of these records I now edit the eight most complete and important ones Regarding some difficult points in them I have consulted my old friends Venkayya and Kṛṣṇa Sastri, whose remarks proved of much assistance in unravelling the meaning of these enigmatical ancient documents

The first five Udiyāvara inscriptions are on Virakals, i.e. stones set up as memorials of deceased heroes, the remaining three refer to grants of tolls The three first inscriptions must all belong to the same period, for Nos I and II mention a certain Ranasāgara, and Nos II and III one Śvētāvāhana. These two names and, in addition to them, Chitravāhana in No I look like those of Āluva princes, among whom we have already found a Gunasāgara and two Chitravāhanas. As the alphabet resembles that of the Māvali inscription,¹ we may identify the Chitravāhana of No I with Chitravāhana II, who ruled the Āluvakhēda six-thousand in the time of Gōvinda III Consequently Nos I-III, must be assigned to about A.D. 800. From the first few lines of No I we learn that Chitravāhana II seized Udiyāvara in the course of a war with Ranasāgara, who seems to have been a rival claimant to the throne Nos II and III refer to the storming of Udiyāvara by Śvētāvāhana, and No II records the death, on this occasion, of a follower of Ranasāgara. From this it may perhaps be concluded that, after the time of the inscription No I, Ranasāgara succeeded in ousting Chitravāhana II, but that, later on, he was in his turn defeated by Śvētāvāhana, who may have been a near relative of Chitravāhana II

The remaining Udiyāvara inscriptions date from the reigns of the two Ālupa, Āluva or Ālva kings Pṛithivīsāgara (Nos IV-VI) and Vijayāditya (Nos VII and VIII) alias Māramma (No VII) It is impossible to say at present how these two princes were connected with Chitravāhana II, Ranasāgara and Śvētāvāhana But, as the alphabet of their inscriptions agrees with that of Nos I-III, they must be assigned to about the same period

In each of the eight subjoined inscriptions Udiyāvara is referred to by one of its older names Udayāpura (Nos V. and VIII), Udayapura (Nos II, III, VI, VII) or Udeyapura (Nos I and IV) In the three last it is mentioned together with Patu (No VI), Pombulcha (No VII) or Ponvulcha (No VIII) Patu and Pombuchcha are known to have been ancient names of the modern Huncha in the Nagar tāluka of the Shimoga district² This Huncha seems to have been the capital of the Ālupa kings For an inscription at Kigga is dated while Chitravāhana (II) was ruling Pombuchchu³

I.—Inscription of Chitravāhana (II) and Ranasāgara.

This inscription (No 94 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the Śambhukallu temple at Udiyāvara It records that a follower of Chitravāhana (II) met with his death when the 'lord of the earth' (viz Chitravāhana) occupied and entered Udeyapura (Udiyāvara) 'during the trouble of Ranasāgara,' i.e. in the course of a war with the latter

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Rana-
- 2 sāgarānā sam(sam)ka-
- 3 tadul=Udeyapuram
- 4 dhareg[ī]śan=pade-po-
- 5 guvallī Vijana-
- 6 nāygarā magan-Kā-

¹ See above, p 16 and note 7

² See above, Vol VIII p. 126,

³ See p 16 above

- 7 lade kadan-aggha-
 8 l kâlega-kôsa-
 9 u karirpu-vikraman
 10 aniyu[1*] dâva-
 11 nam=oddun-on-sâ-
 12 hasad=ari-chakra-
 13 [vyû*]haman=odedon
 14 [â*]havâd=ode[da]n=pa-
 15 ra-[ba]lad=ani Chi-
 16 travâhanarggâgi ka-
 17 h-kânta eri-
 18 da svaiggâlayakk-ê-
 19 idon [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail 'Prosperity' When during the trouble of Ranasâgara¹ the lord of the earth² occupied and entered Udeysapura,—Vijananâya's³ son Kâlîde, (*who was*) eminent in war, a lion in battle, brave as a lion, applying a cattle-rope⁴ to the array (*of his enemies*), breaking the body of bold hostile armies, breaking in battle the array of the enemy's forces, ascended to the abode of heaven, having fought⁵ (*with*) the splendour of a hero on account of Chitravâhana

II.—Inscription of Ranasâgara and Śvetavâhana.

This inscription (No 108 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar lying near a well in the back-yard of Râghavêndrabhatta's house at Udiyâvara and commemorates the death in battle of a follower of Ranasâgara. He fell while Udayapura (Udiyâvara) was entered by Śvetavâhana, whom I take to have been the victorious opponent of Ranasâgara. The dead warrior is described as a zealous devotee of the 'lord of Paṭṭi,' and he and his two immediate ancestors as adherents of the 'Pâsupata lord' Paṭṭi (or Pombuchcha) is the modern Humcha.⁶ It may be concluded from the present inscription that this town was the seat of the head of a Śaiva matha

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Rapa[sâ]-
 2 garanâ ūu Viñjan
 3 Pra[hâ]rabhûsha-
 4 nanâ magan Kâ-
 5 makôdan tammuttu-
 6 mûvarâ Pâsupâ(pa)tam
 7 namvân g=ôva[do]râ

¹ I.e. 'the trouble caused by Ranasâgara'

² *Viz* probably the Chitravâhana mentioned in l 15 f

³ *Nâya* is a *tadbhava* of *nâyaka*

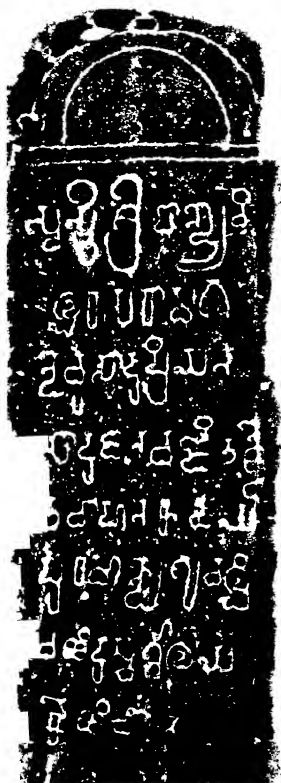
⁴ With *dâvanam=oddu* compare *dâvan kattu*, 'to tie cattle in a row to a long rope fastened by two pegs,' in Kittel's *Kannada Dictionary*. Compare above, Vol VIII p. 134, and *Ep Carn* Vol VI Introduction, p. 19, note 1. *Dâvan* is a *tadbhava* of *dâmant*, 'a long rope to which calves are tied by means of shorter ropes' (Monier Williams)

⁵ Here and in the four next inscriptions *eri* is the same as *ari*, 'to strike, to stab'

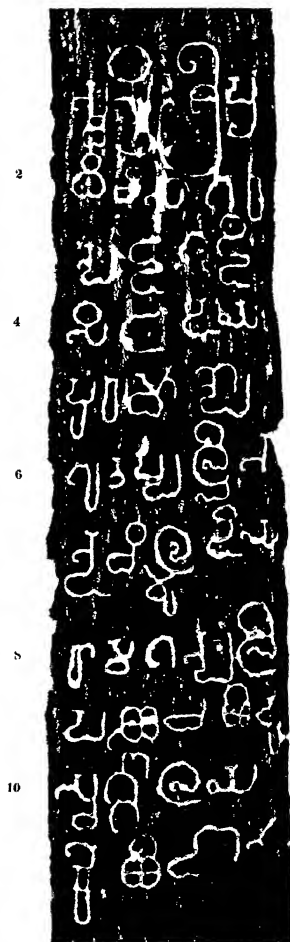
⁶ See p. 17 above

⁷ As suggested to me by Râi Bahadur Venkayya, *namerd* is meant for the Tamil *namêrd*, 'lord' (literally 'our lord'), read *namêrdâga*.

III — Scale one third



IV — Scale one fourth



- 8 nálageyan kṛ(ki)-
- 9 lpon Pattā-
- 10 oḍeyong=¹ḍā(va)-
- 11 dorān=patt-aḷi-pā-
- 12 yvon Śvétatāvāha-
- 13 nan Udayapu-
- 14 ramān poguva-
- 15 lli epdu śva(śva)-
- 16 ḷgga(ḷggā)layakk-ēri-
- 17 [don] [||*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! When Śvétatāvāha¹ was entering Udayapura,—Banasāgara's servant, Viñja Prahārabhūshana's son Kāmakōḍa, who pulled out the tongue of those who were not attached to the Paśupati lord of those three persons themselves,² (and) who seized, destroyed and assaulted those who were not attached to the lord of Patti, ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down (*his enemies*)

III — Inscription of Śvétatāvāha

This inscription (No 105 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the same house as the preceding inscription and commemorates the death of another hero on the same occasion

TEXT

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pāṇḍyavi-
- 2 llarasarā maga-
- 3 n=Dēvu sādū(dhu)-pṛyan=a
- 4 sādū(dhu)jana-varjitan=Śvé-
- 5 tavāhanar=Udaya-
- 6 puramān=poguvallī
- 7 epdu svarggālaya-
- 8 kk-ēṇḍon [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Śvétatāvāha was entering Udayapura,—Pāṇḍyavillaras's son Dēvu, (*who was*) beloved by the good (*and*) shunned by wicked people, ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down (*his enemies*)

IV —Inscription of Pṛthivīsāgara

This inscription (No 103 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the south-west corner of the court-yard of the Śāmbhukallu temple at Udiyāvara. It forms the memorial of a warrior who was killed when Pṛthivīsāgara stormed Udayapura (Udiyāvara) after his coronation

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pṛi-
- 2 thivīsāgara-

¹ Read *oḍeyong* =

² *Is* the Paśupati priest whose adherents Kāmakōḍa, his father Prahārabhūshana (and his grandfather) Viñja were. I owe this explanation to Dr Fleet. With *tammattū māvar* compare *tammūl-ayavar* and *tammūl-aruvār* in Kittel's *Kannada Grammar*, p. 241. Dr Fleet has noted the similar expression *tammūt-irbba* or *tammūt-irbbor*, above, Vol VI p. 161, note 7.

- 3 n-pattam gatti-
 4 s: Ud[e]ya-
 5 puramān-po-
 6 gutappalli Na-
 7 ndavilmudiya-
 8 rā magan=Pah-
 9 paṇe eṇḍu
 10 vaiggaḷaya-
 11 kk-ēṇḍon [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Prithivisāgara, having had (*himself*) crowned, was entering Udeyapura,—Nandavilmudi's son Palipare, having struck down (*his enemies*), ascended to the abode of heaven

V — Inscription of Prithivisāgara.

This inscription (No 101 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple and records that another follower of the Ālupa king Prithivisāgara fell at the storming of Udayāpura (Udayāvara).

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śi [||*] Pṛithu(ṭhi)visāgara
 2 śrīmad-Ālupendra duṣṭa-bhaya-
 3 nīzararge iṣṭa bhṛīyanappa Po-
 4 lokku Priyachelva [U]ḍa[yā]-
 5 puraman pugutappa-
 6 lḥ āha[pa](va)-ra[nga]ḍuḥ-urn-
 7 bhātara [e]ṇḍu Priyache-
 8 lva chelva-saṇpaṇṇa¹ ka(kha)la-
 9 [ja*]na-vayjitan dharegi(ḡ)-
 10 [śa*]ṇge ḍavadora pata-
 11 [t]jiya aḷidu suralō-
 12 kakke ēṇḍan [!*] Keleya
 13 Vā[e]ṇṇeyan nūṇṇida [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Polokku Priyachelva, who was the beloved servant of Prithivisāgara, the glorious Ālupendra, the terror of the wicked, was entering Udayāpura,—(*this*) Priyachelva, (*who was*) endowed with beauty (*and*) shunned by wicked people, ascended to the world of the gods, having struck down great warriors on the stage of battle (*and*) having destroyed the foot-soldiers² of those who were not attached to the lord of the earth³ (*His*) friend Vāleṇṇa set up (*this memorial stone*)⁴

VI — Inscription of Pṛithivisāgara

This inscription (No 102 of 1901) is engraved on another octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple. It opens with the name and *brūdas* of the Ālupa or Ājuva king

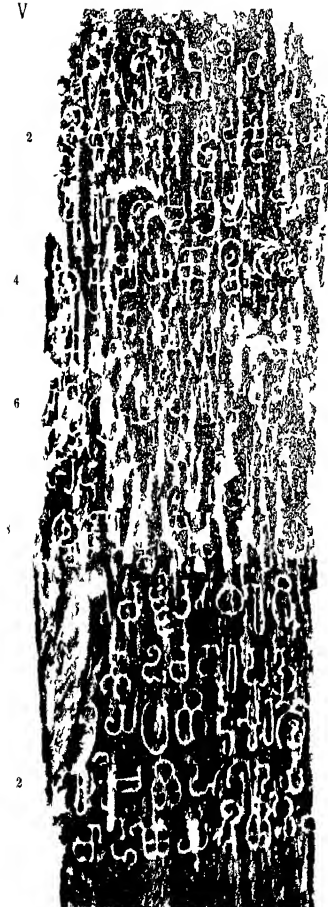
¹ Read *saṇpaṇṇa*

² As Mr. Krishna Sastri suggests, *pataḥ* is perhaps a *śaḍḍhava*, used collectively, of *padda*

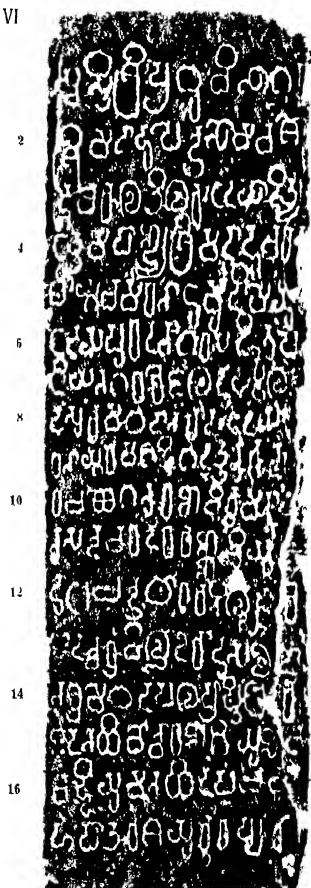
³ I.e. the Ālupa king Prithivisāgara

⁴ Bai Bahadur Venkayya would prefer to take *eye* as synonymous with the Tamil *eyā*; and to translate "Keleya set up (this stone representing) a chief (with) a sword (in his hand)"

V



VI



Scale one fourth

Prithivīsāgara, who claimed descent from the lunar race and bore the surnames Udayāditya and Uttama-Pāndya, and records that he confirmed a previous grant of tolls to the two cities (*naḡara*) of Udayapura (Udiyāvara) and Patti. The last is evidently the same as Patti, the modern Humcha¹. The imprecatory passage at the end of this inscription and of the two next ones (VII and VIII.) mentions two sacred places. Vāranāśi and Śivavaḷli. The former is of course the modern Benares. Regarding the second, Mr Krishna Sastri contributes the following information —

"The Shivali (Śivali) sect of Brāhmanas in South Canara take their name from this place. In the *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol III p 610, we are told that the town Oodip (Udipi), 'considered the most sacred spot in the Canarese country,' is 'formed of parts of Badagabett, Moodandamboe, Poollore and Shivali villages'. In the *Madras Postal Directory* Shivali figures as a village served by the Udipi post office."

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śri [!]* Pṛidhu(ṭhi)visāgara
- 2 śrīmad-Ālupēndra Sōmavamsō-
- 3 dbhava kulatilakan Udayāditya
- 4 Uttama-Pāndya śrīmad-Āluvara[sa]-
- 5 r-B[ō]jyagavarmara nātu-mudimeyu[!]
- 6 Udayapurada nā(na)gara-sahitam Pa-
- 7 ṭiya naḡarakke jaladuḷam sthala[du]-
- 8 lam sumkam=ardha-dāna kādara [!]* Udaya[pu]-
- 9 ranāyagara magan=[S]imgadatanu[m] Ku[mā]-
- 10 ra Ereganum Ranavikrama[nātha]-
- 11 nu Sandavaradaia Kannachiyu[m] [!]* [I]-
- 12 du a(ā)chandrathā(tā)rakam nilpu[d=a]ke(kke) [!]*
- 13 Idan=vakram-illāde kādu sah[po]-
- 14 n=aśvamēdbada pa(pha)la prāṭṭi aku(kkum) [!]*
- 15 Idan=s[ivon]=Vāraṇa(nā)śiyum Si(śi)va-
- 16 vailiyuman=ahda pamcha[ma]-
- 17 ha(hā)pātaka-śam(sam)yuktar=appar [!]*

TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! During Bōygavarma's headmanship of the district,³ Prithivīsāgara, the glorious Ālupēndra, who sprang from the race of the Moon, the ornament of (his) family, Jdayāditya Uttama-Pāndya, the glorious Āluvarasa, confirmed the gift of one half (of) the tolls both on water and on land to the city of Patti, together with the city of Udayapura. (The recipients of this gift were)⁴ Udayapurānāyga's⁵ son Singadatta; Kumāra Erega, Ranavikrama[nātha], and Sandavarada's (son) Kannachi. Let this stand as long as the moon and the stars! (To) him who without fraud confirms and grants this, shall be the acquisition of the fruit of a horse sacrifice. He who destroys this, shall be covered with the five great sins (of) he who destroys Vāranāśi and Śivavaḷli.

¹ See p 17 above

² See Kittel's *Kannada Grammar*, § 183, 8

³ As suggested to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, *nāḷu mudime* is the equivalent of the Tamil *nāḷu mudumai*, 'the headmanship of a district'. Compare *Ep. Carn.* Vol VI Kp 38, where *Kundavarmarasam mudime geve* has the reading of the Text in Kannada characters, p 323) has to be translated by 'while Kundavarmarasam was headman'.

⁴ The words *idda padador* may be supplied from VII 1 10, and VIII, 1 10f

⁵ See above, p 18, note 3

VII.—Inscription of Vijayāditya Māramma.

This inscription (No 98 of 1901) is engraved on two contiguous faces of another octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple. Like the preceding inscription, it confirms a previous grant of tolls to the two cities of Udayapura (Udayāvara) and Pombulcha (Humcha). The Ālupa or Ālva king who confirmed this grant was called Vijayāditya Māramma. Like the Prithivisēgara of the preceding inscription, he bore the surname Uttama-Pāndya and traced his descent from the lunar race. Besides, he claimed the sovereign titles *Paramēśvara* and *Adhvārājya*.

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti śrī [||*] Vija[y]āditya Ālu-
- 2 pēndra paramēśva(śva)ra ādhir[ā].²
- 3 jarājan Uttama-Pāndyan-Śō(śō)mavamśō-
- 4 dbhava śrī-Māramm-Ālvarasar [U]³
- 5 Udayapurada naka(ga)ra-sahitam Pombu-
- 6 lēhada naka(ga)rakke sunka kādudu sauku-
- 7 rakke [pu]ttige ondare malavege pa-
- 8 lū padināju palam adakeya pē-
- 9 ringa(ngē) mūn[ū]ju velasina pēriṅge
- 10 padina(nā)ju pale[m] [I*] Idā padedor Su-
- 11 sēnavadiyaya Svarnagōśasi Mutta-
- 12 varara Adiyasettiyu Mandukara
- 13 Parasēbyan Sēnavadiyara Nagakumāran [I*]
- 14 Idū a(ā)chandraṭāraka[m] nīpuḍ-akke [I*] Idā kādō
- 15 attaguna asva(śva)mēda(dha)da pa(pha)lam-akke [I*]
- 16 Idan=aḷido B[ā]raṇāsiyu Śivavalliyu-
- 17 ma aḷida pañchamaha(hā)pātakan-ak[u](kkum) [I*]
- 18 Ranaḍhāri-lkhita [I]⁴

TRANSLATION

Ōm Hail! Prosperity! Vijayāditya Ālupēndra Paramēśvara Adhvārājya Uttama-Pāndya, who sprang from the race of the Moon, the glorious Māramm-Ālvarasa, confirmed the tolls (*due*) to the city of Pombulcha together with the city of Udayapura, (*viz*) per double bag (*of grain*),⁵ one and a half basket⁶ (*of grain*), per *malave*⁷ (*of cotton*), sixteen *pala* (*of cotton*), per load of areca-nuts, three hundred (*nuts*), (*and*) per load of pepper,⁸ sixteen *pala* (*of pepper*). They who obtained this (*were*) Sēnavadi's (*son*) Svarnagōśasi,⁹ Muttavara's (*son*) Adiyasetti, Manduka's (*son*) Parasēbya, (*and*) Sēnavadi's (*son*) Nagakumāra. Let this stand as long as the moon and the stars! (*To*) him who confirms this, let there be the eightfold fruit of a horse-sacrifice! (*To*) him who destroys this, shall be the five great sins (*of one*) who destroys Bāranāsi and Śivavallī. Written by Ranaḍhāri.

¹ Expressed by a symbol

² Read *adhvāra*.

³ Corrected from *a*. The engraver has for the sake of clearness repeated the *u* at the beginning of the next line.

⁴ In the original the final stop is represented by a four petalled flower.

⁵ *Sankura* is perhaps the same as *sankara* No. 4 in Kirtel's *Kannada Dictionary* 'a double sack for manure and grain to be carried on the back of a bullock'.

⁶ *Puttige* is the same as *putti*, 'a basket'.

⁷ Mr. Krishna Sastry suggests that this may be another form of *manu* or *manuvu*, 'a mound'.

⁸ Originally I had taken *velasina* for *velasina*, 'corn'. But as the toll was not levied by measure, but by weight, I adopt Mr. Krishna Sastry's suggestion, who compares *melasina*, 'black pepper'.

⁹ With *gōśasi* compare *gōśasiya* in the inscription VIII. 1. 11, and Dr. Fleet's remarks, above, Vol. VI. p. 255, note 2.

VII



2

4

6

8

10

12

14

16

18

VIII



2

4

6

8

10

12

14

Scale one fourth

VIII —Inscription of Vijayāditya.

This inscription (No 97 of 1901) is found on the same pillar as the preceding one (VII) It is engraved on the same two contiguous faces as VII, but begins at the opposite end of the pillar, which must have been placed upside down when the new inscription (VIII) was incised on it. A third face of the pillar bears six lines of writing (15-20) which appear to be connected with VIII. This circumstance enables us to conclude that VIII was engraved at a later date than VII. When the writer of VIII had reached line 14, he was confronted with the end of the inscription VII, and was therefore obliged to finish his copy on another face of the pillar.

The contents of VIII resemble those of VII. The king is the same, only one of his names, Māramma, is omitted here. He is stated to have confirmed the same grant of tolls to the two cities of Udayāpura (Udiyāvara) and Ponvulcha (Humcha). But the names of the local representatives receiving the grant differ from those in VII. This shows that some time must have elapsed between the incision of both records, although both belong to the same reign.

TEXT.

First and Second Faces

- 1 Svasta śrī [||*] Vijayādhi(dī)tyan
- 2 Ālupēndra paramēśva(śva)ra ā(a)-
- 3 dhī(dhī)rājarājan Uttama-
- 4 Pāndyan-Śōmavansōbhavan¹
- 5 Āluvarasar Arakellarā
- 6 nātu-mudī(dī)meyul Udayā-
- 7 purada naka(ga)ra-sahitam Ponvulcha-
- 8 da naka(ga)rakke sunkadā ardda(rddha)-[dā]na
- 9 kā[daha] avargge attaguna
- 10 asva(śva)mēda(dha)dā pa(pha)lam=akkum [||*] Idā
- 11 [pa*]dedor Muttavurera² Saruvigōśāsiga
- 12 Kodalsettiyarā Madāmma Vija[s]e-
- 13 ttigarā Dharmanāygan=Manugasā-
- 14 ttavar Sarvvavandu Paleyarmman [||*]

Third Face

- 15 ī okkal=paḍed[u]-
- 16 vu [||*] Idā aḷivo
- 17 Sivavāḷḷiyu³ Vā-
- 18 rānāsīyuman
- 19 aḷida paṭichama-
- 20 hāpātakan=akkum⁴ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! The eightfold fruit of a horse-sacrifice shall be to him— Vijayāditya Ālupēndra Paramēśvara Adhīrājārāja Uttama-Pāndya, who sprang from the race of the Moon, Āluvarasa— who, during Arakella's headmanship, of the district,⁵ confirmed the gift of

¹ Read =Śōmavansōbhavan² Read Muttavarera, as in VII 1 11 f³ Read Sivavāḷḷiyum⁴ The * of kkm is expressed by two different symbols behind and below the k⁵ See above, p. 21, note 3.

one half of the tolls to the city of Ponvulcha together with the city of Udayapura. They who obtained this (were) Muttavara's (son) Saruvigōśānga, Kodalsetti's (son) Madāmma, Vijasetti's (son) Dharmanāyga,¹ Manugasāttiya, Sarvavandū² (and) Puleyarima. These ryots obtained (it). (To) him who destroys this, shall be the five great sins (of one) who destroys Śivavalli and Vārāṇasī.

No. 4.—TWO GRANTS OF INDRARAJA III,
SAKA-SAMVAT 836

By D R BHANDARKAR, M A

These two epigraphic documents were first brought to the notice of the students of Indian antiquities by the late H H Dhruva, who published a transcript of them with his remarks in the *Zeitschr. D Morg Ges* Vol XL p 322 ff. They were afterwards edited with lithographs by Dr R G Bhandarkar, with a translation by Mr (now Prof) S R Bhandarkar, in the *Journ Bo Br R As Soc.* Vol XVIII p 253 ff. About three years ago, when Prof Hultzsch first thought of having the inscriptions re-edited in this Journal, no trace whatever of them could be found, and it was on a chance visit to the State Museum at Baroda in 1903 that I saw the plates exhibited there. On my informing Prof Hultzsch of their whereabouts, he asked Rai Bahadur Venkayya to obtain them on loan through the Resident at Baroda from the Curator of the Baroda State Museum, and I re-edit the inscriptions at the suggestion of Prof Hultzsch, and from the excellent ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur Venkayya.

[Along with the two sets of plates, two seals were received from the Resident at Baroda in December 1903. As the seals had been detached from the plates, it was not possible to ascertain which seal belonged to which set. But before returning the plates and seals on the 7th December 1904, I put down some notes about them, of which the following is a copy.]

[The plates measure on an average 13" by 9½". The rings bearing both the seals had been cut before they were received in my office. The larger of the two seals measures about 3" by 2¾". The ring whose ends are secured at the bottom of the seal is 3½" in diameter and ½" thick. The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, as the principal figure, an image of Garuḍa—whose wings are distinctly seen—squating on a seat which is probably meant to consist of two serpents. These appear to entwine his waist and to terminate in his hands, each of which is holding a hood. What looks like his sacred thread is perhaps a third serpent. The Garuḍa faces to the full front and has on his proper right a representation of Ganapati in the upper corner, lower down a *chaṇḍī*, and below it a lamp. On the proper left in the upper corner is a goddess riding on a lion, and below the lion a *śaśitika* surmounted by a *chaṇḍī*. On each side of the head of Garuḍa is a circle which may be meant for the sun and moon. Below the squating Garuḍa is an inscription which is not quite distinct, but which seems to be शिवशिवशिवशिवशिव. Along the margin of the seal is a border of various indistinct emblems, among which a *viṣṇu* and an elephant-goad are recognisable. The emblems on the smaller seal, which measures about 1¼" by 1½", are also cut in relief on a countersunk surface, but are not quite distinct. The central figure is Garuḍa, squating, as in the bigger seal, apparently on a couch consisting of two serpents, which seem to entwine his waist and to terminate in his hands. Each of the hands of Garuḍa appears to hold a hood. What looks like his sacred thread may be a third serpent. To his proper right at the upper corner is a projection which may stand for Ganapati, and below it is a lamp stand. To the proper left at the upper corner is another

¹ See above, p 18, note 3.

² *Is* Sarvabandhu

projection, which is perhaps intended to represent a goddess. Below the goddess is a lamp stand above a *svastika*. The ring whose ends are secured at the bottom of the smaller seal measures 3" in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ " in thickness. Two sets of impressions of each of the two inscriptions were sent to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in August 1903.—V V]

As regards the find-spot of the plates, H. H. Dhruva, who first edited them, says—"On the 6th of July 1881, as a Dubla servant of Mulji Khushal, Patel of Bagumrā, was furrowing the earth with the plough in his field, the ploughshare drew out of it these plates." This clearly shows that the plates were found at Bagumrā, and consequently we must, as was first pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn,¹ speak of them as Bagumrā, and not as Nausāri, charters of A D 915.

Each of the two sets consists of three copper-plates, which are, to judge from the impressions, about 13" long and 9" broad. The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates, and on both sides of the second plate. The engraving is clear and well executed. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters attention may be drawn to *g* in *gatasya* and *svarggam*, l 13, to *ñ* in *lāñchhana*, l 8, and *raññah*, l 13, to *m* in *°m=anyat=pu°*, l 17, *°m=ānandi*, l 37, and *grāmakūṭya*, l 46, to *bh* in *bhūpāh*, l 28, and to *s* in *santarpṇāṇā*, l 57, so far as the first record is concerned, and to *k* in *kānt-ēndu*, l 1, to *kh* in *śamkha*, l 29, to *g* in *saras-āmbhōjā*, l 5, and *jagati*, l 7, and to *bh* in *kaustubha*, l 2, so far as the second record is concerned. The language is Sanskrit throughout. In respect of orthography, the following points may be noticed. The letter *h* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, consonants are doubled after *r*, *visarga* has been (permissibly) omitted once before the following *sth* in *vaksha-sthala*, l 2 of both grants, *n* has been substituted for *ñ* in *kāncā*, l 11 of No II, *visarga* followed by *s* has been at least thrice changed to that letter in *Ranavagrahas=samabhava°*, l 33, *°palakṣitas=siddhramgah*, l 51, and *°lakṣhas=sārdhāh*, l 55 of the second record, *anusūdra* followed by a nasal has been twice changed to that letter in *sammānita*, l 18 of No I and l 20 of No II, and in *gōp-āngandān=nayana*, l 6 of No I, the dental nasal has been used instead of an *anusūdra* before *s* in *sānati*, l 25 of No I and l 27 of No II. Lastly, the same word is spelt *lāñchhana* in No I. l 8, but *lāncchana* in No II l 9.

Each of these two records registers the grant of a village to a Brāhmana, made by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III or, as he is described in lines 43-45 of No II, 'the P.M.P., the prosperous Nityavarshananarendradēva, who meditated on the feet of the P.M.P., the prosperous Akālavarshadēva,' i.e. his grandfather Kṛṣṇa II. Indra III had, when the grants were made, gone to Kurundaka from his capital Mānyakhēta for the *paṭṭabandha*² festival. On that occasion he had himself weighed against gold, and, without coming out from the pan, gave away, together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drammas*, Kurundaka and other villages, granted afresh four hundred villages resumed by previous rulers, and finally bestowed the village of Tenna, according to No II, on a Brāhmana of the Lakshmana *gōtra*, a student of the Vāṇi-Mādhyandina *sākhā*, and named Siddhapabbhatta, the son of Śrī-Vennapabbhatta, originally of Pātaliputra; and the village of Umvarā (or Umbarā), according to No. I, on a Brāhmana of the same *gōtra* and student of the same *sākhā* as the above grantee, but named Prabhākaraḥbhatta, the son of Rānapabbhatta. The charters are dated, in words, on the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna of the Yuva-samvatṣara, the Śaka year 836 (expired), which corresponds to the 24th February A.D. 915.

After the introductory *ōm svasti* and the opening verse invoking the protection of Viṣṇu and Śiva with which almost all the Rāshtrakūṭa grants begin, we have verse 2 in praise of

¹ See above, Appendix to Vol VII p. 15, note 5.

² For the meaning of this word see above, Vol. VII p. 27, note 2.

the god Krishna. In the verse following we find Indiarājadeva (III), the royal grantor of the charters, compared to the god Upēndra (Vishnu). In verse 4 we are informed that the god Brahman sprang from the water-lily in the navel of Vishnu, from Brahman his son Atm, from Atm the Moon, and from the Moon the dynasty of the Yadus, where Krishna was born. In the next verse we are told that there arose king Dantidurga in the Sātyaki branch of the Yadu dynasty, to whom of herself reposed the goddess of sovereignty of the Chālukya family. This means that Dantidurga was the first Rāshtrakūta king who defeated the Chālukyas and made himself master of their dominions. From verse 6, if we notice the *double entendre* clearly intended, we learn that Dantidurga first reduced the lowermost, i.e. southern, country, then turned his arms against the *Madhyadīpa*, and finally conquered the city of Kañchi. According to an inscription in the Daśavatara cave at Elurā,¹ Dantidurga subdued the rulers of Kañchi, Kalinga, Kōsala, Śisala, Mālava, Lāta, Tanka, and so forth. If we are right in understanding verse 6 as we have done, Dantidurga first gained victories in the South and conquered the kings of Śiśāila, Kalinga, and so forth, then turned to the central part of India and subjugated the princes of Kōsala, Mālava, Lāta, and so forth, and finally came back again to the South and vanquished the lord of Kañchi.

Verse 8 tells us that after Dantidurga his paternal uncle Krishnarāja (I) came to the throne. The next verse makes mention of his son Nirupama-(Dhruva), but omits the name of his elder brother Govinda II, probably because the author of the inscription wanted to give a direct genealogy of the royal grantor, with reference to whom Govinda II was a collateral prince, while he mentioned the name of Dantidurga as the latter was the founder of the dynasty. But by no means can this omission be taken as favouring the view that Govinda II did not reign. I have elsewhere adduced reasons for dissenting from this view,² and in support of my position may now be stated the incontrovertible fact that the Dhulā copper-plate grant³ of Govinda II's nephew and feudatory Suvarnavashta-Kaika distinctly refers itself to his reign, and gives the date Śaka 701, when we must consequently suppose Govinda II, to have been alive and wielding supremacy. Verse 10 informs us that Nirupama-(Dhruva) won two white parasols in battle, one from the lord of Kōsala and the other from the king of the North. Who these princes were we have no means to determine. But it looks tempting to identify the king of the North either with the Indrāyudha mentioned in the *Jama Harivamsa*, or with Chakrāyudha, the ruler of Kanauj and contemporary of Dharmapāla of the Pala, and of Govinda III. of the Rāshtrakūta, dynasty.⁴

Verse 11 says that from Nirupama-(Dhruva) sprang Jagattunga-(Govinda III), who, in his turn, beget Śrivallabha-(Amoghavarsha I). The next verse tells us that Amoghavarsha

¹ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. V* p. 88.

² *Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. S. Vol. XX* p. 133 f.

³ Above, Vol. VIII p. 133.

⁴ In an unpublished grant of Amoghavarsha I in the possession of my brother Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, two princes of the names of Chakrāyudha and Dharmā are mentioned as having gone to the Himalayas to do homage to Govinda III who had gone thither on an expedition of conquest. It can hardly be seriously doubted that Dharmā is Dharmapāla, the second prince of the Pala dynasty, and that Chakrāyudha is the same as the Chakrāyudha of the Biāgalpur grant, whom Dharmapāla restored to his lost throne. Prof. Kiehlhorn (*Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1905, p. 303) has already identified this Chakrāyudha with the Chakrāyudha of the Gwalior inscription, who was conquered by Nāgabhatta. Nāgabhatta again was a contemporary of Govinda III (*Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. S. Vol. XXI* p. 422, note 2). We have thus four princes, viz. Govinda III, Nāgabhatta, Chakrāyudha and Dharmapāla, who were contemporaries. We know from Rāshtrakūta records that Govinda III reigned from A.D. 794 to 813. We must, therefore, suppose Dharmapāla to have flourished about this time. As this synchronism was not known before, it was but right to assign Dharmapāla to A.D. 861, the date of the Pāṭhārī inscription referring itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūta prince Parāśila (*Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1901, p. 525 f.). But now we see that this date would be rather too late for Dharmapāla. Besides, there is nothing to show that this Parāśila is a matter of fact identical with Parāśila, the father-in-law of Dharmapāla.

I. raised the glory of the Ratta sovereignty immersed in the ocean of the Chalukyas and thereafter assumed the epithet *Vīranārāyaṇa*. If we read between the lines, we cannot fail to notice that the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereignty had been shaken by the Chalukyas of Vēṅgi to its very foundations in the early part of Amōghavaṁsha's reign. The Chalukya contemporary of Amōghavaṁsha I was Narēṇḍiamrigarāja-Vijayāditya II,¹ who, in an Eastern Chalukya record, is represented to have fought, during twelve years, by day and night, a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the Gangas and the Rattas. The latter can be no other than the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkḥēd, and it thus appears that Narēṇḍiamrigarāja-Vijayāditya II was a powerful king. We can, therefore, very well understand that he might have for a time eclipsed the glory of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Amōghavaṁsha I, however, was by no means slow to retrieve his lost reputation, and seems to have wreaked a terrible vengeance upon the Chalukyas, whom, as verse 13 informs us, he destroyed, just as a man burns chick-pea plants, the stalks of which have been pulled out by the root. That he inflicted a severe defeat on the Eastern Chalukyas can also be seen from the Cambay and Śāṅgīi charters,² in which he is said to have gratified the god Yama with unprecedented morsels of cakes which were the Chalukyas. Verse 13 incidentally gives us the information, if my interpretation is correct, that the Chalukyas whom Amōghavaṁsha I vanquished had devastated *Stambapura*, which is the same as *Tamralūpta*, identified with the modern *Tamlūk*, the head-quarters of the subdivision of the same name of the Midnapur district, Bengal.

From Śrīvallabha (-Amōghavaṁsha I), who was a comet of destruction to the Chalukya family (v 14), sprang *Kṛṣṇnarāja (II)*, whose fights with the *Gūjjaras* used to be still remembered by old men, as we are informed in verse 15. I have elsewhere pointed out that the *Gūjjaras*, with whom the Rāshtrakūṭas were often at war, ruled over Northern India and had their capital at *Mahōdaya* or *Kanauj*, and consequently the *Gūjjara* prince defeated by *Kṛṣṇnarāja II* (A D 888-911) must have been *Mahēndrapāla* (A D 899-907), the patron of the poet *Rājasēkhara*.

Kṛṣṇnarāja II, had a son of the name of *Jagattunga* (v 16), who married *Lakṣmī*, the daughter of *Ranavīgraha*, the son of *Kokkalla* of the *Hahaya*, i.e. *Kalachuri*, dynasty (vv 17-19). It is worthy of note that *Ranavīgraha* is here called *Chēdīśvara*, i.e. lord of *Chēdī*. The same fact is hinted by a verse in *Jahlana's Śāhityamuktāvalī*, quoted by Dr. Bhandarkar in his paper on the *Karḥād* plates of *Kṛṣṇa III*,³ which purports to say that of rivers the *Narmadā*, of kings *Ranavīgraha*, and of poets *Suśānanda* were the ornaments of *Chēdī*. The name *Ranavīgraha* does not occur in the list of the names of the *Kalachuris* of *Chēdī*. From a *Ratanpur* inscription,⁴ however, we learn that *Kokkalla* had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was a ruler of *Tripurā*, and the others lords of *mandalas*, i.e. minor chiefs. If this statement deserves any credence, *Ranavīgraha*, being a ruler of *Tripurā*, i.e. of *Chēdī*, and not of a *maṇḍala*, was the eldest son, and the successor of *Kokkalla*. But from the *Benares* copper-plate inscription⁵ it appears that *Kokkalla* was followed by his son *Mugdhātunga-Prasiddhachavala*. We may, therefore, suppose that *Ranavīgraha* and *Mugdhātunga-Prasiddhachavala* were one and the same prince.

The issue of the marriage of *Jagattunga* with *Lakṣmī* was *Indrarāja (III)*, whose epithets *Ratta-Kandarpadēva* and *Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa* are mentioned in verses 20 and 21. The next verse contains a *double entendre*, and so far as its mythological sense goes, it does not present any difficulty. But the historical sense of this verse is by no means clear. This much is certain that it records the defeat of a king of the name of *Upēndra* by the Rāshtrakūṭa prince *Indrarāja III*. But who this *Upēndra* was and how the epithets *Kandarpadēva*

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol XX p 100² Above, Vol IV p 280³ Above, Vol VII p 43, *Ind. Ant.* Vol XII p 252 f⁴ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p 33.⁵ *Id.* Vol. II, p 301.

Gôvardhan-âdâhâra and *hâl-ônâmlita-Mêru*, used in connection with the kings Upendra and Indrarâja respectively, are to be interpreted, is far from clear. At one time I thought that Upendra referred to Mahipâla of the Pratihâra dynasty of Mahôdaya, for whom I then contended that the Bhâgalpur grant of the Pâla dynasty gave the other name Chakrâyudha.¹ But I have stated above that, beyond all doubt, Dharmapâla and Chakrâyudha, whom he re-instated on the throne, were contemporaries of the Râshtrakûta prince Gôvinda III.² Chakrâyudha cannot, therefore, be identified with Mahipâla, who was a contemporary of Indra III., the great-great-grandson of Gôvinda III. According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji,³ the word *Mêru* in the expression *hâl-ônâmlita-Mêru* signifies *Mêra* or *Mêhra*, and the whole expression speaks of the defeat of some contemporary Mêhra king of North Kâthiâwâd by Indrarâja III. Prof Kielhorn, on the other hand, holds that *Mêru* probably is Mahôdaya,⁴ i.e. Kanauj, implying thereby that it records the capture of Kanauj by Indrarâja III. specified in the Singli charter. With regard to the other expression, *us krita-Gôvardhan-âdâhâra*, no interpretation has been proposed, and we must wait for the publication of other inscriptions to enable us to understand perfectly the historical sense of this verse.

In the preamble of the prose passage preceding the formal part of the inscription, the P. M. P. *Śrīman-Nityavarshanaśrīndradêva*, i.e. Indrarâja III., is spoken of as "meditating on the feet" of the P. M. P. *Śrīmad-Akâlavarshadêva*, i.e. his grandfather Krishna II. This indicates that Jagattuṅga, the father of Indrarâja III., did not come to the throne. The same may be concluded from the statement of our inscriptions that the battles of Kṛṣṇarâja II were remembered and described by old men in Indra III.'s time. This shows that hardly a generation had passed since the occurrence of that event, and that consequently there was no Râshtrakûta sovereign intervening between Kṛṣṇa II. and Indra III. The same conclusion is pointed to by the fact that the Khirêpâtan grant of Rattarâja,⁵ in setting forth the Râshtrakûta genealogy, takes the succession direct from Kṛṣṇa II to Indra III., and refers to Jagattuṅga only further on as the father of Amoghavarsha-Vaddiga. But our conclusion is placed beyond all doubt by the Dôlî and Karhâd plates of Krishna III.,⁶ which distinctly speak of Jagattuṅga as having died without obtaining the sovereignty.

The composer of our inscriptions was Trivikramabhatta, the son of Nêmaditya. There can hardly be a doubt that he is identical with Trivikramabhatta, the author of the *Nalachampâ*, of the Śândilya *gôtra*, and the son of Nêmaditya (var. *lect* Dêvâditya).⁷ Another *Śândilya-kavi-chakravartin* Trivikrama was the sixth ancestor of the astronomer Bhâskaraabhatta, a contemporary of king Bhôja of Dhârâ. The oldest mention of Trivikrama is in Bhôja's *Sarasvatikanthâbharana*, while he himself quotes Bâna. The authorship of a *Maddalâs-champâ* is also attributed to this Trivikrama.

As regards the localities mentioned in the grants, Pâtâliputra from where the grantee of No. II emigrated is obviously Pâtâ, the principal town of the district of the same name in Bengal, and Mânyakhêta, the capital of the royal grantor, is Mâlkhêd in the Nizam's Dominions. Kurundaka, where Indrarâja III. had repaired for his *paṭṭabandha*, was first identified by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson with Kurundwâd at the junction of the Krishna and Pañchagangâ in the Southern Marâtha country.⁸ In No. I the village granted is Umvarâ (or Umbarâ) near Kammanijja in the country of Lâta, and the boundaries specified are Tôlêjaka to E, Môgalikâ to S., Samki to W., and Javalakûpaka to N. Umvarâ as was first pointed

¹ Above, Vol. VII p. 32.

² See above, p. 26, note 4.

³ *History of Gujardt*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I Part I p. 130.

⁴ See above, Appendix to Vol. VIII p. 16, note 2.

⁵ Above, Vol. III p. 298.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV p. 283, Vol. V p. 198.

⁷ Weber, *Berlin Catalogue*, Vol. II p. 1205.

⁸ *History of Gujardt*, p. 130, note 3.

out by Dr Bhandarkar, is the modern Bagumrā, with the prefix *bag*¹ Tōlējaka and Mōgahkā cannot be identified, but Samkī and Javalakūpaka are Sanki, one mile S W of Bagumrā, and Jolwa, one and a half mile N of Bagumrā. In No II the village granted is Tenna near Kammanijja, and the boundaries specified are Vāradapallikā (or Bārada) to E, Nāmbhitātaka to S, Valīśā (or Balīśā) to W, and Vavviyana (or Babhuyana) to N. They have been identified with Ten, Bārdoli, Nadīda, Wanesa and Baben respectively. Kammanijja, in the vicinity of which lay both the villages granted, is Kāmrej. All these villages are to be found in the Nausāri division of the Baroda State. The Bagumrā grant of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruva II mentions Trennā, both as a village and a territorial division, and speaks of the village of Trennā as having been bestowed upon a certain Brāhmana by his grandfather Dhruva I (A D 834-35). "The explanation of its being given away again by the present record," as Dr Fleet has rightly said, "is, no doubt, to be found in the statement, made in the present record, that Indra III gave away four hundred villages which had been confiscated by previous kings, this was evidently one of them."²

TEXT³ OF No I.

First Plate

- 1 स्तस्ति⁴ [॥] स⁵ वोव्याद्देधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलकृतम् ॥ [१*] जयति⁶
- 2 विवुधवन्मुखिर्व्यविस्तारिवचस्थलविमलविलोलकौस्तुभः कंसकेतुः । मुखसरसिज-
रङ्गे यस्य नृ-
- 3 त्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते कटाक्षाः ॥ [२*] स⁷ जयति
भुजदण्डसञ्चयश्रीः समर-
- 4 समुद्भुतदुर्हरारिचक्रः । अपहृतवलिमण्डलो⁸ नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराज-
देवः ॥ [३*]
- 5 अस्ति¹⁰ शोनाथनाभिस्फुरद्[र]सरसाशोभजन्मा स्वयम्भू(1)स्तस्मादधिः सु-
तोभृदमृतकरपरिस्थ-
- 6 न्द¹¹ इन्दुस्ततोपि । तस्माद्[शो] यदूनां जगति स ववृधे यस्य तैस्तैर्वि-
लासैः शार्ङ्गि गोपाङ्गनानाद्-
- 7 यनकुवलयैरर्च्यमानश्चचार ॥ [४*] [त]न्नाम्ये¹² विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा शोद-
न्तिदुर्गाष्टप-
- 8 तिः पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलधेः¹³ स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्यं शंखचक्र[कर]-
लाञ्छन-

¹ Journ Bo Br R A S Vol XVIII p 256² Ind Ant Vol XXXI, p 396³ From inked stampages supplied to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya⁴ The * is not well formed⁵ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)⁶ Metre Mālini⁷ Read विवुधवन्मुखि⁹⁸ Metre Pushpitāgrā⁹ Read 'वसि'¹⁰ Metre Sragdharā¹¹ Read 'परिचन्द'¹² Metre . Vasantatilakā, and of the next verse.¹³ Read 'वसि',

- 9 साजगाम ॥ [५*] क[त्वा]स्पदं हृदयहारिजघन्यभागे खैरं पुनर्मृदु
च मध्यदे-
10 शं [१*] यस्यासमस्य [सम]रे वसुवाङ्मनायाः कांचीपदे प[द]मकारि
भूयः । [६*] आ^१ सेतोः सातुव-
11 प्रभवत्कपि[कुलो]मूनफुल्ल[मव]ङ्गादा [कौला]साङ्गवानोचलच[र]णरणा
आदितान्तात् ।
12 यस्याङ्गा भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिल[म्बो]लिमालायमानमानमैरुतमाङ्गि-
तललुठञ्जा-
13 नवो मानयन्ति ॥ [७*] जित्वा^२ जगन्निजभुजे[न पु]नर्जिगीषोः स्वर्गं रं
मिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः । तत्रा-
14 भवत्परमधानि पदे पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजपतिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ [८*]
कुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्र-
15 भंगलीलाय[म]ानवनविस्तृतकान्तकीर्तिः । श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलगैलमलंकरिणो^३
दभू-
16 त्रिरुपमो निरवद्यशीर्यः ॥ [९*] कीर्तिः^४ कुन्दरुचः^५ समस्तभुवनप्रस्थान
सितो लक्ष्म्याः

Second Plate, First Side

- 17 लक्ष्म्याः^६ पाणितले विलासकमल पूर्णन्दुविम्बद्युति^७ । एकं कपितक्ते
शरकरादाच्छिन्नमन्यत्पु-
18 नयेनीदीचनराधिपायश इव श्वेतातपत्र^८ रणे ॥ [१०*] तस्माज्जिमे^९
क्षुणी जम्ब सम्मानि-
19 त[द्विज]ः । सोपि श्रीवल्लभं सलुं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ [११*] नि^{१०}
[य]क्षलुक्काक्षी^{११} रट्टराज्यधि-
20 यं पुनः [१*] पृथ्वीमिवोद्वरन्वीरी^{१२} वीरनारायणोभवत् ॥ [१२*] समूलोन्मूर्ति
स्तम्बान्दण्डनानी-^{१३}
21 तकण्टकः । ^{१४}योदहदेषिणश्चण्डचलुक्काधणकानिव ॥ [१३*] ^{१५}[उक्षेधलु]क्का^{१६} इ
कन्दलकालके-

^१ Metre Śrāṅgharā

^२ Read 'प्रवल'

^३ Metre Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse

^४ One of the two circles of the *visarga* has been omitted

^५ The repetition of this word is superfluous

^६ Corrected by the engraver from 'श्वेतातपत्र'

^७ Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and of the next two verses.

^८ 'वीरी' is also possible.

^९ Read 'साम्ना'.

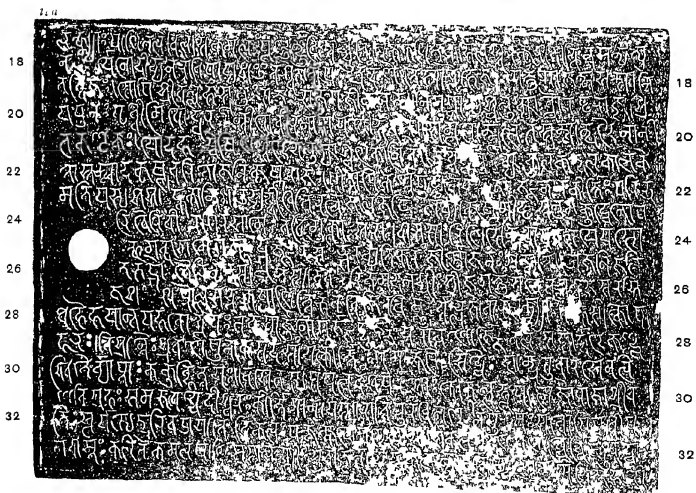
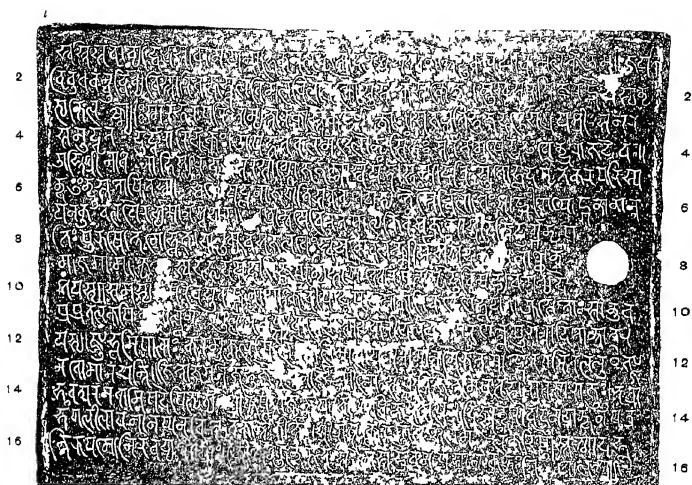
^{१०} Metre: Vasantatilakā.

^{११} Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^{१२} Read 'विष्'.

^{१३} Read 'क्षाम्नी'.

^{१४} Read 'दहदेषि'.



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- 22 तोस्तस्मादक्षयचरितोजनि क्षणराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुटकैर[स]क्लन्ने[न]
कीर्त्तिः परिभ-
23 मति यस्य शशाङ्कान्तिः ॥ [१४*] 'उद्यद्दोधितिरत्नजालजटिलं व्याकृष्टमी-
दृग्धनुः (i) कुष्ठेनोप-
24 रि वैरिवीरशिरसामेवं विमुक्ताः शराः । धारासारिणि से[न्द्र]चापवलये यस्ये-
25 ल्य[म]न्दागमे^१ ग[र्ज्ज]द्गुर्ज्ज[र]सङ्करव्यतिकरं जीरणीं जनः श[न्स]ति^२ ॥ [१५*]
अजनि^३ जनि-
26 तमङ्गो वैरिद्व[न्द]स्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्रीः श्रीजगत्सुग[दि]वः । ध्व[ज]सरसि-
27 जशंखमोक्षसङ्क्रपाणिर्विभवविजितविष्णुर्वल्लभो वीर[ल]क्ष्म्याः ॥ [१६*] 'आ-
सीत्कोप्य-
28 य हैहयान्वयभवो भू[प]ः 'स[ह]स्रार्जुनो गर्ज्जद्गुर्ज्ज[र]यरावणोर्जितलसद्दोर्हण्ड-
कण्डू-
29 हरः । विश्रान्तेः श्वणेषु नाकसदसां यत्कीर्त्तिनामाक्षरैः सिद्धैः सान्द्रसुधा-
रसेन लि-
30 खितैर्व्याप्ताः ककुब्भित्तयः^४ ॥ [१७*] वंशे तस्य सपन्नवंशपरशोः कोक्कलभूपा-
त्मजो^५ राजा श्रीर-
31 ण्विग्रहः समभवच्छेदीश्वरः कीर्त्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरंभिमण्डनसुपः सर्वोपि
पृथ्वीप-
32 तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयाति विकलः पक्ष्मये मण्डलम् ॥ [१८*] 'सकलगुण-
गणाञ्चैर्विष्णुरहा-^६
33 मधाम्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुक्कलकुसुदेन्दुः
सुन्दरीचित्तहारी
Second Plate, Second Side.
34 हरिरिव परिणिन्ये तां जगत्सुगदेवः ॥ [१९*] चतुर्दधितटा[न्त]व्यातश्रीर्यैथि
ताभ्यामभवदरि-
35 घरदो रट्कन्दर्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां सकल-
जनशरणः पु-
36 ष्यलावण्यराशिः ॥ [२०*] ^{११}मदनममृतविन्दुस्यन्दमिन्दोश्च विव्धं^{१२} नवनलिनमृणालं
चन्दनं चन्द्रिकां

^१ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.^२ Read मंसति.^३ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita, and of the next verse.^४ The first *sa* is not well-formed and looks almost like *sa*.^५ The letter *ma* is not well-formed.^६ Read 'गणाञ्चैर्विष्णुरहा'.^७ Read 'सन्दागमे^८ Metre: Mālinī.^९ Read ककुब्भित्तयः.^{१०} Metre: Mālinī; and of the next two verses.^{११} Read 'विन्दु'.^{१२} Read विव्धं.

- 37 च । अपरमपि यदीयैर्लज्जनिर्म्माणशेषैरणुभिरिव चकार स्पष्ट[म]ानन्दे वेधाः
॥ [२१*] देवो¹
- 38 ²यश्चतुरसुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वभरामाक्रामन्नजिविक्रमेण सम्भूत³ श्रीकीर्ति-
नारा-
- 39 यणः [१*] श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः स[मं] विधिषां दैन्यं
वक्त्ररुचौ मनांसि च भ-
- 40 यं सेवांजलिं मौल्यः ॥ [२२*] ⁴कृतगोवर्द्धनोद्धारं [३]लोभ्यूलितमेवशा ।
उपेन्द्र-
- 41 मिन्द्रराजिन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ [२३*] ⁵सकलजननमस्यः सोय
क[ल]ा नमस्या-
- 42 श्रुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगायहारान् । उपरि पर[श]रामस्त्यैकुग्रामदान-
- 43 स्फुरितगुणगरिम्णस्त्र्यागकीर्त्या बभूव⁶ ॥ [२४*] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराज-
धिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 44 रश्मिदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजधिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 45 श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभश्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानेव यथासंवध्य⁷
- 46 ⁸मानाद्राष्ट्रपतिपिषयपतिग्रामकूटयुक्तकानियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादी-
- 47 श्ममादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमान्यखेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीप-
- 48 द्दवन्धाय⁹ कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया मातापितृरालनश्चैष्टिकामुषिकपुण्य-

Third Plate.

- 49 यशोभिष्टव्ये (1) लक्ष्मणगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसन्नपन्नचारिणे¹⁰ राषपभट्टसुताय
- 50 प्रभाकरभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गतकम्पणिल्लसमीपे उम्बरानामग्रामः यस्य पृ-
- 51 र्वतः तोलेजकं दक्षिणतो भोगलिका पश्चिमतः संकीग्राम उत्तर[ती]
जवलकूपकमे-
- 52 वमाघाटचतुष्टयोपलक्षितः सीद्वंगः सपरिकरः सदण्डदशा[प]राधः सोत्पद्यमान-
- 53 पिष्टिकः¹¹ सधान्यहिरण्यादेयोभ्यन्तरसि[द्धा] पूर्वदेवन्नदायरहितः¹² शकनृप-
काला-
- 54 तीत[सं]वत्सरशतेव्वष्टासु¹³ षट्चिंशदुत्तरपु [यु]वसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां संपन्ने

¹ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

² Read "रन्तु"

³ Read सम्भूती⁰

⁴ Metre Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh)

⁵ Metre Māhni

⁶ Read बभूव.

⁷ Read "संवध्य"

⁸ This and appears to have been first inadvertently omitted and then engraved quite close to the rim

⁹ Read "वन्धाय"

¹⁰ Read "सन्नपन्न"

¹¹ Read "पिष्टिकः"

¹² Read "त्राशु".

¹³ The inner stroke of sh in shva is wanting

- 55 श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्सवे¹ तुष्ठापुरुषमास्त्र तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुसुन्दकादीन्यामान्
 56 अन्यान्यपि² पूर्वपृथ्वीपालवि[लु]प्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रुम-
 लक्षैस्सा-
 57 र्जैः सह विप्रेभ्यो विसृज्य³ वलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथि[सं]तर्पणार्थम(र)-
 58 द्योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोऽस्योचितया⁴ ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुंजतो [भो]जयतः क्षपतः
 59 कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदस्यापि परिपथना कार्या [।*] तथा-
 गामिभिरस्म-
 60 ंहंशैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषोयमस्मद्ब्रह्मदायो-
 नुमन्त-⁵
 61 व्यः [।*] यथाज्ञानाज्ञोपयति स पंचभिर्माहापातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तं च
 भगवता व्यासेन ॥ ष-
 62 टि⁷ वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
 तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [२५*] सा-
 63 मान्योय⁸ धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्मा-
 विनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
 64 भूयो भूयो [य]ाचते रामभद्रः ॥ [२६*] श्रीविविक्रमभट्टेन नेमादित्यस्य
 स्रुतना कृता प्रशस्त्येय श्री [॥*]

TEXT OF No. II.

First Plate.

- 1 श्री स्वस्ति । स वीर्याहेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य
 [का]न्तेन्दुकलया कम-
 2 लकृतम् ॥ [१*] जयति ¹⁰विबुधवन्धुर्व्विन्ध्यविस्तारिवक्षस्थलविमलविलोलक्री-
 स्तुभः कंस-
 3 तुः¹¹ । सुखसरसिजरङ्गे यस्य नृत्यंति लक्ष्म्याः स्म[र]भरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते
 कटा-
 4 स्ताः ॥ [२*] स जयति भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समरसमुद्भुत[दु]र्हरारिचक्रः ।
 अपहृतवल्लिम-¹²

¹ Read °बन्धोत्सवे⁴ Read ब्रह्म°⁶ Read °सादब्रह्म°⁸ Metre Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); this verse was left incomplete for want of space¹⁰ Read विबुधवन्धु°.² Read °सामान्यान्यपि⁶ Corrected by the engraver from °होश्र्ये°.⁷ Metre Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh)¹¹ Read कसकेतु³ Read बलि°⁸ Metre. Śālini.¹² Read °बलि°.

- 5 ण्डलो नृसिंहः सततसुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥ [३*] अस्ति श्रीनाथनाभि-
स्फुरदुत्तरसंभोज(१)-
- 6 जन्मा [ख]यभूस्तस्मादभिः सुतोभूदमृतकरपरिस्पन्द^१ इन्दुस्ततोपि । त[स्मा]-
हंशो यदूनां
- 7 जगति स ववृधे यत्र तैस्तैर्विंलासैः शार्ङ्गी गोपाङ्ग[नानां] नयनकु-
वलयै-
- 8 रर्चमानश्चचार ॥ [४*] तच्चान्वये विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग-
नृपतिः
- 9 पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलघेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्यं शं[ख]चक्रकरलाङ्क-
- 10 न[म]जगाम ॥ [५*] कल्पास्पदं हृदयहारिजवन्द्यदेशे स्वरं पुनर्हृदु विमर्द्य
च मध्यदेश ।
- 11 यस्यासम[स्य] समरे वसुधाङ्गनायाः ^२काचपीपदे पदमकारि करेण भूयः
॥ [६*] आ सेतोः सा-
- 12 ^३नुवप्रप्रवलकपिकु[लो]लूनफुल्लवङ्गादा ^४कैलासाङ्ग[वा]नीचलचरणरत्नपुरो-
- 13 द्वादिदान्तात् । यस्याङ्गा भूमिप्राप्ताः करसुकुलमिलसौ[लि]मालायमा-
नामानमैव-
- 14 त्माङ्गैरवनितलसुलज्जानवो मानयन्ति ॥ [७*] जिला जगन्निजभुजेन पुनर्जि-
गीषोः स्वर्ग
- 15 विजितुमिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः । (i) तच्चाभवत्परमधात्रि पदे पितृभ्यः
श्रीलक्ष्णराजनृप-
- 16 तिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ [८*] दिक्सुन्दरोवदनचान्दनपचभंगलीलायमानवनविस्तार-
[का]न्तकी-

Second Plate, First Side

- 17 तैः [१*] श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलंकरिणोस्तस्मादभून्निरुपमो विहवयशैर्यः
॥ [२*] कीर्तैः कु-
- 18 न्दरुचः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुम्भः सितो लक्ष्म्याः पाणितले विलासकमलं पूर्ण-
- 19 न्दुविम्बयुति^१ । एकं कपितकोसलीचरकरादाच्छिन्नमन्यत्पु[न]र्जिगीदीधनरा-
धिपाद्य-
- 20 य इव ज्ञेतातपचं रणे ॥ [१०*] तस्मात्तेभ्यो जगत्सुज्ञो जन्म सप्तानि-
तद्विजः । सोपि श्रीवत्त-

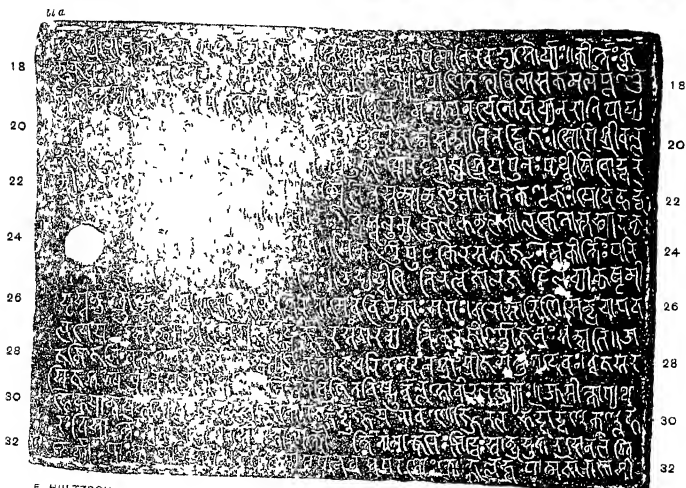
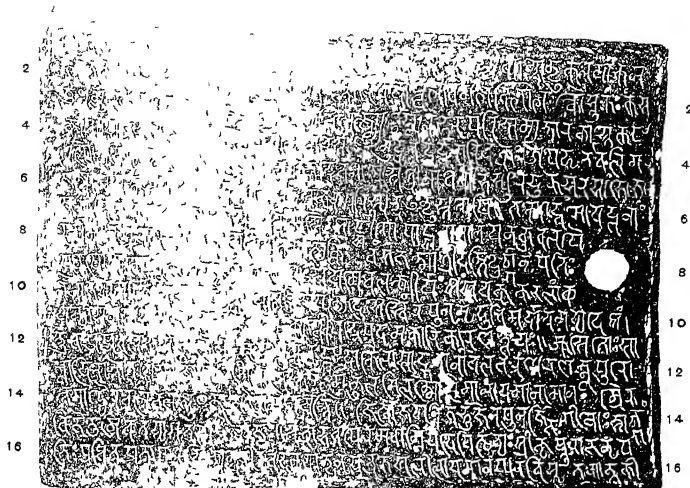
^१ Read 'परिस्पन्द'.

^२ Read 'हवाणी'.

^३ Read 'काचपी'.

^४ Read 'विन्द'.

^५ Read 'प्रमत्त'.



E. HULTZSCH

SCALE 45

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH

- 36 हरिरिव परिणिन्धे तां जगत्पुङ्गवदेवः ॥ [१८*] चतुर्दधितटान्तव्यातश्रौर्था^३
ताभ्याम[भ]व-
- 37 दरिघरट्टो रष्टकन्दर्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां 'सवाल-
जनशरणः पु-
- 38 खलावखराशिः ॥ [२०*] देवो 'यश्चतुरस्रुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वभरामाक्रा-
मन्निजविक्रमेण स-
- 39 मभूत् श्रीकीर्तिनारायणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः समं
विहिषां
- 40 दैन्यं वक्त्ररुचो मनांसि च भयं सेवांजलिं मौल्यः ॥ [२१*] कृतगो-
वर्षनोद्धारं हेलो-
- 41 न्मूलितमेरुणा [*] उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ [२२*]
सकलजनममस्यः^४
- 42 सोय कृत्वा नमस्यान्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगायहाराना^५ उपरि परशुरामस्यैक-
- 43 कुग्रामदानस्फुरितगुणगरिम्णस्व्यागकीर्त्या बभूव^६ ॥ [२३*] स च परमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधिराज-
- 44 परमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 45 श्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशलो सर्वानिव 'यथासवध्यमानकादाश्रपतिविषयपति-
ग्राम-
- 46 कूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा
श्रीमान्य-
- 47 खेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्सवाय^७ कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया माता-
पित्रोरात्म-
- 48 नवैहिकास्तुभिरागपुण्ययशोभिद्वयै (i) लक्ष्मणसगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसन्नप्राचा^८

Third Plate.

- 49 रिणे पाटलिपुत्रविनिर्गत[श्रीवेङ्क]पभट्टसुताय सिद्धपभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गत-
कम्यणिज्ज-
- 50 समीपे तेन्ननामग्रामः [*] यस्य पूर्वतो वारडपञ्जिका [*] दक्षिणतो
नाभोतटकं [*] पश्चिमतो वलो-

^३ Read सकल

^४ Read 'जनममस्य'.

^५ Read 'संवध्य'.

^६ Read 'रसु'.

^७ Read 'हरान्'.

^८ Read 'वन्धो'.

^९ Read समसुज्जो'.

^{१०} Read वभूव

^{११} Read 'सन्नप्रा'.

- 51 शा [1*] उत्तरतो वव्वियणग्रामः [1*] एवमा[घा]टचतुष्टयोपलक्षितसोद्वंगः
सपरिकर[ः] सदण्ड-
- 52 दशापराधः सोत्यद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहि[र]ण्णा[दे*]योभ्यन्तरसिद्धा शकनृप-
कालातीतसंवत्सर-
- 53 शतेवष्टासु षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरिषु युवसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां संपन्ने श्रीपट्टबन्धोत्स-¹
- 54 वे तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन् ग्रामानन्यान्यपि पूर्व-
दृष्ट्वोपासवि-
- 55 लुप्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रुमलक्षैस्सार्धैः सह विमुच्य 'वलि-
चरुवैश्वदेवाग्नि-
- 56 ह्योचातिथिसंतर्पणार्थम् (1) द्योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोस्योचितया 'ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या
- 57 भुंजतो भोजयतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदल्पापि
परि-
- 58 पयना कार्या [1*] तथागामिभिर्भद्रनृपतिभिरस्मदंशैरन्यैर्व्या सामान्यं
भूमिदानफल-
- 59 मवेत्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषोद्यम[स्म]द्ब्रह्मदायोतुमन्त्यः⁴ [1*] यश्चाज्ञानाज्ञोपयति
स पंचभिर्मम-⁵
- 60 पातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादु[क्तं] च भगवता व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे
तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आ[च्छे]-
- 61 ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकौ वसेत् ॥ [२४*] अ[ग्ने]रपत्यं पथम्⁵
सुवर्णं भूर्वर्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च [गा]-
- 62 वः [1*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्दि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥
[२५*] सामान्यो[यं] धर्मसेतुर्दृष्टपाणां
- 63 कालि कालि पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानिताम्नाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो
याचते रामभद्रः ॥ [२६*]
- 64 श्रीचिविभ्रमभटेन [त्रि]मादित्यस्य सनुना । कृता शस्ता प्रशस्त्यमिन्द्रराजां-
प्रतिसेविना ॥ [२७*] श्रीः [1*]

TRANSLATION OF No. II.

Om. Hail!

(Verse 1) May he (Vishnu), the water-lily (*springing from*) whose navel was made (*his*)
abode by Vêdhas (Brahman), protect you, and Hara (Śiva) whose head is adorned by the beauti-
ful crescent of the moon¹

¹ Read °बन्धो°.⁴ Read °अरुन्नम°.² Read वलि°.⁵ Read प्रथम°.³ Read ब्रह्म°.

(V 2) Victorious is (Krishna) (*who is*) the comet (*of destruction*) to Kamsa (*and is*) the friend of the gods, on whose chest, extensive as the Vindhya (*mountain*), dangles the pure Kaustubha, (*and*) on the stage of whose lotus like face dance the side-glances of Lakshmi, with the pupils (*of her eyes*) languid through excess of love¹

(V 3) E 1 victorious is the king Indraraja (III), whose long arms (*were made her*) refuge by the goddess of Wealth, who has rooted out in battles the circle of (*his*) enemies difficult to withstand, who has seized the territories of the mighty, (*and who is*) the lion (*i.e.* the best) among men, just as Upendra (Vishnu) is ever victorious, whose long arms (*were made her*) support by (*the goddess*) Lakshmi, who held up in battles (*his*) discus bearing spokes and difficult to resist, who carried off Bah and (*his*) legions (*to Padma*), (*and who was*) a man-lion (*in his fourth incarnation*)

(V 4) The self-existent (Brahman) was born of the wide and blooming water-lily springing from the navel of (Vishnu) the lord of all, of him was born (*his*) son Atin, (*and*) of him again (*i.e.* of Atin) the Moon that overflows with rays of nectar. From him there grew on earth the lineage of the Yadus, amongst whom (*at one time*) flourished (Vishnu) the wielder of the Śakra (born) (*in his eighth incarnation as Krishna*), who was worshipped by the lotus-eyes of cowherdresses with every kind of flattery.

(V 5) In that family there arose the illustrious king Dantidurga, born in the great Satyaki branch the best of men, whose hand (*here*) the (*auspicious*) marks of the conch and discus (*and*) to whom of herself came the goddess of wealth of the Chālukya family, just as (*in that family*) there was Prishottama (Krishna), who prolonged the line of Sātyaki,¹ who (*held*) the conch and discus in (*his*) hands as (*his peculiar*) characteristics, (*and*) to whom of herself came (*the goddess*) Lakshmi from the ocean

(V 6) The hand (*i.e.* the prowess) of this (*prince*), matchless in battle, having (*first*) established itself on the beautiful lowermost region of the earth, and having again overcome in a gentle manner at its own will the central region (*Madhyaṇḍa*), again established itself in the province of Kañchi, just as the hand (*of a lotus*), after (*first*) establishing itself on the hips of a woman attractive to the heart, and pressing again gently at its will (*her*) waist, again establishes itself on the region (*below the waist*) where the girdle (*is worn*)

(V 7) His orders, forming a wreath on (*their*) crests with which came in contact (*their*) hands (*joined*) like buds (*all*) kings respect with (*their*) heads slightly bent (*and*) with (*their*) knees rolling about on the surface of the earth, from Sēta (Rāmsavāim), where the blossoming *śarīṅga* (trees) are destroyed on the declivities of mountain-tops by hosts of powerful monkeys, as far as the Kailāsa (*mountain*), the outskirts of which resound with the jingling anklets on the moving feet of Bhairavi

(V 8) When that king, after conquering the world by his own arm, had gone to heaven as if to conquer (*it*), being desirous of a fresh victory,—(*his*) paternal uncle, the illustrious king Krishnarāja (I.), of well-known prowess, occupied his position of supreme majesty

(V 9) Nirupama, of spotless valour, sprang from that (*king*), whose fame, solid, extensive and bright, diverted itself in the form of the lines of sandal-painting on the faces of the beauties, (*was*) the quarters, (*and*) who adorned the mountain (*consisting of*) the family of the glorious Rāshtrakūtas,

(V 10) From the hand of the trembling lord of the Kōśalas was snatched away by him in battle one white (*regal*) parasol, which was the white (*auspicious*) water-pitcher for the setting out of (*his*) fame, bright as the *kunda* (flower), on a journey over the whole world, (*and*) which

¹ "Patr of Yuyudhāna (a warrior in the Pāṇḍu army who acted as the charioteer of Krishna and belonged to the Vṛishni family)."—Monier-Williams' *Dictionary*.

was the toy-lotus, resplendent as the disc of the full moon, on the palm of the hand of Lakshmi, another again (*was snatched away by him*) from the king of the northern (*country*) as if it were (*his*) glory

(V 11) From him obtained birth Jagattunga, who honoured the twice-born, he in his turn begat as son the king of kings Śrivalabha

(V 12) This (*prince*), possessed of fortitude, on raising again the glory of the Ratta kingdom, drowned in the ocean of the Chalukyas, became (*as* assumed the epithet of) Viranārāyaṇa, just as (Vishnu), again uplifting the earth, drowned in the ocean, became Viranārāyaṇa (*as* the heroic Nārāyaṇa)

(V 13) Having, by means of punishment, put down obnoxious persons, he destroyed the fiery Chalukyas, (*his*) enemies, who had completely devastated (*the city of*) Stamba,¹ just as (*a garden*), after removing the thorns by means of a stick, burns chick-peas, the stalks of which have been plucked out with the roots

(V 14) From him, who was the comet of destruction to the plantain tree, (*was*) the high family of the Chalukyas, was born Krishnarāja (II), of spotless life, whose fame, bright as the moon, wanders about, though constantly drunk by the people by means of the cavities of (*then*) ears

(V 15) On the advent of clouds, when there is a heavy downpour of rain (*and*) when the circular rainbow (*appears in the sky*), the old men thus describe the event of his fight with the roaring Gūrjara —“Thus did (*he*) in anger draw (*his*) bow, studded with a series of gems darting forth rays, thus did (*he*) discharge arrows at the heads of the warriors of (*his*) enemy”

(V 16) From him was born the illustrious Jagattungadēva, who caused the destruction of the multitude of (*his*) enemies, who surpassed the beauty of Mādana, who was the beloved of the goddess of Heroism, (*the palm of each of*) whose hands (*bore the auspicious sign of*) a discus shining by means of (*the marks of*) a banner, a lotus and a conch, (*and*) who (*thus*) by (*his*) greatness excelled Vishnu

(V 17) There was a king (*named*) Sahasrārjuna, sprung from the Haihaya lineage, who relieved the itching sensation² of the powerful and shining long arms of the roaring and invincible Ravana, (*and*) the letters (*setting forth*) whose fame and name, finding a resting-place in the ears of the gods, (*and*) written by the Siddhas with the dense fluid of nectar, covered the walls of the quarters

(V 18) In the dynasty of him who was an axe to the families of (*his*) enemies, there arose the renowned illustrious king Ranavīgraha, the son of king Kokkalla (*and*) the lord of Chēdi, into whose circle (*of feudatory princes*), pilferer as he was of the ornaments of the wives of (*his*) enemies, entered every enfeebled lord of the earth on the destruction of (*his*) partisans, just as the moon, destitute of (*all*) the digits, enters the disc of the sun at the end of the (*dark*) fortnight

(V 19) From him who was the receptacle of a collection of all virtues (*and*) the abode of resplendent majesty, there was born a daughter (*named*) Lakshmi, possessed of lotus like hands, [just as from the ocean, which is the abode (*of the sun*) of intensely gleaming rays, there sprang Lakshmi, possessed of a lotus in (*her*) hand], Jagattungadēva, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yadu race (*and*) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (*was*) Lakshmi, the daughter of Ranavīgraha, just as Hari, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yadu race (*and*) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (*was*) the goddess Lakshmi

¹ The same as Tāmralipta, i.e. Tamluk, see p 27 above.

² [Compare *Śivapadavadha*, I. 43.]

(V. 20) From these two sprang **Raṭṭa-Kandarpadēva**, whose bravery was known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who was a grinding-stone to (*his*) enemies, who dwelt in the hearts of beautiful women, who was a refuge to all men, (*and*) who was a store of merit and beauty, [just as from (*Hari* and *Lakshmi*) sprang the god *Kandaipa* (*i.e.* *Cupid*), whose prowess is known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who is a grinding-stone to (*his*) enemies, who abides in the minds of beautiful women, who is a refuge to all persons, (*and*) who is a store of heavenly beauty]

(V. 21.) This king, overrunning, by means of his own valour, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, became (*i.e.* was known as) **Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa**, just as the god (*Vishnu*), covering, with his stride, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, was known as **Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa**, on hearing of whose birth, the lustre of the faces, the minds, and the heads of (*his*) enemies, whose understanding was bewildered, simultaneously experienced dejection, fear, and the cavity of the hands folded (*as a mark of*) servitude

(V. 22) This **Indrarāja (III)**, having uprooted **Mēru** (*Mahodaya*?) with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (*his*) defeating (*king*) **Upēndra** who had saved **Gōvardhana**, just as the god *Indra*, who uprooted (*Mount*) **Mēru** with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (*his*) vanquishing (*the god*) **Upēndra** (*Krishna*) who had uplifted the **Gōvardhana** (*mountain*)¹

(V. 23) This lord of the earth, entitled to obeisance from all men, on founding many endowments to temples and *agrahāras* (to *Brāhmanas*), to be respected (*by all*), became, in point of fame for charity, superior to **Paraśurāma**, the greatness of whose merits shone by the gift of a single insignificant village.²

(Lil. 43-56) And he, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the prosperous *Nityavarshaṇarēndradēva*, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the prosperous *Ākālavarshadēva*, being well, commands all the lords of provinces (*rāshṭra*), lords of districts (*vishaya*), chiefs of villages, leading persons, officials, employes, functionaries, *etc.*, according as they are concerned —

"Be it known to you that by Me, who resides at the capital of **Mānyakhēta** (*and*) who has come to **Kurundaka** for the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet,—for the enhancement of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (*My*) parents and Myself—with heartfelt devotion—eight centuries of years increased by thirty-six having elapsed since the time of the *Saka* king, on the seventh (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of **Phālguna** in the *Yuva-samvatsara*—having, on the completion of the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet, ascended the *Tulāpurusha*,³ and having, without coming down from the pan, given away, together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drammas*, **Kurundaka** and other villages, and four hundred villages besides, that had been confiscated by previous kings,—was bestowed to-day, by pouring water from the hand, for the sake of the *Bala*, *Charu*, *Vasavadēva*, *Agnihōtra* and *Atthiśantarpaṇa*,—upon **Siddhapabbatta**, of the *Lakshmana gōtra*, a student of the *Vāy-Mādhyaṇḍina* (*śākhā*), (*and*) the son of **Śrī-Vennapabbatta** who had come from **Pāṭaliputra**,—the village of the name of **Tenna** in the vicinity of **Kammanūja** situated in the country of **Lāṭa**, defined by the four boundaries, *viz* to the east **Vāraḍapallikā**, to the south **Nāmbhitataṭa**, to the west **Valiśā**, (*and*) to the north the village of **Vavviyaṇa**,⁴ together with the royal share,

¹ There can hardly be a doubt that this verse is intended to yield two meanings, one mythological and the other historical. The first is clear, but the historical sense is by no means evident, see above, p. 27 f

² There is here a play on the word *ku*, which means both 'the earth' and 'insignificant'

³ 'Gift of gold, *etc.*, equal to a man's weight'—Monier-Williams' *Dictionary*

⁴ According to No. I 1 49 ff.—"upon **Prabhākaraḥṭṭa**, of the *Lakshmana gōtra*, a student of the *Vāy-Mādhyaṇḍina* (*śākhā*), and the son of **Rānapabbatta**,—the village of the name of **Umarvā** in the vicinity of **Kammanūja**, situated in the country of **Lāṭa**, defined by the four boundaries, *viz* to the east **Tōḷḷyaka**, to the south **Mōgahika**, to the west the village of **Samki**, (*and*) to the north **Javalakūpaka**"

with the appurtenances, with (*the proceeds of the punishments for*) faults and the ten offences, with (*the right to*) forced labour as it arises, with the assessment in grain and gold

(Ll 56-59) "No hindrance should in the slightest degree be caused by any one to him while enjoying (*this village*), allowing (*others*) to enjoy (*it*), cultivating (*it*), causing (*it*) to be cultivated, or assigning (*it*) to another, in accordance with the manner of a gift to a Brâhmana. Likewise, this My gift to a Brâhmana should be assented to, just as if it were their own gift, by the good kings of the future, whether My descendants or others, bearing in mind that the fruit of a gift of land is common (*both to the grantor and to the preserver*) "

[L 59 f and vv 24-26 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(V. 27.) This praiseworthy panegyric¹ was composed by the illustrious Trivikramabhatta, the son of Nêmaditya (*and*) serving the feet of Indrarâja

NO. 5 — RAGHOLI PLATES OF JAYAVARDHANA II

By HIRA LAL, B A, M R A S, NAGPUR

These plates were kindly sent to me by Mr C E Low, I C S, Deputy Commissioner of the Bâlaghat district, Central Provinces. They were found in the village Ragholi belonging to the Sâletekri Zamindâri, now under the Court of Wards and included in the Bahar tahsil of that district, by a cultivator while ploughing the field. There are three copper-plates, of which the second and third bear writing on both sides, the third plate has only two lines on the reverse side. The plates are broader in the middle than at the top or at the bottom. At the broadest part they measure nearly $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the average height is $5\frac{1}{2}$ " They are held together by a circular ring, $2\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter, which is somewhat thicker and rugged at the place where the two ends are soldered together. A circular seal with tasselled borders is attached to the ring and was put on it before the ends of the ring were soldered together. The seal has in two lines the legend *Sri-Jayavardhanadevasya*, which is enclosed by ornamental circles running round the bottom of the tassels. The ring was cut and resoldered by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, who kindly took for me the impressions which are reproduced on the accompanying Plate. The copper-plates were found when Mr Low was writing the *Gazetteer of the Bâlaghat District*, in which an extract from my translation has already appeared.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, written in characters belonging to the northern class of alphabets. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " They are badly formed and somewhat difficult to read. The first 20 lines of the inscription (excepting the opening words *Om svasti Sriyavardhanapurât*) and again lines 35 to 45 are in verse. The rest is Sanskrit prose. Final forms of *t* occur in lines 1 and 38, and one of *m* in line 45. The letter *b* is not distinguished from *v*. A notable orthographical peculiarity occurs in lines 32 f and 40 f, where we find *mv* written for *m* in *tâmva* and *kamva*. On the other hand *b* is omitted in *kufumina* (l 24) for *kufumbinâh*, but regularly expressed by *v* in *dalâmva* (l 41). The letters with a *rêpha* at the top sometimes assume a very peculiar shape such as in *sarva* (l 25) and *varsha* (l 37). At other places they have the usual form, as in *sarva* (l 29). There is also a tendency to change the final forms of nasals into *anusvâra* in contravention of the accepted grammatical rules, as in *pramukhâm* (l 24) and *purushâm* (l 25). The *ka* of *kamva* in line 40 f has a peculiar form and differs from other *kas* occurring in the inscription.

¹ The word *prastâvâ* is here evidently used in the same sense as *prastâvâ*.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village Khaddikā in the Katéraka district (l. 23) to a temple of the Sun god at Chattulihā (l. 29 f) by king Jayavardhana II. It was issued from Śrīvardhanapura (l. 1) and is dated in the 3rd year of his reign on the 30th day of the month Kārttika (ll. 46 and 31). Judging from the writing it may be assigned to the eighth century A.D., the characters very much resemble those of the Pathan plates of Govinda III dated in the year 794 A.D.¹ Jayavardhana II is described in lines 20-22 as a devotee of Mahēśvara, the lord of the whole Vindhya, and *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*. He belonged to the Śailavamśa (verse 1). His grandfather, who bore the same name as himself, killed the former king of the Vindhya and made the Vindhya his residence (v. 3). The son of Jayavardhana I and father of the donor was Śrīvardhana II., who styled himself Vindhyaśvara (v. 4), and who may have founded Śrīvardhanapura from which the present charter was issued. Five more ancestors of this line are mentioned, the first of whom was Śrīvardhana I. His son was Prithuvardhana, who is stated to have attacked Gujārāt (v. 1). In his family was born Sauvardhana (v. 2), one of whose three sons killed the king of Paundra² (Bengal and Bihar), while another conquered the king of Kāśī (Benares). Of this latter, whose name is not mentioned, Jayavardhana I. was the son (v. 3).

The first verse of this charter opens with an obscure epithet to Śrīvardhana I who is called *Kailāś-āchala-tunga-śringa-vipula-drōṇīya-vamśa-prabhuh*, which apparently means 'the lord of the family of her who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the Kailāsa mountain'. It is very difficult to hit at the true import of this expression, and the only conjecture I can hazard is that it may mean the Gāṅgavamśa, of which the Śailavamśa was probably a branch or a more well known name at that time. Otherwise it is difficult to see why in the same verse the same person should be called the lord or ornament of two families. If my conjecture is correct, the force of *prakhyātō bhuv* (famous or known on the earth) preceding *Śailavamśa-tīlakah* would be apparent. The Śailavamśa is very probably identical with the Śailōdbhavas or Śilōdbhavas of Orissa, to which Prof. Hultzsch has kindly drawn my attention. In the plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja,³ a feudatory chief Mādhavarāja II, who issued the charter, is spoken of as belonging to the Śilōdbhava family, which is identical with the Śailōdbhava of the Buguda plates of Mādhavarman⁴ as pointed out there. The former is dated in the year 619-20 A.D. and is the older of the two. Both were found in the Ganjam district, and both the charters were issued from Kōṅgēda or Kaṅgōda, which is identified by Prof. Kielhorn with the Kong-u-t'ō⁵ of the Chinese traveller Hsien Tsiang, who visited the place in the year 639 A.D.⁶ This principality was included in the Kalinga country or, roughly speaking, Orissa. In fact the village granted by Mādhavarāja II was situated in the district of Krishnagiri, a synonym of Nilagiri which is a name of Jagannātha (Puri) in Orissa.⁷ And it is well known that Orissa is the country where the Gāṅgavamśa originated. King Indravarman of Kalinganagara is spoken of as the 'establisher of the spotless family of the Gāṅgas',⁸ an epithet which does not occur in other grants of the Gāṅgas of Kalinga. So he was a perpetuator of a dynasty with a new name, which probably he introduced in preference to an old one which was not very complimentary. The new name is a metronymic, so we may suppose that the one suppressed was a patronymic. The Buguda inscription tells us how one Pulindasēna worshipped Brahmā in order to create a fit ruler for the land, and how the god granted his wish by creating out of a rock the lord Śailōdbhava, who became the founder of the family of that name. However complimentary the story may have been in the beginning, it could not have failed later on to appear somewhat analogous to the alleged origin of low

¹ Above, Vol. III p. 108 ff.

² Above, Vol. VI p. 144.

³ Above, Vol. VI p. 186.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI p. 144.

⁵ Wilson's *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, Vol. II p. 170, note 5.

⁶ Above, Vol. III p. 42.

⁷ Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 515.

⁸ Above, Vol. III p. 127.

castes, which trace their origin to some such inanimate objects as scarecrows, dirt from Mahādēva's body, or the sweat of his brow. In fact the aboriginal Gonds aver that their leader Lango liberated the first men of the tribe from a cave in the Iron valley in the Red hill by removing a stone 16 cubits high with which Mahādēva had closed the mouth of the cave, and out came 16 scores of Gonds at once.¹ The Śailōdbhava origin would thus appear something like an improvement on this story. Recognising the tendency, which has always existed and still exists, to adopt eponymous names under the influence of what Sir Alfred Lyall calls the gradual Brāhmanising of castes, it would not be surprising to find a family with a dubious patronymic insinuating a non-Brāhmanical origin, preferring a metronymic connected with so holy a deity as the Ganges, in spite of the Kshatriya mode of calling themselves after the male parent. It will then be asked why in the present grant the Śailavamśa was at all mentioned, to which an answer may be found in the fact that there are always three classes of people the conservatives or those who would stick to the old things only, the moderates who would tolerate both the new and the old, and the extremists who would wholly discard the old, and probably the donor of the present grant belonged to the second class. All this is, however, extremely hypothetical, and I only hazard it in the hope that a better explanation may be forthcoming. By the way I may mention that it was the Gāngavamśa kings of Orissa who revived Sun-worship and built many temples dedicated to that deity,² and again most of the officials, such as *samāhartre* and *samudhātṛi* (1 24), are those chiefly found in the grants of Orissa kings. These are other items in support of the donor's family connection with Orissa.

With regard to the places mentioned in the grant, I identify Khaddikā with Khadi, a village three miles north-east of Ragholi where the plates were found. It is only a Sanskritised name like Laṇṇikā³ for Lanj, which is also not very far away from this place. Katēraka is probably the present Katera near Katangi, 60 miles west of Ragholi. I cannot identify Chattullihā, unless it is a mistake for Raghullihā or Ragholi, where the plates have been found. With the elision of a little stroke in the first letter, and giving a slightly slanting position to the second, the word would read as Raghullihā. This may find support from the fact that the engraving of the grant is very defective, and that several other mistakes have been committed in lines 33, 40, 44, etc. I cannot find in the Central Provinces a place answering to Śrīvardhanapura. It could not be Śrīvardhana in the Bombay Presidency, the famous seaport referred to by European travellers as Zulfardan and celebrated as the birth-place of the first Peshwa.⁴ From what has been stated above, the family would seem to have come from a seaport in the east rather than from the west. But the place must be searched for nearer home, and it may be that it is now non-existent. The probability is that it was situated somewhere near Rāmtēk in the Nāgpur district. Five miles from this place there is a village called Nagardhan which was known as Nandivardhana⁵ in olden times, and local traditions assert that the surrounding country was ruled from that place by Kshatriya Rājas.⁶ The village contains ancient remains and is mentioned as the name of a district together with Nāgpur in the Dēolī plates of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III. dated in the year 940 A.D.⁷ It is plain therefore that

¹ Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. IX p. 153.

² See Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. I p. 279 f. Dr Hunter says — "At a remote period, Sun-worship, driven out of Vedic India by materialising superstitions, found shelter on the secluded Eastern coast. Its existence in Orissa in ancient times is proved not only by the fact of a specific division of the country being devoted to it, but also by the rock writings . . . The most exquisite memorial of Sun-worship in India, or I believe in any country, is the temple of Konārak upon the Orissa shore."

³ In the Bātanpur inscription of Jājallādēva, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p. 33.

⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XI. p. 467.

⁵ Mr Craddock's *Settlement Report*, 1895, p. 15.

⁶ It may be borne in mind that this part of the country was for a long time under Gonds and afterwards the Marāṭhas, and as a rule the memory of these only survives.

⁷ Above, Vol. V. p. 196 f.

Nandivardhana must have been a place of great importance before it gave its name to the district. I hold that this was founded by a successor of Jayavardhana II. who removed the capital from Śivardhanapura, also named after a king of the same line, to the place to which he gave his own name.¹ The Rāshtrakūtas rose in power on this side in the eighth century, and it is probably they who displaced the Śailavamśa dynasty of the Vindhya mountains. Nandivardhana or Nagardhana is about 100 miles from Ragholi, and both were included in the same district about a century ago. It may also be stated that, so far as I have been able to find, there are no other villages ending in *ardhana* in Bālāghāt or any of the surrounding districts, and the name is so peculiarly different from those of other villages in the locality that it may almost be called unique, for these reasons the location of Śivardhanapura round about Nandivardhana or Rāmtak carries at least a certain probability with it.

TEXT²

Seal

1 श्रीजयव-

2 र्दनदेवस्व [॥*]

First Plate

- 1 नो स्तस्ति श्रीवर्द्धनपुरात् [॥*] ³कैलासाचलतुङ्गशृङ्ग-
- 2 विपुलद्रोणोजयेशप्रभुः⁴ प्रख्यातो भुवि शैलवं-
- 3 शतिलकः श्री — —⁵ वर्द्धनो यो नृपः । तत्पुत्रः पृथ्व-
- 4 र्द्धनो निजभुजव्याकुलखड्गः⁶ सुर्या⁶ देयं गौर्ज्जरमास-
- 5 साद सद्दसा विक्रान्तिभिर्यस्ततः ॥ [१*] तदंशप्रभवो
- 6 व्यजीजनदलं सौवर्द्धनो भूपतिर्भूचक्रक्र-
- 7 मलवविक्रमयशः⁷ पुत्रत्रयं त्वीरसं । ते-
- 8 षामुर्जितवैरिदारणपटु पौण्ड्राधिपं क्षाप-
- 9 ति हर्त्तको विषय तमेव सकलं जग्राह श्री-
- 10 र्यान्वितः ॥ [२*] ताभ्यामन्यतमो विह्वल सद्दसा द-
- 11 र्पितं दारुणं काशि काशिनराधिपं सित-

Second Plate, First Side

- 12 गुणो जग्राह जेता द्विषां । तत्पुत्रो जयवर्द्धने-
- 13 ति वचसा ख्यातो वरो भूभृतां विन्ध्ये विन्ध्यनरेशमेव

¹ It is noticeable that all names of this line end in *ardhana*

² From the original plates I am indebted to Pr & Hultzsch for a few corrections in my readings

³ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita, also of the two next verses

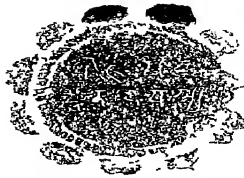
⁴ Read °जवश°

⁵ There are two letters here which appear to have been struck off by the engraver. The metre also shows that they were redundant

⁶ Read पुरा-

⁷ Read °लव°

⁸ Read °सुजित°



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सवित्रीय इति नाम्ना विनाशाय तत्तु यत्तु
विष्णुन कुपयिष्ये नमो भूयः इति नाम्ना विनाशाय
विष्णुन कुपयिष्ये नमो भूयः इति नाम्ना विनाशाय
विष्णुन कुपयिष्ये नमो भूयः इति नाम्ना विनाशाय
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विष्णुन कुपयिष्ये नमो भूयः इति नाम्ना विनाशाय
विष्णुन कुपयिष्ये नमो भूयः इति नाम्ना विनाशाय
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विष्णुन कुपयिष्ये नमो भूयः इति नाम्ना विनाशाय
विष्णुन कुपयिष्ये नमो भूयः इति नाम्ना विनाशाय

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विष्णुन कुपयिष्ये नमो भूयः इति नाम्ना विनाशाय
विष्णुन कुपयिष्ये नमो भूयः इति नाम्ना विनाशाय
विष्णुन कुपयिष्ये नमो भूयः इति नाम्ना विनाशाय
विष्णुन कुपयिष्ये नमो भूयः इति नाम्ना विनाशाय
विष्णुन कुपयिष्ये नमो भूयः इति नाम्ना विनाशाय
विष्णुन कुपयिष्ये नमो भूयः इति नाम्ना विनाशाय
विष्णुन कुपयिष्ये नमो भूयः इति नाम्ना विनाशाय
विष्णुन कुपयिष्ये नमो भूयः इति नाम्ना विनाशाय
विष्णुन कुपयिष्ये नमो भूयः इति नाम्ना विनाशाय
विष्णुन कुपयिष्ये नमो भूयः इति नाम्ना विनाशाय

22 b

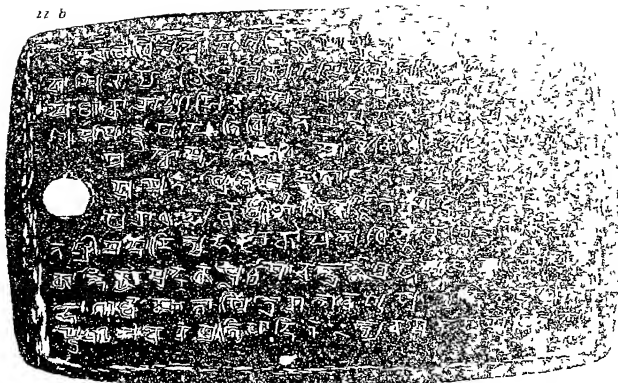
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22 a

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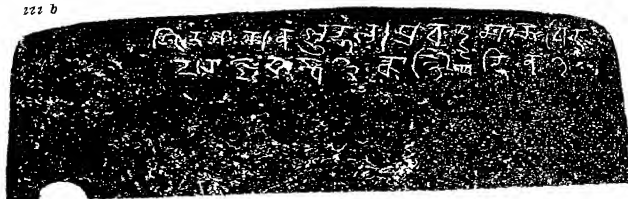
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44



22 b

46



- 14 सुचिरं हृत्वा चकार स्थितिं ॥ [३*] ^१मातङ्गदानचतदीनचे-
 15 ष्टः ^२सवर्धितानेकविशालवशः । विम्येश्वरो विम्य
 16 इवाचलयीः श्रीवर्धनस्तस्य सुतो वभूव^३ ॥ [४*] ^४तस्या-
 17 व्यजः सकलवैरिविनाशदक्षो जातो महा-
 18 गुणनिधिर्जयवर्धनाख्यः । लक्ष्मीप्रगाढ-
 19 परिरभणपोडिताङ्गं दृष्ट्वा दिवं यमगमत्यरु-
 20 षेव कीर्त्तिः ॥ [५*] परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादा-
 21 नुध्यातः सकलविध्याधिपतिः महाराजाधिरा-
 22 जपरमेश्वरश्रीजयवर्धनदेवः कुशलो

Second Plate, Second Side

- 23 कटेरकविषयीयखट्विकायां ब्राह्मणा[न्*]^५ सपूज्य प्रति-
 24 वासिनोन्याश्च कुटुम्बिन^६ (i) समाहर्तृसन्निधादप्रसुखा^७
 25 यथाकालाध्यासिनः सर्वराजपुरुषा^८ विषयपती-
 26 श्च समान्नापयति [॥*] विदितमस्तु भवता^९ यथास्माभिर-
 27 यं ग्रामः सनिधिः सोपनिधिः सर्वकारदान-
 28 समेतः प्रतिषिद्धचाटभटप्रवेशः सदशा-
 29 पराधः सर्वपीडाविवर्जितः चतुस्त्रिंशत्प्रतिष्ठि-
 30 तश्रीमदादित्यभट्टारकाय अधिष्ठानविघ्नसिकया
 31 ^{१०}कात्तिकवासुदकपूर्वमाचन्द्रार्कग्रहसमकालोप-
 32 भोगार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिह्वये ता-
 33 ^{११}भ्रश्रासनेन प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत^{१२} समुचितभो-

Third Plate, First Side

- 34 गभागादिक भक्ता^{१३} सुख वस्तव्यं ॥ तथा चीतं धर्म-
 35 शास्त्रे ॥ ^{१४}वहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
 36 मिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [६*]
 37 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः । आ-

^१ Metre Indravajrā

^२ Read सवर्धिता^०

^३ Read वभूव

^४ Metre Vasantatilaka The simile here is विषज्जमविकारिका, compare श्रीनिदीगादितुमिव गतेत्यम्बुधिं यस्य कीर्तिं in the Śāhityapradīpa, 7th ulāsa, ālōka 241 For this parallel quotation I am indebted to Pandit Hirananda Sastri, M A

^५ Read ब्राह्मणान्

^६ Read कुटुम्बिन.

^७ Read प्रसुखान्

^८ Read पुत्रान्

^९ Read भवता

^{१०} Read कारिका

^{११} Read ताव

^{१२} Read इत्यवगत.

^{१३} Read सुखा.

^{१४} Read नष्ट.

- 38 षष्ठेता चातुतन्ता¹ च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [७*] खद-
 39 तां परदता² वा यो हरेत वसुधरां । स विष्ठा-
 40 यां कर्मिभूता³ पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ [८*] इति क-
 41 'खलदतावुविन्दुलोलां त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-
 42 जीवितं च र.कलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुध्वा⁴ न हि पुर-
 43 वैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ [९*] श्रीश्रीवर्धनदेव-
 44 स्य पाद[पद्मोप]जीविना⁵ । श्रीमहाचण्डपालेन लि-

Third Plate ; Second Side

- 45 खितं शासनं शमम् । [१०*] प्रवर्धमानविज-
 46 यराज्ये सर्व⁶ ३ कार्त्तिके⁷ दिन ३० [११*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Om* Hail! From Śrīvardhanapura.

(Verse 1) (*There was*) king Śrīvardhana (I.), the lord of the family of her⁸ who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the Kailāsa mountain, (*and*) famous on (*this*) earth (*as*) the ornament of the Śailavarmāśa His son Prithuvardhana, formerly having drawn the sword with his own arm, at once overcame the Gaurjara country by (*his various*) attacks.

(V. 2.) King Sauvardhana, who was born in his family, begat three sons of his own, who in due course acquired the glory of heroism on the circle of the earth. One of them, possessing valour, having killed the Pauṇdra king who was skilled in rending up (*his*) powerful enemies, took the whole of that country.

(V. 3.) The third of them,¹⁰ of white (*i.e.* pure) character, the vanquisher of foes, having forcibly killed the self-conceited (*and*) cruel king of the Kāśīs, took Kāśī (*from him*). His son, known by the name of Jayavardhana (I.), the best of kings, having killed the lord of the Vindhya, took up his residence in the Vindhya for a long time

(V. 4) His son was Śrīvardhana (II.), the lord of the Vindhya, who possessed immovable (*permanent*) wealth like the immovable Vindhya mountain itself, who banished poverty by gifts of elephants, (*and*) who augmented the prosperity of various (*other*) big families.

(V. 5) His son, skilled in destroying all (*his*) enemies (*and*) a treasury of great virtues, was called Jayavardhana (II.). The goddess of Wealth so closely embraced him that the goddess of Fame, as if (*jealous of her cowife*), out of anger ascended to the heavens¹¹

¹ Read बाहुमन्ता.

² Read परदत्ता

³ Read कर्मिभूता.

⁴ Read कलमिदमुदाहृतं.

⁵ Read 'सुदाहृतं

⁶ Read बुध्वा.

⁷ The words in brackets are very common in inscriptions, see e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 210, note 3

⁸ Read खद

⁹ I take *dr̥ṣṭya-varṣa* to stand for *dr̥ṣṭya-varṣa* in accordance with Pāṇ. VI. 3. 63, and to mean the *saṅgā-varṣa*

¹⁰ Literally, 'another than the two'

¹¹ The idea is that he was very wealthy, and that his fame reached up to the heavens.

(L. 20.) The devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), who meditated on the feet of his parents, the lord of the whole Vindhya, the *Mahārājādharāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Jayavardhanadēva, being in good health, having worshipped the Brāhmanas in (the village) Khaddikā in the district (*viśaya*) of Katēraka, issues a command to the inhabitants and other householders (*as well as*) revenue collectors, receivers of public property and so forth, as they are appointed from time to time, (and) to all state officers and provincial governors

(L. 26) "Let it be known to you that this village is given by Us, with hidden treasures (and) deposits, together with (the right of) taking all the dues, with the prohibition for the regular or irregular forces to enter (the village), with (the fines leviable on) the ten offences,¹ free from all troubles, to (the temple of) the holy Āditya-bhattāraka (*i.e.* the Sun-god) set up at Chattuliha, at the request of the residence (*viz.* Śrīvaidhanapura, l. 1), on the Kārttiki (*tiṭha*), with libations of water, to be enjoyed as long as the moon, the sun and the planets endure, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (Our) parents and of Ourselves, by (this) copper-plate charter. Knowing this, let (all) live happily, enjoying (their) due portion of rights, etc. And it is thus enjoined in the *Dharmasūtra* "—

[Here follow four of the customary imprecatory verses]

(V. 10) (This) auspicious charter was written by the illustrious Mahāchandapāla, who subsisted on the lotus-feet of the illustrious Śrīvardhanadēva.

(L. 45) The year 3 of the augmenting and victorious reign, the 30th day of Kārttika.

NO 6—MALIYAPUNDI GRANT OF AMMARAJA II

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D., HALLE (SAALE)

This interesting record of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty was first published in 1905 by Messrs A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetty in their *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 164 ff., with seven photographic Plates. The original copper-plates had been "discovered by Mr. Venugopal Chetty in the Rāmalingēśvarasvāmī temple at Madanūr, a village about 10 miles from Ongole, Nellore district." I re-edit the inscription from ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, to whom the original plates were kindly forwarded at my request by Mr. Butterworth, and who contributes the following remarks on them:—

"These are five copper-plates, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by about $4\frac{1}{4}$ ". The first and last plates bear writing only on their inner side and have raised rims about $\frac{5}{16}$ " high only on their engraved side. The three remaining plates, which bear writing on both sides, have rims of the same height projecting on both sides.² Through holes ($\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter), bored on the left margin of each plate, is passed a circular ring, which appears to have been cut and re-soldered before the plates came into my hands. The ring measures $5\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter and is a little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. Its ends, which are slightly thinner, are secured in the upper part of an expanded lotus flower of eight petals. To the lower part of the same lotus, which is fashioned into a rim-like projection, is soldered a circular seal, which measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and is nearly $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick. It bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvanāśmku[śa]* in the centre, in characters similar to those of the inscription. Below

¹ These were probably killing (murder), theft, wrong action (adultery), slander, harsh language, untruthfulness, incoherent conversation, uncivility, atheism and perverse behaviour, enumerated as *daśadhā pāpākarma* in the *Sūkrantī*, *adhyaśya* 3, *śloka* 6.

² The high rims are responsible for the fact that some symbols at the beginning and the end of lines have not come out well in the ink impressions.

Pithāpuram inscription and Krishnarāja according to the Maliyapūṇḍi grant (v 15) In two grants the burning of this Kiranapura,¹ the residence of Krishna and Sankila,² is attributed to Vijayāditya III himself Verse 15 of the Maliyapūṇḍi grant informs us that this feat was in reality performed by a military officer named Pāṇḍaranga It is perhaps worth noting that another Rāshtrakūṭa prince named Krishnarāja is mentioned in a grant of A.D 888,³ Between the slaying of Maṅgi and the victory over Sankila the Maliyapūṇḍi grant mentions that Vijayāditya III 'defeated the Gangas who took refuge on the peak of Gangakūṭa' As suggested in the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p 169, note 3), this statement may or may not be a mere variant of one in the Pithāpuram inscription, according to which the king burnt Chakrakūṭa⁴ He is elsewhere said to have 'defeated the unequalled Gangas'⁵ Finally the new grant reports that Vijayāditya III bore the surname Parachakrarāma (l 14)

The Maliyapūṇḍi grant gives a vivid description of the struggles that took place after the death of Vikramāditya II Five years passed in continual wars between the rival claimants, among whom Yuddhamalla, Rājāmārtanda and Kanthikā-Vijayāditya are mentioned by name Then Rājabhīma (or Chālukya-Bhīma II) succeeded in restoring order by slaying Rājāmārtanda, defeating and banishing Kanthikā-Vijayāditya and Yuddhamalla, and killing many other rebels Yuddhamalla (II) is the son of Tāla, to whom one grant of Chālukya-Bhīma II attributes a reign of seven years,⁶ while two other grants,⁷ like the Maliyapūṇḍi grant, take no official notice of his reign Rājāmārtanda is perhaps the same as Rājamayya in the Kaluchumbayya grant,⁸ and he is mentioned also in the Kolavennu plates⁹ In editing these plates I committed a mistake, which has been endorsed by Dr Fleet¹⁰ and Prof. Knelhorn,¹¹ in taking Rājāmārtanda as a surname of Chālukya-Bhīma II As stated in the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p 170, note 4), the Maliyapūṇḍi grant now shows that Rājāmārtanda was a distinct person Dr Fleet has already noticed that ll 17-19 of the Kolavennu plates contain a verse,¹² the first half of which I would now, with the help of his remarks, correct as follows —

यस्ताविकयनाख्यं धलुदिं मुनिविराजमास्तेषु [*]

Thus the verse mentions four enemies of Chālukya-Bhīma II — Tātābikyaṇa, Dhajadi (or Dhajaga), Munniṇṇa and Rājāmārtanda Kanthikā-Vijayāditya, whom the king banished along with Yuddhamalla II, is undoubtedly the same as Kanthikā-Bēta or Vijayāditya V, the son of Amma I and the ancestor of the Eastern Chālukyas of Pithāpuram¹³

The subjoined grant was made at a winter solstice (*uttarāyana*, l 54 f) The donee was a temple of Jina (*Jinālaya*) in the south of Dharmapuri (v 17), which was in charge of a priest of the Yāpaniya-saṃgha¹⁴ (v 18) It had been founded by the *Kaṭakarāja* (l 54) Durgarāja (v 16) and was named Kaṭakābharana-Jinālaya (v 17 and l 53), evidently after a surname of the founder At his request (l 54) the grant was made, and the grant portion opens with a pedigree of his family His ancestor Pāṇḍaranga is stated to have burnt Kiranapura, the residence of Krishnarāja (v 15), and accordingly must have been a military officer of Vijayāditya III.¹⁵ His son Niravadyadhavala was appointed *Kaṭakarāja* (l 44 f) His son was the *Kaṭakādhipati* Vijayāditya (l 45 f), and his son was Durgarāja (v 16).

¹ *Ind Ant* Vol XIII. p 213, text line 17

² *South Ind Inscr* Vol I. p 42, verse 10 (compare above, Vol IV p 226 and note 7)

³ *Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 66

⁴ Compare above, Vol IV p 227

⁵ *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 42, verse 10

⁶ *Ind. Ant* Vol XIII. p 214, text line 31

⁷ *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 44, above, Vol V p 188, note 3

⁸ Above, Vol. VII p 181

⁹ *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. I p 46 and note 1

¹⁰ *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 269, and above, Vol VII p 182

¹¹ *Lists of Southern Inscriptions* No. 562

¹² Above, Vol. VII. p 181 f.

¹³ Above, Vol IV p 227

¹⁴ Compare *ibid* p 388 *

¹⁵ See notes 1 and 2 above

Pāṇḍarāṅga (the Pāṇḍaranga of v 15) is mentioned as *Ājñapti* in a grant of Vijayāditya III¹. The title *Kaṭakarāja* or *Kaṭakādhīpati*, i.e. 'superintendent of the royal camp,' which was borne by his three lineal descendants, seems to be peculiar to the court of the Eastern Chālukya kings. Dr. Fleet remarked that the grants of Amma I and Amma II mention *Kaṭakarāja*, *Katakēsa* and *Kaṭakādhīsa* as *Ājñapti*, and came to the conclusion that these two words were not proper names, but mere titles². The Mahiyapūṇḍi grant now shows that in each case they refer to one of the three direct descendants of Pāṇḍaranga, who bore that title, viz. Nuvadyadhavala, Vijayāditya and Durgarāja. It seems preferable to take also *Kaṭeyarāja* in the grant of Chālukya-Bhima I³ as a vulgar form of *Kaṭakarāja*, the title of Vijayāditya, and not as a proper name.

The object of the grant was the small village (*grāmaṭikā*) of Mahiyapūṇḍi (l 55) in the district (*viśaya*) of Kamma-nāṇḍu (l 42). Its boundaries are given in l 56 f. The northern boundary, Dharmavuramu, is the Telugu form of Dharmapurī, to the south of which the *Juṇḍlaya* was situated (v 17). According to the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p 174, note) both Dharmapuram and the western boundary, Kalvakuru, are now in the Addanki division of the Ongole taluka. Of two inscriptions at Dharmavaram (p 966 ff. of the same work) the first mentions Guṇakemalla (Vijayāditya III.), Pāṇḍaranga, the burning of Kīranapura, and Dharmavuram. An inscription at Addanki (p 896 f. of the same work) also refers to Pāṇḍaranga and Dharmavuram. Mahiyapūṇḍi itself, the village granted, does not exist any more at present (*ibid.* p 167), but its former position is fixed by the identification of two of its boundaries. The district of Kamma-nāṇḍu, to which it belonged, is identical with the Kamma-rāśhtra or Kammāka-rāśhtra of other inscriptions. To my former remarks on this geographical name⁴ may be added that it occurs as *Kammāka-raṣha* in the Jaggaṃyapēta inscriptions of Purisadatta⁵. This Prākṛit form renders my suggestion that *Kammāka* may be meant for *Kammānka*⁶ untenable, for the latter would have become in Prākṛit *Kammanka*, and not *Kammāka*.

TEXT.⁷

First Plate

- 1 ॐ भद्रं स्याच्चिजगन्नुताय सततं श्रीमज्जिनेन्द्रप्रभोद्दहाभाततशासन[र]-
- 2 य विलसद्भर्मावलभाय च । सामर्थ्यात्खलु यस्य दुष्कलिकता दोषाश्च
मिथ्याह्व[र]⁸ (i) दु-
- 3 र्वृत्तानि च भूतलै न वितता शान्तिश्च नित्यं चित्ते[*] ॥ [१*] ॐ स्वस्ति
श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसं-⁹
- 4 स्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितपुत्राणां कौशिकिवरप्रसादलब्ध्वरा-
- 5 ज्ञानाश्चातु[ण*]परिपालितानां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यायिनाम् भगव-
- 6 न्नायणप्रसादसमासादितवरवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशिक्रतारातिमण्ड[ला]-¹⁰

¹ Above, Vol. V p 125, verse 9

² Above, Vol. VII p 184 f.

³ Above, Vol. V p 130

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII p 238

⁵ See Bhagvanlal Indrap's transcript in *Notes on the Amaravati Stupa*, p 66, and Bühler's transcripts in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p 258 f. and in *Amaravati and Jaggaṃyapēta*, p 110 (compare Plate Ixi f.)

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII p 234

⁷ From two sets of ink-impressions

⁸ Read मिथ्योद्भवा

⁹ The *anusvāta* stands at the beginning of the next line

¹⁰ Read 'वज्रोक्ता'.

- 7 नामश्चमेधावस्यस्नानपवित्रीकृतवपुषाम्¹ चालुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिण्योस्त्वया[अ]-
 8 यवज्ञमेन्द्रस्य भ्राता कुलविष्णुवर्धनोष्ट[१*]दश वर्षाणि² वेगिमण्डलमपालयत् ।
 तदात्म-

Second Plate, First Side

- 9 जो ³जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशत्तम् । तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णुवर्धनो नव । तत्सू-
 नुर्भागियुवराज-
 10 >पंचविंशतित्युचो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश । तदवरज[ः*] कोकिलिष्यमासान् ।
 तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता
 11 विष्णुवर्धन[स्त्र]मुच्चाव्य [स]प्तविंशतम्⁴ (॥ २*) तत्पुत्रो विजया-
 दिलभट्ट[१*]रकोष्टादश । तत्सुतो
 12 विष्णुवर्धनषट्त्रिंशत्तम् । नरेन्द्रमृगराजाख्यो मृगराजपराक्रमः [१*] विजयादित्य-
 13 भूपालः⁵ चत्वारिंशत्समाष्टभिः [॥ २*] तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्धनोध्यर्धवर्ष । त-
 14 त्युत्रः परचक्रामापरनामधेयः [१*] हत्वा ⁶भूरिनोदंबराष्ट्रनृपतिं मगिमहा-
 संग-
 15 र⁷ गंगानाथीवंगंगकुटशिखराभिर्जित्य ⁸सड्ड[१]लाधीशं संकिलमुग्रवज्रभयुत
 यो भ[१]-
 16 ययित्वा चतुश्चत्वारिंशतमब्दकांश्च विजयादित्यो ररक्ष क्षितिं । [३*]
 तदनुजस्य लब्ध-

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 17 यौवराज्यस्य विक्रमादित्यस्य सुतश्चालुक्यभिमस्त्रिंशत्⁹ [१*] तस्याग्रजो
 विजयादित्यः
 18 षण्मासान् [१*] तदग्रसूतुरम्भराजस्त्रय वर्षाणि । तत्सूतुमाक्रम्य बाल
 चालुक्यभिमपि⁹
 19 तुव्ययुद्धमस्तस्य नन्दनस्तालनृपो मासमेकं । नानासामन्तवर्गैरधिकबल-
 युतैश्च¹⁰
 20 क्षमातंगसेनो¹¹ हात्वा तं तालराजं विषमरणमुखे सार्द्धमत्युग्रते-
 21 जाः [१*] एकाब्दं सम्यगभिनोनिधिवलयहृतामन्वरक्षद्वरिचि¹² श्रीमाञ्चालुक्य-

¹ Read 'वपुषां'

² Read 'वर्षाणि.'

³ Read 'जयसिंह'

⁴ Read 'विंशत वर्षाणि'

⁵ Read 'पालयत्'

⁶ Read 'नोदम्'

⁷ Read 'संगं' गंगानाथितगङ्गकूट'

⁸ Read 'सङ्काष्टा', in contravention of the rules, the first half of the verse ends in the middle of a compound word

⁹ Read 'भीम'

¹⁰ Read 'वर्गै' and 'युतैश्च'

¹¹ Read 'सेनेहत्वा,'

¹² Read 'द्वरिचि' श्रीमाञ्चालुक्यभीम'.

- 22 भिमक्षितिपतितनयो विक्रमादित्यभूपः । [४*] पश्चादहमहमिकया विक्र-
मादित्यास्त-
23 म[य*]नि राक्षसा इव प्रजावाधनपरा दायादराजपुत्रा राज्याभिलाषिणी
युद्धमञ्जरा-
24 'जमार्त्तण्डलकण्ठिकाविजयादित्यप्रभृतयो विग्रहिभूता^२ आसन् [१*] विग्र-

Third Plate, First Side

- 25 हेणैव पंच वर्षाणि गतानि [१*] ततः [१*] ^३योवधिद्र[१]जमार्त्तण्डन्तेष[१]
येन रणे कृतौ [१*] क-
26 ण्ठिकाविजयादित्ययुद्धमञ्जो^४ विदेशगौ । [५*] अन्ये मान्यमहिभृतोपि^५
बहवो^६ दु-
27 ष्टप्रवृत्ताज्ञताः^७ देशोपद्रवकारिणः प्रकटिताः कालालय^८ प्रापिताः [१*]
^९दोहण्डेरि-
28 तमण्डलाग्रलतया यस्योग्रसंग्रामकावाज्ञा^{१०} तत्परभृन्पैश्च^{११}
29 शिरसो मालेव सन्त्यर्थते । [६*] नादग्वा^{१२} विनिवर्त्तते रिपुकुलं कोपाम्बिरा
मूल-
30 तः शुभ्रं य[स्य] यशो न लोकमखिलं सन्तिष्ठते न भ्रमत् [१*] द्वय्यां-
भोधरराशिरप्यनुदिनं^{१३}
31 सन्तप्यमाने भृशं दारिद्र्योग्रतरातपेन जनसंसर्ग^{१४} न नो वर्षति । [७*] स
चातुर्व्यभिजनता^{१५} वि-
32 जयादित्यनन्दनः [१*] द्वादशावत्समास्यम्यक्^{१६} राजभिर्मो धरातलं । [८*]
तस्य महेश्वरम्-

Third Plate, Second Side.

- 35 ^{१७}तेरुमासमानाकृतेः कुमारामः [१*] लोकमाहादेव्याः^{१८} खलु यस्मभवदन्तरा]-
36 जाख्यः ॥ [९*] जलजातपत्रचामरकलशाकुशलक्षणा[क*]करचरणतलः [१*]
लसदाजा-

^१ As remarked in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p 178, note 1, the ख after मार्त्तण्ड is superfluous, it was perhaps engraved because the writer had in his mind the frequent word मण्डल

^२ Read विग्रहीभूता

^३ Read योवधीद्रा

^४ Read 'महो

^५ Read 'महीध'.

^६ The aksharas ली and दु are engraved on an erasure.

^७ Read 'इलीइता

^८ Read 'ल्य

^९ Read 'दीहण्डे'.

^{१०} Read perhaps 'संग्रामिकसाश

^{११} Read 'भूपेय' as proposed in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p 178, note 6, स is engraved on an erasure

^{१२} Read नादग्वा

^{१३} The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line

^{१४} Read जनसंसर्ग

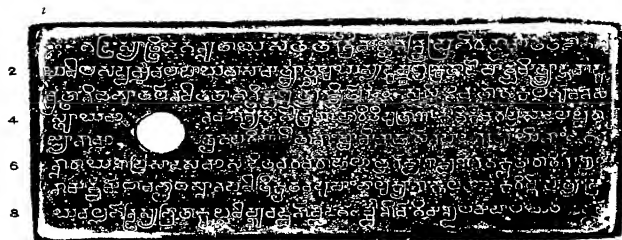
^{१५} Read 'भीस'

^{१६} Read द्वादशावत्समास्यम्यक

^{१७} Read 'मूर्ते'.

^{१८} Read 'महा'

Mahiyapundi grant of Ammaraja II

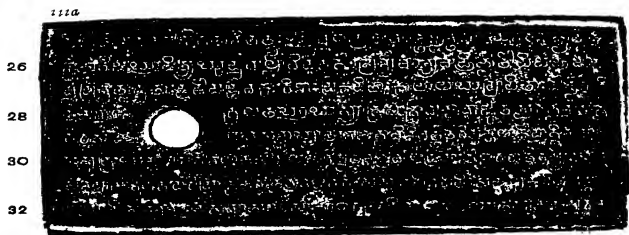


W GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH



SCALE 45

FROM INK IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY RAI BAHADUR V VEIKATYA



E HULTZSCH

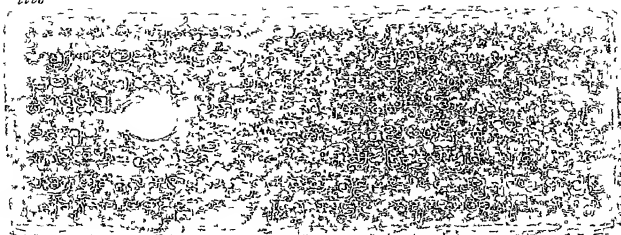
111b

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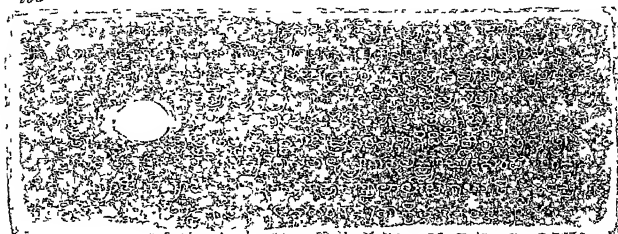
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48



112b

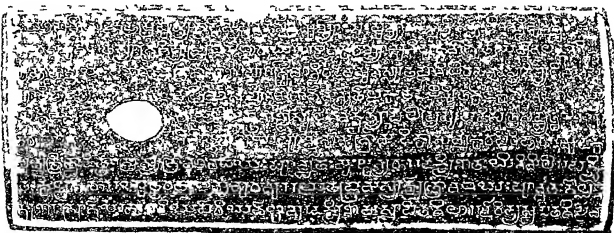
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56

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113

60



- 35 त्वलंबितभुजयुगपरिधौ गिरिन्द्रसानुरस्कः¹ ॥ [१०*] विदितधराधिपविद्यो
विधिधायु-
- 36 धकोविदो² विलिनारिकुलः [1*] करितुरगागमकुशलो ह्ररचरणभोजयुग-
- 37 लमधुपश्रीमान् ॥ [११*] कविगायककल्पतरुर्द्धिजमुनिदिनाम्बवन्धुजन-³
- 38 सुरभिः [1*] याचकगणचिन्तामणिरवनीशमणिर्महोद्यमहसा द्युमणिः ॥
[१२*] गिरिरसवसु-
- 39 संख्यान्दे शकसमये मार्गशीर्षमासेस्मिन् [1*] कृष्टत्रयोदशदिने भृगुवारे
मैत्रनक्षत्रे [॥ १३*]
- 40 धनुषि रवौ घटलक्षणे द्वादशवर्षे तु जन्मनः पटं [1*] योधादुदयगिरिन्द्रो
रविमिव लोका-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 41 नुरागाय ॥ [१४*] स समस्तभुवनाय्यश्रीविजायदित्यमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
परम[धा]-
- 42 भूमिकोमराजकृष्णनाण्डविषयनिवासिनो राष्ट्रकुटप्रसुखान्कुटविनस्सर्व[1*]नित्यमाज्ञा-
पयति [1*]
- 43 आर्या[1*] । किरनपुरमधाक्षोत्तिकप्रराजस्थितं⁴ यस्त्रिपुरमिव¹⁰ महेश्वरपाण्ड-
रगः[1*] प्रतापि¹¹ [1*] तदिह [सु]-
- 44 खसहाथोरन्वितस्याप्यश्व¹² गणनममलकीतेस्तस्य¹³ सत्वाहसानाम¹⁵ ॥ [१५*]
तस्य[1*]ल-
- 45 जो निरवद्यधवलः[1] कटकराजपट्टश्रीभित्तललाटः¹⁶ [1*] तत्तनयो विजया-
दित्यकट-
- 46 काधिपति[1*] । वृत्त¹⁷ । तत्पुत्रो दुर्गराजप्रवरगुणनिधिर्धार्मिकस्-
त्यवादि¹⁸ त्यागि भो[गी]
- 47 महात्मा समितिषु विजय²⁰ विरलक्ष्मिनिवासः²¹ [1*] चालुक्यानां च लक्ष्म्या
यदसिरपि सदा रक्षणा[य]-²²

¹ Read गिरिन्द्रसानुरस्कः² Read विलीना⁰³ Read सुनिदीनासु⁰.⁴ Read कर्ण⁶ Read विजयादित्य⁰.⁶ Read धार्मिकी⁰⁷ Read कूट⁰⁸ Read किरण⁰⁹ Read धाक्षोत्तिकप्रराजस्थितं, as suggested in the Nellore District Inscriptions, p 178, note 2.¹⁰ Corrected from महाश्व⁰¹¹ Read प्रतापी.¹² Read सङ्घक्षर⁰.¹³ Read श्व.¹⁴ Read कीर्ति⁰.¹⁵ Read सामाज्य.¹⁶ The visarga was added subsequently¹⁷ Read वादी त्यागी.¹⁸ Read वृत्त⁰¹⁹ Read दुर्गा⁰²⁰ Read विजयौ वीरलक्ष्मी⁰²¹ The visarga was added subsequently²² Read रक्षयायै.

- 48 यिव वंश[*] ख्यातो यस्यापि वेगोदितवरमहामण्डलालवनाय ।
[१६*] तेन कृतो धर्मपु[रीद]-
49 क्षिणदिशि सज्जिनालयश्चाक्षरः [*] कटकाभरनशुभांकितनाम¹ च पुन्यालयो
वसति ॥ १७*

Fourth Plate ; Second Side

- 50 ³[श्री]यापुनियशंहप्रपुज्यकोटिमडुवगनेशमुखो⁴ यः [*] पुन्यासङ्घनन्दिगच्छो
जिननन्दिमुनिश्चरो[थ]⁵ ग-
51 [ण]धरसदृशः । [१८*] तस्याग्रशिष्य[प्र]थितो ध[र]रायाम्⁶ (i) दिव[र]*-
कर[र]*ख्यो सुनिपुंगवोभुत्⁷ [*] यक्षेवल्लभ[र]*ननिधि-
52 मीहात्मा स्वयं जिनानां शद्रिशो⁸ गुणौघे ॥ [१९*] श्रीमाश्वरदेवमुनिस्तु-
तपोनिधिरभवदस्य शिष्य⁹ धीम[र]न् [*] य-
53 आतिहार्यमहिमा¹¹ संपन्नमिवाभिमन्यते लोकः¹² ॥ २०*¹³ तदधिष्ठितकटक[र]*-
भरनजिनालय[र]-¹⁴
54 य कटकराजविज्ञप्तै¹⁵ खण्डस्फुटनवक्तव्योपिलिप्रपुजादिसचसिद्धार्थम्¹⁶ (i) यु-
55 त्तरायननिमित्ते मलियपूङ्खिनामग्रामटिका सर्वकरपरिहार[म]सुदक-
56 पुर्व¹⁷ क्तिवा दत्ता । अस्य ग्राम[स्य*]वधयः पूर्वतः मुञ्चुन्यन्¹⁸ ॥ दक्षिणतः
यिनिमिलि ॥ पश्चि[म]-
57 तः कल्लकुर्व ॥ युत्तरतः[ः]¹⁹ धर्मवुरमु ॥ ²⁰वेतवामस्य चेचावधयः पूर्वतः
गोक्षनि-
58 गुण्ड ॥ आग्नेयतः[ः] रावियपेरियचेळुवु । दक्षिणतः स्थापितशिला ॥
नैरित्य²¹ स्था[र]*पितशिलैव [*]

Fifth Plate

- 59 पश्चिमतः मरुपक्षि²² कोळीयुतट[र]कक्ष ॥ वायव्यतः स्थापितशिलैव ।
उत्तरतः दुव[चि]ळुवु [*]
60 ईशान्याम्²³ (i) कल्लकुरि एव्योकचेनि सिमैव²⁴ सीमा ॥

¹ Read 'भरण'. The whole compound seems to be meant for कटकाभरणपुन्यानाशिवः, which would have offended against the metre

² Read पुष्पा

³ Read श्रीयापनीयसचप्रपुज्य

⁴ Read 'गणेश' or perhaps, for the sake of the metre, 'गणेश्वर'

⁵ Read पुष्पा and compare below, p 56, note 2

⁶ Read धराया

⁷ Read भूत्

⁸ Read शिष्यो

⁹ Read यन्तिहार्यमहिमा

¹⁰ Read 'पिहित'

¹¹ Read 'भरण'

¹² Read 'भवत्तयावलिप्रपुजादिसचसिद्धार्थमुत्तरायण'

¹³ Or possibly मुञ्चुन्यु

¹⁴ Read उत्तरतः

¹⁵ Read नैरित्या

¹⁶ Read ऐशान्या

¹⁷ Read 'सुनीय'

¹⁸ Read सवृक्षो वृषौघे.

¹⁹ Read 'क्षिप्ये'.

²⁰ Read 'युष्म' कक्षा.

²¹ Read 'यत्'.

²² Read 'यत्'.

²³ Read 'क्षिप्ये'.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes the religion (*śāsana*) of the lord Jinendra.

(Lane 7) Kubja-Vishnuvardhana (I.), the brother of Satyāśraya-Vallabhendra who adorned the family of the Chālukyas, ruled the Vēṅgi country (*maṇḍala*) for eighteen years, his son Jayasimha (I.) for thirty-three; Vishnuvardhana (II.), the son of his younger brother Indrarāja, for nine, his son Mangi-yuvarāja for twenty-five, his son Jayasimha (II.) for thirteen, his younger brother Kokkili for six months, his eldest brother Vishnuvardhana (III.), having expelled him, for thirty-seven years, his son Vijayāditya (I.)-bhaṭṭāraka for eighteen, his son Vishnuvardhana (IV.) for thirty-six

(V. 2) King Vijayāditya (II.), surnamed Narendramrigarāja, who had the courage of a lion, for forty years with eight¹

(L 13) His son Kali-Vishnuvardhana (V.) for one year and a half His son, whose other name was Parachakrarāma,

(V 3) (*was*) Vijayāditya (III.), who, having slain in a great battle Mangi, the king of the great Nodamba-rāshtra, having defeated the Gangas who took refuge on the peak of Gangakūṭa, and having terrified Sankila, the lord of the excellent Pāṇḍya, who was joined by the fierce Vallabha, ruled the earth for forty-four years

(L 16) Chālukya-Bhima (I.), the son of his younger brother Vikramāditya (I.) who had received the dignity of Yuvarāja, for thirty His eldest son² Vijayāditya (IV.) for six months His eldest son Ammarāja (I.) for seven years Having overcome his infant son, Tāla-nripa, the son of Yuddhamalla (I.), the paternal uncle of Chālukya-Bhima (I.), for one month

(V 4) Having slain at the head of a rough battle this Tāla-rāja together with crowds of different vassals, who were joined by a superior army (*and*) had troops of furious elephants, the glorious king Vikramāditya (II.), the son of king Chālukya-Bhima (I.), of very fierce power, righteously ruled for one year the earth surrounded by the girdle of the oceans

(L 22) Afterwards at the setting (*i.e.* the death) of Vikramāditya (II.), the kinsmen-princes who were desirous of the kingdom, (*viz*) Yuddhamalla, Rājamārtanda, Kanṭhikā-Vijayāditya, *etc.*, were fighting for supremacy, oppressing the subjects like Rākshasas (*at the setting of the sun*) In mere war five years passed away Then (*succeeded*)—

(V. 5 f) The fierce warrior who slew among those Rājamārtanda; who in a battle made Kanṭhikā-Vijayāditya and Yuddhamalla go to a foreign country, the curved sword wielded by whose strong arm dispatched to the abode of Death many others who, though respectable kings, had shown themselves puffed up by evil conduct (*and*) causing distress to the country, (*and whose*) command is carried on the head like a garland by the eager kings of the earth.

(V 8) This Rājabhima (II.), the son of Vijayāditya (IV.) (*and*) grandson of Chālukya-Bhima (I.), righteously ruled the surface of the earth for twelve years.

(V 9) Ammarāja (II.), who was born to him by Lōkamahādēvi, as Kumāra to Mahāśvara by Umā,

(V 13 f) Who—as the eastern lord of mountains, to redder the world, (*puts on himself*) the sun—put on, to please the world, the fillet in the twelfth year of (*his*) birth, in the year reckoned by the mountains (7), the flavours (6) and the Vasus (8)—(*i.e.* 887)—of the Śaka era,

¹ The reading of the text seems to be meant for *चत्वारिंशत्समा षट्त्रिं.*, which would however be against the metre

² The other Eastern Chālukya inscriptions show that *agraja* has to be taken here to mean 'the first born son,' and not, as usually, 'the elder brother' A similar use of the word *agrajanman* is noted by Dr Fleet, above, Vol VII p 181

in this month of Mārgaśīrṣa, on the thirteenth day of the dark (*fortnight*), on Thursday, in the Maṭra (Anurādhā) *nakṣatra*, while the sun (*was*) in Dhanu, in the Ghata lagna,

(L 41) This *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, the glorious Vijayāditya (VI), the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara*, the very pious Ammarāja (II) thus commands all the ryots, headed by the *Rāṣṭrāhātās*, inhabiting the district (*vishaya*) of Kamma-nāndu — Lords!

(V 15) Even one possessed of thousands of mouths (*would be*) unable to count the great achievements of that valiant Pāndaranga, of spotless fame, who burnt Kiranapura, the residence of Krishnarāja, as Mahēśa (Śiva) (*burnt*) Tirupura

(L 44) His son (*was*) Niravadyadhavala, whose forehead was decorated with the fillet of Katakārāja His son (*was*) the Katakādhīpati Vijayāditya

Veise (16) His son (*was*) Durgarāja, whose sword always (*served*) only for the protection of the fortune of the Chālukyas, and whose renowned family (*served*) for the support of the excellent great country (*mandala*) called Vēngi.

*(V 17) There is on the southern side of Dharmapuri a very charming excellent temple of Jina (*Jinālaya*) founded by him, an abode of merit, and marked with the auspicious name of Katakābharana.

(V 18) (*There was*) the lord of ascetics Jinanandin, who resembled the Ganadharas, belonged to the pure and worthy² Nandi-gachchha (*and*) was the chief lord of the Kotimaduva(P)-gana, which is to be worshipped (*as belonging to*) the holy Yāpaniya-saṃgha

(V 19) His first disciple was a chief of ascetics called Div[ā]kara, renowned on earth, a store of highest knowledge (*and*) high-souled, who resembled the Jinas themselves by great virtues

(V 20) His disciple was the wise ascetic Śrīmāndīradēva, a store of great austerities, whom people desire as if he were possessed of the power of *pratyāhrya*³

(L 53) To the Katakābharana-Jinālaya superintended by him there was given, at the request of the Katakārāja, for the cost of repairs of breaks and cracks, offerings, worship, *etc*, and of an alms-house (*sattra*), on the occasion of the winter solstice (*uttarāyana*), the small village named Mahyapūndi, with exemption from all taxes, with libations of water

(L 56) The boundaries of this village (*are*) in the east Muñjun[u]ru, in the south Yimuli, in the west Kalvakuru, in the north Dharmavuramu

(L 57) The boundaries of the fields of this village (*are*) in the east the Gollani-guntha (*pond*), in the south-east the Rāviya-periya-cheruvu (*tank*), in the south a demarcation stone, in the south-west also a demarcation stone, in the west Malkapaṭṭu and the Korabōyu-tatāka (*tank*), in the north-west also a demarcation stone, in the north the Duba cheruvu (*tank*), in the north-east the boundary (*is*) also the boundary of the Eyyōka-chēnu (*field*) in Kalvakuru.

NO 7—PLATES OF VIJAYA-DEVAVARMAN

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH D., HALLE (SAALE)

Two sets of excellent ink-impressions of this grant were sent to me by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, who had received the original plates from the Collector of the Kistna district

¹ The word *vamśa* means also 'a cane,' see *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 173, note 5

² It is not quite impossible that *punydrūha* is a mistake for *Pundga*, compare the Punnāgavṛkṣamūlagana of the Nandisamgha, above, Vol IV p. 338

³ According to Buddhist works, *pratyāhrya* or *pratyāhrya* means 'jugglery, working miracles,' see the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*.

"The plates belong to the Head Assistant Collector of Narsapur, in whose office they have been lying for a long time. The person from whom they were originally obtained is not known."

"The copper-plates are four in number. Their length is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and their height $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the ends and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in the middle. Their margins are not raised into rims. The ring was cut by me (*viz* Mr Venkayya) for the first time. Its diameter is $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches, and its thickness slightly over $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. The ends of the ring are secured at the base of an oval seal, measuring $2\frac{3}{8}$ by $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches. The seal is all but obliterated, but a faint trace of some quadruped—perhaps a tiger—can be seen."

The inscription on the plates is carefully engraved and on the whole in a state of very good preservation. The alphabet resembles that of the three grants of Simhavarman¹ and of the plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman.² But neither *i* nor *n* have a loop at the left. As in the Hīrahadagall plates,³ the former is distinguished by a slight curve at the right, compare *eg* the *ta* of *etassa* (l 8) with the *na* of *vayana* (l 7). As first members of a consonant group both look the same, see the *tā* of *āchchittā* and the *nā* of *chānnumantā* (l 17). Final forms of *i* and *m*, followed by a mark of punctuation which looks like a right angle, occur at the end of lines 17 and 19. The numerical symbol 20 occurs in line 11, the symbols 3 and 10 are used in the date (l 15), and the plates *u a*, *u b*, *u c*, *u d* and *u e* are numbered consecutively, like the pages of a modern book,⁴ with the symbols 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 on the left margin, on the first plate the sacred syllable *ōm* occupies the place of the figure 1.

The language is Prākṛit prose, with the exception of the last plate which bears two of the customary Sanskrit verses. While in the cave inscriptions every double consonant is expressed by a single letter, the orthography of the prose part of the subjoined plates agrees in this respect with that of the literary Prākṛit and of the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi.⁵ In *samvachchhara* (l 14) *v* is doubled after *anusvāra*. The language of the new plates is more archaic than that of the literary Prākṛit in one important point: single consonants between vowels generally remain unchanged.⁶ Thus *k* is preserved in *bhaṭṭāra* (l 8), *kh* in *pamukha* (l 7), *g* in *bhagavato* (l 1), *j* in *vijaya* (ll 1, 6, 14), *yāy* in (l 5) and *māhārāja* (l 6), *ṭ* in *bhagavato* (l 1), *anujhāta* (l 2 f), *bhānitavva* and *eta* (l 8), *pariharitavva* (l 13 f), *th* in *raṭha* (l 2), *ḍ* in *pāḍa* (ll 2 and 3) and *padesa* (l 10), *dh* in *medha* (l 5). But elision and *ya-sūta* have taken place in *adūhya* (l 11) for *ārdhya*, *nyattana* (l 10) for *nivartana*, *vayana* (l 7) for *vachana*, and at the beginning of the enclitic *cha* in *duvaggāna ya* (l 12) and *pariharitavva ya* (l 13 f).⁷ The word *Pausa* (l 15) appears in its Sanskrit form.⁸ Dental *n* occurs in *anujhāta* (l 2 f), *Silānkhāna* (l 4), *yājno* (l 5), *ghaṭṭhāna* (ll 11 and 12) = Sanskrit *grihaṣṭhāna*, and lingual *n* in *bhānitavva* (l 8), *Ganasamma* (l 9), *duvaggāna* and *rakkhāna* (l 12), *samānnta* (l 13) = Sanskrit *samānjhāpta*,⁹ and *samvachchharāna* (l 14). Both *n* and *ṇ* appear in *vayana* (l 7), *nyattanān* (l 10) and *manussānam* (l 11).¹⁰ Among the remaining Prākṛit words may be noted the two numerals *terasa* (l 15) and *visam* (l 11),¹¹ and of other inflected words the ablative *Vengipurā* (l 1), the genitives *Devavarmassa* (l 6) and *Ganasammassa* (l 9),¹² the two differently formed locatives *Elāre* (l 7) and *padesamhe* (l 10), and the instrumental *parihārehe* (l 13).

The inscription is dated on the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausa in the thirteenth year (in words and figures, l 14 f) of the *Mahārāja Vijaya-Devavarman* (l 6), who issued

¹ See above, Vol VIII p 160

² *Ind Ant* Vol V p 176 ff

³ *Ep Ind* Vol I p 2 ff

⁴ Another instance, in which the single pages of a grant are numbered, are the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi, see above, Vol VIII p 144

⁵ Above, Vol VIII p 144 and note 5

⁶ Compare Prof Fischel's Prākṛit grammar, § 189

⁷ Compare *ibid* § 184

⁸ Compare *ibid* § 61a

⁹ Compare *ibid* § 68

¹⁰ Compare *ibid* § 224

¹¹ *Ibid* §§ 443 and 445

¹² Compare *ibid* § 402

this grant from Vēṅgipura (l 1) and addressed it to the villagers of Ēlūra (l 7) The donee was named Ganasarman (l 9) and received twenty (in words and figures, l 11) *nvartanas* of land, evidently near Ēlūra, together with a site for his house and a site for the houses of his servants.

The king is described as 'the performer of horse-sacrifices, the Śāṅkākāyana, the fervent Māhāśvara, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (his) father, (and) who meditates at the feet of the holy Chitrarathasvāmin' Nearly the same epithets are applied in another set of plates to the *Mahārāja Vijaya-Nandivarman*,¹ who was the son of the *Mahārāja Chandavarman*, issued his grant likewise from Vēṅgipura, and addressed it to the inhabitants of a village in the district of Kudrābhāra.² This family may be designated the Śāṅkākāyana *Mahārājas* of Vēṅgipura As Dēvavarman's grant is in Prākṛit, he was presumably an ancestor of Chandavarman's son Nandivarman, whose grant is in Sanskrit

Vēṅgipura, the capital of the Śāṅkākāyanas, has been identified with Pedda-Vēṅḡ, a village near Ellore in the Godavari district.³ The correctness of this identification is confirmed by the existence of a small mound which, on a visit to Pedda-Vēṅḡ in 1902, was shown to me by the villagers as the site of the ancient temple of Chitrarathasvāmin,⁴ the family deity of the Śāṅkākāyana *Mahārājas* Other indications point to the same part of the country The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman were found in the neighbouring Kolleru lake,⁵ and Ēlūra, to whose inhabitants the subjoined edict was addressed, is no doubt the modern town of Ēlūru (Ellore), 7 miles from Pedda-Vēṅḡ.

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

Om⁷ [!*]

- 1 Sīrī-vijaya-Vēṅgipurā [!*] Bhagavato
- 2 Chitrarathasāmi-pādānu-
- 3 ṅhātassa bappabhāttāraka pādabhāttassa

Second Plate, First Side

- 4 paramamāhessarassa Śāṅkākāyanassa
- 5 assamedhayāṅḡino
- 6 mahārāja-sīrī-Vijaya-Devavammassa

Second Plate, Second Side

- 7 vayanena Ēlūre muluda-pamukho
- 8 gāmo bhānitavvo [!*] Etassa
- 9 Ba[bhura]-sagottassa Ganassammassa

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 10 sundara-padesamhi bhūmi-miyattanān[!]
- 11 viṣam 20 gharatthānam addhiya-manussānam
- 12 duvaggāna ya gharatthānam parihāra-rakkhaṇam

¹ *Ind Ant* Vol V p 175 ff

² This is the actual reading of the plates, see above, Vol VI p 315 and note 4

³ *South-Ind Pal* p 16, note 1, *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 93

⁴ Compare the quotation from the *Madras Journal*, Vol XIX (which is at present inaccessible to me), above Vol IV p 143, note 7

⁵ *South Ind Pal* p 135, note 1

⁶ From two sets of ink impressions.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol, which stands on the left margin of line 2.

2

1. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 २. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ३. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

11 a

4

1. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 २. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ३. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

6

11 b

8

1. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 २. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ३. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

Third Plate, Second Side

- 13 samānatiam [1*] Eyam savva-parihārehi parihari-
 14 tavvo ya [1*] Vijaya-samvāchchharāni
 15 terasa 10 3 Pausa-kālapakkha-dasamī [10P][1*]

Fourth Plate

- 16 Shashtim varsha-sahasrāni svarggē kridati bhūmi-dah [1*]
 17 āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē¹ vasēt ||
 18 Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā bahubhis=ch=ānupālita [1*]
 19 yasya yasya yadā bhūmih² tasya tasya tadā phala[m] ||

TRANSLATION

Om (Line 1) From the prosperous and victorious Vēṅgīpura. The villagers³ of Ēlūra, headed by the *Muluda*,⁴ must be addressed (as follows) by the word of the glorious *Mahārāja Vijaya-Dēvavarman*, the performer of horse-sacrifices, the Śālanakāyana, the fervent Māhēśvara, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (*his*) father, (and) who meditates at the feet of the holy⁵ *Chitrarathasvāmin* —

(L 8) "It has been ordered that to this⁶ Ganaśarman of the Ba[*bhura*]⁷ *gōtra* (there have to be made over) twenty—20—*navartanas* of land in a handsome locality, a house-site (for himself, and) a house-site for the men who receive half the crop⁸ and for (*his*) door-keepers,⁹ (and) that the immunities (granted to him) have to be protected And thus he must be exempted with all immunities (In) the victorious year thirteen—13—(of the reign), (on) the tenth—[10]—*tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausa "

[Ll 16-19 contain two of the usual verses.]

No 8—BENARES INSCRIPTION OF PANTHA.

By P DATA RAM SAHNI

I edit this inscription from two rubbings kindly supplied to me, one by Dr J Ph Vogel, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle, and the other by Mr G. D Ganguli, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow. A transcript of it has been published before in 1886 by Prof Hultzsch in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XL p 55

The slab on which the inscription is engraved is said to have been discovered in the vicinity of the modern city of Benares, and is one of the twenty-four objects which were presented at the instance of Mr J. H Marshall, to the Lucknow Museum by the Principal of Queen's

¹ This word looks almost like *narakō*

² Read *bhūmih*

³ Literally, 'the village'

⁴ This looks like a Dravidian word, which however cannot be traced in the dictionaries. The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman (L 4) seem to read, instead of it, *Manuda*, but the apparent *nu* in the middle of this word may be in reality an obliterated *u*

⁵ The genitive *bhagavato* refers to *Chitrarathasvāmī*, the first member of the following compound. This is of course a grammatical blunder of the officer who drafted the inscription

⁶ The pronoun 'this' evidently had been uttered by the king in the presence of the donee, just as *tittham* in the plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman, l 5

⁷ Prof Kielhorn suggests to me that this doubtful word may be meant for *Bābhru*

⁸ On *ardhika* or *aradhika* see the *Mitāksharā* on Yājñavalkya, I 166. The Prakrit form *addhika* occurs in *Ep Ind* Vol I p 6, text line 39

⁹ The Sanskrit original of *duvagga* seems to be *duvarga*, which may be taken in the sense of *duvargika*

College, Benares, in December 1903¹ In discussing these sculptures, Dr. Vogel also noticed this stone, but failed to ascertain its precise find-spot²

Judging from the rubbings, the slab which bears the extant portion of the inscription measures 26" by 15" (66 cm by 38 cm) The stone-mason has done his work with great care and neatness, and the letters are deeply cut

The inscription consists of eight lines, but it is far from complete About one-fifth of the entire slab is broken away along the proper left edge, and consequently lines 1-7 have each lost a number of syllables, which varies from nine to fourteen The first three syllables of the first line and the first *akṣara* of the second line have also disappeared owing to a small piece of stone having chipped off from the upper right corner The record is further damaged by the surface having more or less piced off in the marginal portions

The characters of the inscription very closely resemble those of an inscription from Jhālrapātan³ and are of the ornamental type current in Northern India about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Attention must, however, be drawn to the letters *bh* and *y*⁴ The former of these always, and the latter in several cases, exhibit forms which come very close to those of the Mauryan alphabet of the sixth century A.D. The language is correct Sanskrit and metrical throughout As regards orthography, there are three different points which deserve notice (1) the doubling of the letters *m*, *t*, *p* and *v* in conjunction with a preceding or following *r*, in *-maranayōr=mmōksha-*, 1 1, *yattira*, 1 2, *attira* and *-mūrtitih*, 1 4, *sarppat-sarppa-* and *-vuchir=vulōla-*, 1 6, (2) the substitution of a single consonant for a double one in *-tatva-*, 1 3, *-vṛtyā*, 1 4, *uṣalam*, 1 7, and (3) the use of *v* for *b* in *vrahmahā*, 1 2, and *sandhuvandha-*, 1 7

The inscription is not dated, and its object is to record the erection of a shrine of *Bhavanī* at Benares There are altogether five verses, the first three in the *Śāgdhara* and the last two in the *Sārdūlavahikā* metre The first stanza is devoted to the praise of the city of *Vārānaśi* The purport of the second verse is not quite certain, it seems to speak of a particular quarter of the holy city, which was often visited even by the moon when practising her penance The third verse contains an eulogy of the builder of the shrine, named *Pantha*, and the last two speak of the consecration of the *Bhavanī* image (°) and the construction of the shrine, respectively

TEXT.

- 1 [Om svasti ||*] [Khyā]tā Vārānaśi-yam tribhuvana-bhavan-ābhōga-cham-iti dārāt-
sēvantē yām viraktā janana-maranayōr=mmōksha-sekt-aka-[chi]ttāh [i] sō —
— — — — —
- 2 [ta] saganō yattira dēvō vimuktah yām dṛṣṭivā vra(bra)hmah=āpi chyuta-kali-
kaluṣhō jāyatē śuddha-bhāvah || [1*] Asyām=uttunga-śrīga-sphuta-śa[śi]-
krana-[svēta-bhāśā sanātham ramy-āyama*]-
- 3 pratōli-vividha-japada-stri-vilās-ābhurāmam | vidyā-vēdārtha-tatva(ttva)-vrata-japa-
nyama-vyagra-chandr-ābhjushtam śrīmat-sthānam [pri]thivyā — — — — — || [2*]
- 4 Att=ābhūt=Pantha-nāmā śīsur=api vinaya-vyūpatō bhadra-mūrtih tyāgi dhīrah
kritajñah parilaghu-vibhavō=py=ātma-vṛtya(tty)=ābhūta[stha]h⁶ | Gangā-srōtaś-
suchu-śrī*]-

¹ *Annual Report of the Lucknow Provincial Museum for 1903-4*, p. 2

² *Archaeological Survey Report for 1903-4*, p. 212.

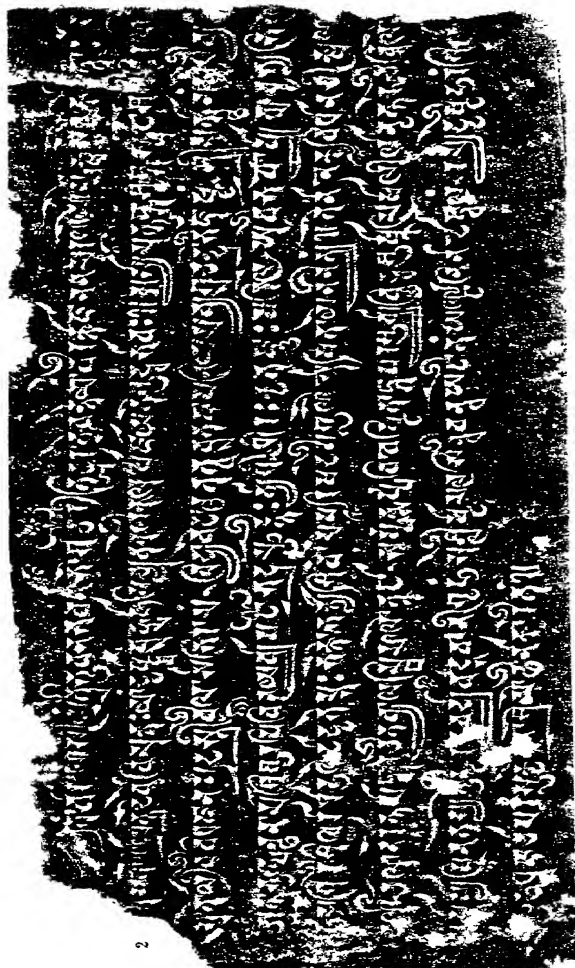
³ *Ind. Ant. Vol. V* p. 180 and Plate.

⁴ Eg. in *yattira*, *jāyatē*, 1 2, *vinaya*, 1 4, and *yāna*, 1 5

⁵ [In my own transcript this word was misread as =*ārya* — E. H.]

⁶ This restoration is based on the preceding *adhīsta*⁵ and *dīma-vṛtityā*

Benares inscription of Pantha.



2

4

6

8

E Hultzsch

Scale one third

From a rubbing supplied by Dr J Ph. Vogel

Collotype by Gebr. Pietner, Halle

(V 5) Not satisfied with the erection (of this image only), the pious man, desirous of bias, caused to be built a shrine of Bhavāni, which was joined with a very adhesive and bright cement, resplendent with the sound of bells, lovely, attractive, . . . (and decorated) with lofty flags and yak-tails.

NO. 9 — THE CHAHAMANAS OF NADDULA.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, CIE., GÖTTINGEN.

Of the Chāhamānas of Śākambhari we possess two long inscriptions. One of them is the Harsha inscription of Vigraharāja, edited by me in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II p. 116 ff. It is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1030, corresponding to about A.D. 973, and gives the genealogy of the Chāhamānas from Gūvaka I, 'who attained to pre-eminence as a hero in the assembly of the glorious Nāgavalōka,¹ the foremost of kings,' to Vigraharāja. The other is the difficult Bijoli (Bijach, Bijolia, Bijhoh) rock inscription of the reign of Sōmēśvara, which has been uncritically edited in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LV Part I p. 40 ff. This inscription is dated in the Vikrama year 1226, corresponding to A.D. 1170, and gives a long genealogy, commencing with Sāmanta, the reputed founder of the family, and ending with Sōmēśvara.² Between these two longer records, and subsequently to the second, we have a few shorter inscriptions of the same family, notably the Delhi Śivalik pillar inscriptions of Visaladēva-Vigraharāja of A.D. 1164, and two short inscriptions on the defeat of the Chandēlla Paramardidēva by the Chāhamāna Prithvirāja II, of the [Vikrama] year 1239 = A.D. 1182. The latest available date for this family is the [Vikrama] year 1244 = A.D. 1187.³

From this Śākambhari family there branched off, some time in the first half of the 10th century A.D., another line of Chāhamānas (or Chāhāmānas), which was founded by the Śākambhari prince Lakshmana, and which for a long time had its seat of government at Naddūla,⁴ the modern Nadol in the Jōdhpur State of Rājputāna.⁵ To this branch of the family there is assigned in my *Northern Ind.* only a single inscription, No. 141, the Nadol copper-plate inscription of the Mahārāja Ālhanadēva of A.D. 1161. But there belong to it also other inscriptions of the *List*, inscriptions of chiefs whose connection with the family was not known

¹ I have already stated elsewhere that the true reading in verse 13 of the Harsha inscription is *śrīman Nāgavalōka pravarānripa sabbā laudha(bāha) utrapratishthak*. In my Synchronistic Table for Northern India I have suggested that Nāgavalōka may be identical with the Prabhāra Nāgabhatta; but this appears to be a mistake. A definite date for a king Nāgavalōka — apparently the Vikrama year 813 = A.D. 766 — will, so far as I can see now, be furnished by a copper-plate inscription which has been quite recently discovered, and of which I have received a photograph from my friend Mr. Ozha.

² See above, Vol. VIII. Appendix I p. 18 f.

³ See my *Northern Ind.*, Nos. 144, 175 and 188.

⁴ So this name is spelt below, in the inscriptions A, B and C, and in the inscription of Lantipādēva, treated of under D. We find the name spelt in the same way (with *dd*) in verse 21 of the Bijoli rock inscription, which is quite wrongly given in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LV Part I. p. 42, the actual reading on the stone being: *Jatālipuram jvalāpuram kṛtā Pallikāgri pall-iva | nadvala-iniyah rōhās-Naddēlah gēna sam(fa) ryeṇa*. In the inscription at Vimala's temple on Mount Ābh, which will be mentioned below, p. 81, the name is *Naddāla*. In verse 48 of the Mount Ābh inscription of Samarambha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI p. 340) it is either *Naddāla* or *Naddēla* (not *Naddāla*), and in Prof. Weber's Catalogue of the MSS. of the Berlin Library, Vol. II pp. 1003 and 1004, we find *Naddāla*, *Naddealapura* and *Naddēlapura*. In Mr. Kitāvat's edition of the *Kṛtikas*, Vol. II 98, and, copied from it, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p. 26, verse 14, we also have *Naddēla*, but this almost certainly is a mistake.

⁵ Towards the end of the 12th century A.D. the seat of government was transferred to Jivālipura (Jālor); and at the commencement of the 14th century a branch of the family took Chandkrati with Mount Ābh from the Paramaras.

when I compiled the *List*. My object in writing this paper is, to give the genealogy of these Chāhamānas of Naddūla, so far as the documents which lately have come to my knowledge enable me to do so. For this purpose I shall give the texts of three inscriptions which the kindness of Dr Fleet and Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha allows me to edit, and an account of the contents of some Mount Ābū inscriptions, based on excellent impressions for which we have to thank Mr Cousens.

A.—NADOL PLATES OF ĀLHANADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1218

These plates were obtained by Colonel Tod,¹ in October 1819, at Nadol, a town in the Jōdh-pur State of Rājputāna, and presented to the Royal Asiatic Society. An account of their contents was given by him in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol I p 804, and the inscription which they contain was edited, in a rather slovenly manner, by Rao Bahadur H. H. Dhruva, in *Journ. Bombay As Soc* Vol XIX p 26 ff. I re-edit it from an excellent photolithograph,² prepared under the superintendence of, and kindly placed at my disposal by, Dr Fleet.

These are two plates, each of which measures about $8\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $6\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both sides. The edges of the inner sides of them are fashioned slightly thicker, so as to protect the writing, and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation. Both plates contain a hole for a ring, but the ring and any seal that may have been attached to it have not been preserved. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the greater part of the text is in verse. In respect of orthography it will suffice to state that the letters *b* and *v* are both denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal. The text contains a considerable number of clerical mistakes, most of which can be easily corrected. Other mistakes are shown by the metre to be due to the author himself, who possessed no accurate knowledge of Sanskrit. Of these I would point out here merely the wrong *samāha* in *sprihayana=amaratām*, (for *sprihayana=amaratām*) in line 17, the meaningless *-pragunibhūtāpasavyakahā pānīh* (for *-pragunibhūtāpasavyapānīh*) in line 21, and the omission of some word like *astu* before the words *vō=stu* in line 18. In lines 13, 14 and 16 the potential *syāt* is used for *asti* or *bhavati*.³

The inscription records a donation by the Mahārāja Ālhanadēva of Naddūla.⁴ According to lines 18-23, this chief, on Sunday, the 14th *tithi* (described as *mahāchaturdaśī-parvan*⁵) of the bright half of Śrāvana in the year 1218, after worshipping the Sun and Īśāna (Śiva) and making gifts to Brāhmins and gurus, granted to (the Jama temple of) Mahāvīradēva in the Sandēśaka *gachchha*,⁶ at the holy place⁷ (*mahāsthāna*) of Naddūla, a monthly sum of five *drammas*, (to be paid) from the custom-house (*śulka-mandapikā*⁸) in the grounds⁹ of Naddūla.

¹ See his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol I p 698, my *Northern List*, No 141.

² *Indian Inscriptions*, No 10, not yet published.

³ For instances where the potential is used for the imperfect see e.g. *Ind Ant* Vol XVII p 135.

⁴ So the name is spelt twice in line 22, and the same spelling is required by the metre in line 3. See above, p 62, note 4.

⁵ For the similar use of *parvan* in other dates see *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 413, and Vol XXV p 289 f.

⁶ In Mount Ābū inscriptions this *gachchha* is also called *Sandāra-gachchha* and *Shandēśaka-gachchha*. The town of *Sandāra* (the Sanders of the map of the Rājputāna Agency) is mentioned below in C, line 16.

⁷ According to Colonel Tod Naddūla was one of the ancient seats of the Jains.

⁸ For passages in which the term *mandapikā* occurs, compare e.g. *Ep Ind* Vol I p 114, l 27, p 173, l 6 (*Śtyadān-satka-mandapikā*), p 175, l 19, p 177, l 29 and l 30, p 179, l 45, p 262, l 3 (*pattana-mandapikā*), *Ind Ant* Vol XIV p 10, col 2 (*Śrīpatā-satka-mandapikā*), *Journ As Soc Beng* Vol LV, Part I p 47, iv, and p 48, v, *Bhādnagar Insor* p 205, l 7. *Śulka-mandapikā* occurs e.g. in *Bhādnagar Insor* p 158 f, ll 10, 15 and 18.—The meaning of *mandapikā* is suggested by the Marāṭhī *māndat*, 'a custom-house'.

⁹ The word *talapada* (in *śrī Naddūla-talapada-śulka-mandapikādyām*) is not found in the dictionaries. I take it to be synonymous with, or similar in meaning to, *svatala*, which occurs in some of the Valabhi inscriptions, and for which see Dr Fleet's note above, Vol. VI. p 166. Compare also *Ind Ant*, Vol XI p 339, note 80.

The inscription, after the words 'ôm, adoration to the Omniscient,' opens with a verse in which the holy Mahāvīradēva, 'the youngest of the Jinas,' is desired to bestow welfare. It then (in verses 2-7) gives the following genealogy of the grantor —

In the Chāhumāna race there was first at Naddūla the king Lakshmana. His son was Sôhiya, and his son Balirāja. After him came his paternal uncle Vīgrahapāla. His son was Mahēndra, his son Anahilla, and his son Bālaprasāda. His brother was Jēndrarāja, and his son Prithivipāla. His brother was Jōjalla, and his younger brother Āsārāja, whose son was Ālhanadēva. Nothing of historical importance is said about any of these chiefs.

According to lines 33-38, the *dātā* of this grant was the minister, appointed to the secretaryship (*śrīkarana*),¹ Lakshmidhara, the son of Dharanigga, of the Prāgvāta race, and the grant was composed and written by Śrīdhara, the son of Vāsala (Visala²), who was the son of Manōratha, of the family of the Naigamas. The inscription ends with the words 'this is the own hand (= sign-manual) of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Ālhanadēva.'

Naddūla of course is the modern Nadol where the plates were obtained, and where the temple of Mahāvīra to which the grant was made apparently still exists.³ The date of the grant, for the expired *Chaitrārdī* Vikrama year 1218, regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 6th August A D 1161, when the 14th *tithi* of the bright half of Śrāvana ended 15 h 35 m. after mean sunrise.³

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 Ôm⁵ || Ôm namah Sarvvaññāyā⁶ | Dīsatu⁷ Jina-kanshthah karmavam(bam)dha-
kshayishthah parihṛta-madamārakrôdha-
- 2 lōbhādivārah | duritasīkharī-samvāh⁸ svô(śvô)vasīyam cha śam vas=
tribhuvanakṛta-sēvāh |⁹ śrī-Mahāvī-
- 3 radevāh || [1*] Aśh¹⁰ parama ā-jalamidhi jagati-talô¹¹ Chāhumāna-vamśô hi |
tav(tr)=āśm=Nadū(ddū)lô bhūpāh
- 4 śrī-Lakshmana āśu¹² || [2*] Tasmād=va(ba)bhūva putrô rājā śrī-
Sôhiyas¹³=tad=ann sūnuh | śrī-Va(ba)lurājô rā-
- 5 jā Vīgrahapālô=nu cha pitṛivya(vyāh) || [3*] Tasy=āt=14tanūjô bhūpālāh |¹⁵
śrī-Mahēndradēv-ākhyāh | taj-jāh śrī-¹⁶
- 6 Anahilô(IIô)¹⁷ nripati varô=bhāt=prithula-tējāh || [4*] Tat-sūnuh śrī-
Vā(bā)laprasāda ity=ajani pārhiva-
- 7 śrēshthah | tad-bhrāt=ābhū[t*]=kshatīpāh subhatah śrī Jēndrarāj-ākhyāh || [5*]
Śrī-Prithivipālô=bhū[t*]=tat-putrah sai-¹⁸

¹ Compare above, Vol. VIII p. 209, line 8 of the text. Above, Vol. III p. 317, l. 45, *śrīkarana* by itself is used to denote the official ('a secretary').

² See the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X p. 142.

³ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 30, No. 35.

⁴ From a photo-lithograph prepared under the superintendence of, and supplied to me by, Dr. Fleet.

⁵ Denoted by a symbol

⁶ Metre Mālinī

⁷ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

⁸ For the sake of the metre for *jagati-talô*

⁹ Mr. Dhruva's text has *Lôhiyas*, but *Sôhiyas* is quite clear in the original. The same name, *Sôhiya*, I find above, Vol. VIII p. 221, l. 19, and in another Mount Ābū inscription, No. 1899 of Mr. Cousens' List.

¹⁰ Read =*dhhacai*

¹¹ Here and elsewhere the *t* of *śrī* has purposely not been changed to *y* before a vowel; I compare below, lines 9 and 38, *śrī-Ālhanā*, and other passages in B and C and elsewhere.

¹² The name is written *Anahilla* in B, line 7, and C, line 11, and the same spelling is recognised here in the metre.

¹³ Read *sauryavṛttī-lôbh-dhāyā*

⁶ Read *ññāyā*

⁸ Read *karmavah*, 'a thunderbolt'

¹⁰ Metre of verses 29 Āryā.

¹² Read *nas=oh=ddau*

¹³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

- 8 ryavritsōbh-ādhyaḥ | tasmād=abhayaḍ=bhrātā śrī-Jōjallō ranaas-ātmā || 6*
Tad-avarajō=bhūch=chhīrāmā-
- 9 n-Āsā(sā)rājah pratāpavara-nūlayah | tat-putrah kshōnīpah śrī-Ālhanadēva-
nām-ābhūt || 7*
- 10 Yasya pratāpa-psā(?)lam¹ samkuladīkchakra-prithulavistāram | smchamti
sva(sū)ditāhitaḡana-lalanā
- 11 nayanasahī aughah || 8* Sō=yam mahā-kshutīśah sāram=idam vu(bu)ddhumān=
achūmtayata || 9* iha sam-
- 12 sārā² asāiam |³ sarvvaṃ janm-ādi jantūnām || 10* Yatah || 11* Garbhah⁴
strīkukshi-madhyē pala-rudhura-vasā-
- 13 mēlasā va(ba)ddha-pumdō mātuh prānāmtakārī⁵ prasavana-samayē prānīnām
syān-nu janmā⁶ dharmm-ā-
- 14 dīnām=avēttā bhavati hi nyatam vā(bā)la-bhāvas=tatah svā(syā)t-tāranyam
svālpamātram svajana-pari-
- 15 bhavasthā(?)natā⁶ vridhha-bhāvah || 10* Khadyōtōdyō(ddyō)ta-tulyāḥ || 7
kshanam=iha sukhādāḥ sampa-

Second Plate, First Side

- 16 dō drishṭa-nashtāḥ prānitvam chamchalam syād=dalam-upari yathā tōya-
vimdur=nnahnyāḥ | jūātv=aivam⁸ sva pi-
- 17 trō sprihayan=⁹amaratām ch-āhikām¹⁰ dharmma-kirtti dēsāmtō¹¹ rājanutrān¹²
janapada-gaṇān vō(bō)dhayaty=ēva
- 18 vō=stu¹³ || 11* Sam 1218 varshē | Śrāvapa sūdī 14 Ravau | asminn=ēva
mahāchaturdāśī-parvvanī || Snātva¹⁴ dhanta-
- 19 patē nrvēśya(śya)¹⁵ dahanē datv=āhutīn¹⁶ punya(nya)krn=Māmrtvadasya¹⁷
tamahprapātana-patōḥ sampūrya ch-āghamjīm¹⁸ || 12*
- 20 trailōka(kya)śya prabhum oharāchhara-gurum samsnāpya pamoh-āmrtaīr=īśānam
kanak-ānna-vastra-dadanah¹⁹ sampūrya viprā-
- 21 n gurūn || 12* Anu²⁰ tilakukshātōdaka²¹ pragunibhūtāpasavyakah²² pānḥ || 11
śāsanam=ānam=²³ayachchhata yā-

¹ Read *yālam*

² Observe the wrong *samdhā* (for *samadrā=sāram*)

³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴ Metre of verses 10 and 11 Sragdhara

⁵ Read *kārs* and *janma* |

⁶ The *th* of the *akshara sthā* is not quite clear, but there seems to be no doubt that the above is the actual and intended reading. One would have expected *paribhāvasthānam*, but this would not have suited the metre.

⁷ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Here a syllable, perhaps *ea*, has been omitted.

⁹ Here, again, observe the wrong *samdhā* for which the metre shows the author to be responsible; *sprihayann* would have offended against the metre.

¹⁰ Read *avahīkām dharmma kirttum*, one misses a second *chā*.

¹¹ I can only suggest that *dśāmtō* may stand for *dśāntā*, i.e. *dśāntah*, *dśāntar*, 'in (this) country'.

¹² After this word a short syllable is missing; perhaps the reading should be **trān=va janapada-*.

¹³ The words *vō=stu* cannot be construed with the preceding. The author had in his mind the phrase *viditam vō=stu*.

¹⁴ Metre Śārdūlavikrīdita.

¹⁵ Mr Dhruva read this *Maitapātē nrvēśya*, which he translated by 'while encompassed at Maitapata'. Compare *dhanta vāśat paridhāya* in line 19 of B, and, e.g., in *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p 847, l. 7 of the text.

¹⁶ Read *dattv=dhutth*.

¹⁷ Read *Mārttānādasya*.

¹⁸ Read *ārgghāgāim*.

¹⁹ *Dadana* in the sense of *dāna*.

²⁰ Metre *Āryā*.

²¹ Read *tilakukshātōdaka*. The *ka* of *ōdaka* is treated as a short syllable before *pr*, see *Ind Studien*, Vol VIII p 224.

²² The metre, in my opinion, shows that the author undoubtedly wrote this, what he intended was **pasavya pānḥ (=dākeśina-pānḥ)*.

²³ Wrong for *śnad=*, or, better, *ślad=*

- 22 vach-chamdrārkakapūpālam¹ |(II) [13*] Śrī Naddūla-mahāsthānē śrī-Sandēiaka-gachchhē śrī-Mahāvīradēvāya śrī-Naddūla-
- 23 talapada sūlkamamapikāyām māsānumāsam dhūpavēlārtham² śāsānēna dra³ 5
pamcha prādāt [1*] Asya
- 24 dēvarasyanam⁴ bhūmjanasya asmadvamśējaur-⁵bhāvi-bhōktribhūr-⁶aparaś=cha
paripamthanā na kāryā | yatah [1*]
- 25 ⁶Sāmānyō=yam dharma-sētūr-nripānām kālē kālē pālaniyō bhavadbhūh
sarvān=ēvam bhāvinab pā-
- 26 rihivēndrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachandrah || [14*] Tasmāt |
⁷Asmadanva[ya*]jā bhūpā bhāvi-bhūpatayās=cha yē [1*]
- 27 tēshām-aham karē lagnah pālaniyam=idam sadā |(II) [15*] Asmad vamśē
parikshinē yah kaschīm⁸ nripatur=bhavēt [1*]
- 28 tasy=āham karē lagnō=smi sā(śā)anam nā(na) vyatikramēt |(II) [16*]
Va(ba)hubhūr=vasudhā bhuktā rājanyah Sagar-ā-
- 29 dibhīh [1*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmī(mi)s=tasya tasya tadā phalam |(II) [17*]
Vasuthi-⁹varsha-sahasrām svarggē tishthāt dāna-
- 30 dah [1*] āchchhētā(śā) ch=ānumamā cha tāny=ēva natakam¹⁰ vasē[t] |(II) [18*]
Sva-dattam para-dattam vā dēva-dāyam harēta yah [1*] sa
- 31 viśthāyām krumur=bhūtā putr(tri)bhīh saha majjati || [19*] Sū(śū)ny-
ātāvīy(shv)=atōyāsu śushkakōtara vāsi-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 32 nah | krishnāhayō=bhūjāyamtē dēva-dāyam haranti yē || [20*] Mamgalam
mahā śrīh ||
- 33 ¹¹Piāgvāta-vamśē Dharanigga-¹²nāmnaḥ sutō mahāmātya-varah su-karmmā |
va(ba)bhūva dā-
- 34 tah prā(pra)tibhā-mvāsō Lakshmīdharah śrīkarantē nyōgī || [21*]
¹³āsīt=sva-
- 35 chohha-malā(nā) Manōratha ita prāk¹⁴ Naigamānām kulē sā(śā)etra
jñānasudhārasa-
- 36 plavita-¹⁵dhīs=taj-jō=bhavat¹⁶ Vāsalah | putras=tasya va(ba)bhūva lōka-
vasanī(tu)h śrī-
- 37 Śrīdharah Śrīdharē sūpāstī rachayāmchakāra hikhē ch=ēdam mahā-śā-
- 38 [sa]nam || [22*] Sva-hastō=yam mahārāja-śrī-Ālhapadēvasya ||

B — NADOL PLATES OF THE RĀJAPUTRA KĪRTIPĀLA;

[VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1218.

Mr Gaurishankar Hirschand Ojha of Udaipur in Rājputāna has informed me that these plates also were obtained, in the course of last year, at Nadol. My account of them is mainly based on two good rubbings, kindly supplied to me by Mr Ojha

¹ Read *°dhākdalan*, compare *°keshitkdalan* in line 26 of B

² Read *dhūpa-tal-dīthan*, without the sign of punctuation

³ I.e. *drumdam*.

⁴ Read *°sy-damaśashtayasya*

⁵ Read *dēvayy-ganam* (for *wasnad*, *wasad*)

⁶ Metre Śālinī.

⁷ Metre of verses 15-20 Ślōka (Anushtubh)

⁸ Read *kaschīm*.

⁹ Read *shashti-* or *shashtīm*

¹⁰ Read *narakī*

¹¹ Metre Upajñā.

¹² The name *Dharaniga* occurs above, Vol. VIII p. 220, line 8 of the text; here the letter *g* seems to have been doubled simply for the sake of the metre.

¹³ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

¹⁴ Read *prāga*.

¹⁵ *Plavita* wrong for *plavita*, which would not have suited the metre.

¹⁶ Read *=bhavad*, and, perhaps, *Vāsalaḥ*

These also are two plates, each of which measures about $9\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $6\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both sides¹. The writing on them is in a state of perfect preservation. Each plate contains a hole for a ring, I do not know whether the ring and any seal that may have been attached to it have been preserved. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The text contains eight verses² of chiefly genealogical matter, three of the ordinary imprecatory verses, and one verse giving the writer's name, the rest is in prose, which in one or two places is grammatically incorrect. As regards orthography, the letter *v* is used for both *b* and *v*, except in *-labdhajanmā*, l 3, the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *Mahēsvaram*, l 22, and the sign of *avagraha* is once employed, in *śhagajāh*, l 16. In lne 29 the gerund *lagitvā* is used in the sense of 'commencing from, beginning with'.

The inscription records a grant by the *Rājaputra* (or king's son) Kirtipāla, a son of Ālhanadēva of Naddūla. After the words *om svasti*, it invokes the blessing of the gods Brahman, Śrīdhara (Viṣṇu), and Śamkara (Śiva), 'who, always free from passion, are famous in the world as Jinās' (or Jaina Arhats). It then (in verses 2-8) gives the following genealogy —

In the town of Śākambhari there was formerly, in the Chāhamāna³ lineage, the king Vākpatirāja. His son was Lakshmana, who was king at Naddūla, and his son was Sōbhita. From him sprang Balirāja, and after him there ruled his paternal uncle Vighrahapāla. Vighrahapāla's son was Mahēndra, his son Apahilla, and his son Jēndrarāja, from whom sprang Āsarāja⁴. His son was Ālhana, the lord of Naddūla, who defeated the Saurāshtrikas. This king married Annaladēvi,⁵ a daughter of Anahula of the Rāshtraudra⁶ race, who bore to him three sons — Kēlhana, Gajasimha, and Kirtipāla. Of these, Kēlhana, the eldest son, was made *kumāra* (or heir-apparent) and given a share in the government.

According to l. 17 ff. the *Rājakula*⁷ Ālhanadēva and the *Kumāra* Kēlhanadēva were pleased to give to the *Rājaputra* Kirtipāla twelve villages appertaining to Naddūlāi. And then, on Monday, the 5th of the dark half of Śrāvana of the year 1218, the *Rājaputra* Kirtipāla, after bathing etc at Naddūla and worshipping the Sun and Mahēsvara (Śiva), granted a yearly sum of two *dramma*s from each of the twelve villages of Naddūlāi to (the temple of) the Jina Mahāvira at the village of Naddūlāi, and ordered this money to be paid in the month of Bhādrapada of every year, commencing with the year then current. The twelve villages to which this order referred were Naddūlāigrāma, Sūjēra, Darījī, Kavilāda, Sōnānam, Mōrakarā, Haravandam, Māḍāda, Kāpasuvam, Dēvasūri, Nāḍāda, and Mauvadi.

So far as I can judge, the village of Naddūlāi mentioned in the above is different from (the *mahāsthāna*) Naddūla, and the words *Naddūlāi-pratibaddha* in lne 18 appear clearly to show that Naddūlāi not merely was the name of a village, but also denoted the district to which the twelve villages given to Kirtipāla belonged — On the map of the Rājputāna Agency I find,

¹ The second side of the second plate contains three lines of writing. Of these no rubbing, but only Mr Ojha's transcript has been sent to me.

² The metre of verse 6 is a mixture of Upēndravajrā and Vasantatilakā.

³ So the name is spelt here and below in C.

⁴ In C the name is *Āsarāja*, while in A, the actual spelling is *Āsarāja*. Here we have *Āsarāja*, and in D the actual spelling is *Āsarāja*.

⁵ The occurrence of this name here induces me to state that the name in the Delhi Siwālik pillar inscription of Visaladēva Vighrahārāja, A, lne 2 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 218) is *Annaladēva*, not *Acēlladēva*, and that therefore *Annaladēva* should be substituted for *Acēlladēva* also in my *Northern List*, No 144, and above, Vol. VIII App. I p. 14, col. 1 (after Arpōrāja).

⁶ For a Rāshtrōdja *vaṇṇa* see my *Northern List*, No 278.

⁷ On this and similar titles see my remarks above, Vol. IV. p. 312, note 7. *Mahārājakula* occurs below in D, and in other Mount Ābū inscriptions.

south-east of Nadol, Desur, which most probably is the Dēvasūi of this inscription, of the other villages I can find no traces on the map

After the imprecatory verses the inscription (in lines 33 and 34) has the words 'this is the own hand (i.e. sign-manual) of the *Mahārājaputra* (or *Mahārāja's* son), the illustrious Kīrti-pāla,' and the statement that this grant was written by Śubhamkara, the son of Damōdara and grandson of the *Kāyasiha* Sōdha of the Naigama lineage.

The possible equivalents of the date, for the *pūrnimānta* and *amānta* month Śrāvana, would be —

for the *Chaitrārdī* Vikrama year 1218 current Saturday, the 25th June A.D. 1160, and Monday, the 25th July A.D. 1160 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h 8 m after mean sunrise),

for the *Chaitrārdī* Vikrama year 1218 expired Friday, the 14th July A.D. 1161, and Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1161 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h 16 m after mean sunrise),

for the *Kārttikārdī* Vikrama year 1218 expired Tuesday, the 3rd July A.D. 1162 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h 58 m after mean sunrise), and Thursday, the 2nd August A.D. 1162

From this it will be seen that the given date is correct only for the *amānta* month Śrāvana of the current *Chaitrārdī* Vikrama year 1218, and therefore apparently corresponds to Monday, the 25th July A.D. 1160. As current Vikrama years are quoted very rarely, this result is not perhaps quite free from suspicion, but I can see no valid reason to question the authenticity of the wording of the original date.¹

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 Om³ || Svasth || Śrīyā⁴ bhavantu vō dēvā⁵ Vra(bra)hma-Śrīdhara-Śamkaśh
sadā virāgavam-
- 2 tō yā⁶ Jinā jagatī vīrutāh || 1 Śākambhari-nāma purā pur-āśī⁷ ch-ohhī-
Chāha-
- 3 mān-ānvaya-labdha-janmā | rājā mahārājanat-āmhriyugmah khyātō=vanau Vākpa-
- 4 tirāja-nāmā || 2 Naddūlē⁸ samabhūt-tadīya-tanayah śrī-Lakshmanō bhūpatih⁹ ta-
- 5 smāt=sarvagap-ānvitō nripa-varah śrī-Sōbhīt-ākhyah⁹ sutah | tasmāch=chh[r*]i-
Va(ba)hīrāja-nā-
- 6 ma-nripatih paśchāt-tadīyō mahī-khyātō Vīgrahapāla ity-abhūdhayā rājyē
pūtrīvyō=bhavat || 3
- 7 Tasmāt-tīvramahāpratāpa-tarapīh putrō Mahēndrō=bhavat-tajjāch-śrī-Anahilladēva-
nripatēh śrī-Jēm-
- 8 drarājah sutah | tasmād=durddharavaukumjaravadha-prōtālasamh-ōpamah sat-
kīrtiyā dhaval[ī]krīt-ā-

¹ With reference to the above I may state that Mr. Ojha has sent me a rubbing of a *granti* (engraved on one side of one plate only) of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Kōlhanadēva, which is dated in line 1: *samvat 1238 varshē Jy[ishṭha] vādē 12 Soma*. This date also works out satisfactorily only for the *amānta* *Jyāishṭha* of the current *Chaitrārdī* Vikrama year 1228, for which it corresponds to Monday, the 7th June A.D. 1165.

² From two rubbings supplied to me by Mr. Gauruhankar Hirachand Ojha.

³ Denoted by a symbol

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous

⁵ Metre of verses 3-5 Sārdūlavikrīdita

⁶ The inscription C has *Sōbhita*, but as A has *Sōbhīya*, I do not alter the *Sōbhīya* of the present inscription to *Śōbhīya*

⁷ Metre *Ślōka* (Anuashubh)

⁸ Metre *Indravajrā*.

⁹ Read *bhāgavata*.

- 9 khulajagach=chri Ásarājō nripah || 4 Tat-putrō nijavikramārjūtam-
mahāājjapratāpōdayō
- 10 yō jagrāha jaya-śriyam rana-bharē vyāpādyā Saurāśhtrikān | śauchāchāra-
vichāra-dāna-vasatur=Naddū-
- 11 la-nāthō mahān=samkhyōtpādita-vīravrittur=amalah śrī-Ālhanā² bhūpatih || 5
Anēna³ rājñā jana-vīśrutē-
- 12 na |⁴ Rāshtrauda-vamsaja var-Ānahulasya putri | Annalladēvir-ita śīla-vivēka-
yuktā |⁵ Rāmēna vai Janakaj=ēva vi-
- 13 vāhit=āsau || 6 Ābhyam⁶ jātāh su-putrā jagata vara-dhuyō rūpa-saundarya-
yuktāh |⁷ śāstraih śāstraih praga-
- 14 lbhāh pravaia-gunaganās=tyāgavantah su śīlāh | jyēsthah śrī-Kēlhan-ākhyas=tad=
anu cha Gajasimhas=tathā Ki-
- 15 rtupālō |⁸ yadvan=nētāni Śambhōs=tripurushavad=ath=āmi janē vamdantiyāh |
(||) 7 ⁹Madhyād=amishām pari-

Second Plate, First Side

- 16 vāra-nāthō shthē(jyē)shthō smgajah kshōm-talē prasiddhah | kṛta[h*] kumārō
njarājya-dhārī
- 17 śrī-Kēlhana[h*] sarvva-gunair=upētah | (||) [8*] Ābhyām rājakula-śi-
Ālhanadēva- |¹ kumāra śrī-Kēlha-
- 18 nadēvābhyaṁ rājaputra-śrī-Kīrtipālasya piasādē datta-Naddūlāl-pratva(ba)ddha-
dvādasā-grāmāni² ||
- 19 Tatō rājaputra-śi-Kīrtipālāh |³ sam 1218 Śrāvana-vadī 5 Sōmē || ady=
ē[h*] śi-Naddūlē snātvā dhō(dhan)-
- 20 ta-rāsasi paridhāya tlākshatakuṣa-pranayinam dakṣhina-karam kṛtvā dēvān=
udakēna samtarpya | va(ba)-
- 21 halatamatmupatalapātana-patiyāsō nihśēshapātakapamka-prakṣhālanasya divākārasya
- 22 pūjām vidhāya | charāchāra gurnam Mahēsva(śva)ram namaskṛitya | hutabhujā
hōmadīavy-āhūtir=ddatvā⁴ nahnī-
- 23 dalagatajalalava-taralam jīvītavayam=ākalayya | aihikam pārachū(tri)kam tha(cha)
phalam=samgikṛitya svapunya-
- 24 yasō-bhivnddhayē śāsanam prayachchhata yathā || Śrī-Naddūlāigrāmē | śrī-
Mahāvira-jūśya Naddūlāl-⁵
- 25 dvādasā-grāmēshu grāmam prati dra 2 dvau dramman snapana-vilēpana-dīpa-
dhūp-ōpabhōgārtham | śāsanē
- 26 varsham prati Bhādrapada-māsē chamdrārkkakshiti-kāla[m] yāvat pradatta ||
Naddūlāigrāma | Sūjēra | Dariji [i*]
- 27 Kavilāda | Sōnānam | Mōrakarā | Haravamdam [i*] Mādāda | Kāpasuvam |
Dēvasūri | Nādāda [i*] Mauvadi |
- 28 ēvam grā⁶ 12 ētēshu dvādasā grāmēshu sarvvad=āpi asmābhūh śāsanē dattau |
ēbhur=grāmair=adhunā samvatṣa-

¹ Read *“mārgita-*

² Read *Ālhanō*

³ Metre a mixture of Upēndravajrā and Vasantatilakā

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous

⁵ Metre Śigdhārā The last Pāda does not contain the proper cēsuras

⁶ Metre Uṇyātī

⁷ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

⁸ Wrong for *grāmāh* The whole sentence which ends here is ungrammatical

⁹ All the signs of punctuation in lines 19-23 are superfluous In some places below the rules of *samdhā* have not been observed.

Read *-ddattā*.

¹¹ Read *“dat*

¹² I e *grāmāh*

- 29 rālagitvā¹ sarvvaḍ-āpi vaisham piati Bhādrapadē dātavyau | atah ūrdh[^{v*}]am
kēn-āpi paripamthanā na kartavyā |
- 30 ²Āsmad-vamsē vyatikrāntē yō-nyah kō-pi bhavishyati [^{1*}] tasy-āham karē
laguō³ na lōpya[^{m*}] mama sāsanaṃ || [^{9*}] Shashthi[^m]⁴ va-
- 31 īsha-sahasī⁵ tishthati svarggē tishthati dāyakah | āchohhāttā⁶ ch-ānuma[^m]tā cha
tāny-ēva narakam⁷ vasēt || [^{10*}] Va(ba)hubhir-vasudhā

*Second Plate, Second Side*⁸

- 32 bhuktā rājabhīh Sagai-ādibhīh | yasya yasya yadā bhūms-tasya tasya tadā
phalam || [^{11*}]
- 33 Sva-hastō=yam mahārājaputra-śrī-Kīrtipālasya || Naigamānvaya-kāyastha-Sōdha-
naptā Subhamkalah |
- 34 Dāmōdara-sutō=lēkhī⁹ sāsanaṃ dharmma-sāsanaṃ || [^{12*}] Mangalam mahā-
śīh ||

C.—SUNDHĀ HILL INSCRIPTION OF CHĀCHIGADĒVA;

[VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1319.]

This inscription is on two stones which were found on the Sundhā Hill, about 10 miles north of Jaswantapura in the Jaswantapura district of the Jōdhpur State of Rājputāna.¹ I edit it from rubbings, kindly placed at my disposal by Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

The first stone contains 26 lines of writing which covers a space of 3' 3" broad by 1' 7½" high, the second 24 lines which cover a space of 2' 10" broad by 1' 5" high. The size of the letters is about ½" on the first stone, and between ⅔ and ⅞" on the second. The inscription was carefully written by Nāmvasimha, a son of the physician Vijayapāla, and well engraved by Jisaravi, a son of the *sātradhāra* Jisapāla, and is in a state of perfect preservation. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting two prose passages at the bottom of either stone which record the names of the author, the writer and the engraver, the date *samvat* 1319 in line 48, and another prose passage, numbered as a verse, in lines 35 and 36, the text is in verse, the total number of verses (including the prose passage counted as a verse) being 59. As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*, the palatal sibilant is used for the dental in *śasya*-, l 16, *śravamī*-, l 19, *sahasrāmsu*-(for *sahasrāmsu*-), l 22, *śakla*-, l 23, *śatah*-, l 25, and *śitāmsu*-(for *śitāmsu*-), l 37, *kh* and *sh* are confounded in *mayūsha*-(for *mayūka*-), l 10, and *piyūka*-(for *piyūka*-), l 41, the *i* of *śrī* is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name in *śrī-Asārāja*-, l 21, *śrī-Udayasimha*-, l 35, and *śrī-Aparājitīśa*-, l 43, *chchh* is written for *chh* in *chchhālēna*-, l 7, and *chchhūyayā*-, l 8, and the sign of *avagraha* is employed in *Samdérś śrka*-, l 16, and in four other places. The language is generally correct and plain, but there are one or two passages about the exact meaning of which I am still doubtful. I especially do not understand verse 12, which seems to allude to some legend unknown to me, in which the creator weighs the sun and the moon, apparently using the Ganges as a balance. Moreover, I am not sure about the meanings of the word *śrīkari*, which occurs in verses 19 and 59, and *guppyadguru* in verses 15, 26, and 27. To judge from the context in verse 59 (*śrīkari-captaka-vāddi*-), the former² may denote some kind of musical instrument, and as a *guppyadguru* must be

¹ Read *rālagitvā*, 'commencing from the current year'

² Metre of this verse and the rest. Śloka (Anushtubh).

³ Read *laguō-smi*

⁴ Read *shashthim*

⁵ Read *narakā*.

⁶ Of the three lines on this side only a transcript has been sent to me by Mr Ojha.

⁷ The passive Aorist is used wrongly here for the active *alēkhāt*.

⁸ I owe this information to Mr Ojha.

⁹ From the St. Petersburg Dictionary I see that *śrīkari* occurs in the *Uttamacharitrakathānām*, l. 234 (*Sitzungsberichte der K. Preuss. Akademie*, 1884, Part I p. 282), where Prof. Weber has suggested for it the meaning 'a female singer.'

something on which a golden *kumbha* and a golden *kalāṣa* can be placed,¹ the word perhaps denotes a temple generally or a particular temple. Of rare words or words employed in an unusual way we may note *kēḷa*, 'the earth,' in verse 6, *bhūṣphōṭa*, 'a mushroom,' in verse 16, the feminine *yugali*, 'a pair,' in verse 18, and *tāmbūliya*, 'an areca-nut,' in verse 21, *bāndhu* and *bāndhava* denote 'a brother' in verses 24, 26, and 20, and a cousin is described as *pūrvvyajātayā bāndhava*, i.e. 'a brother in consequence of being born from a paternal uncle,' in verse 9.

The inscription in the prose passage at the bottom of the first stone and in verse 59 is styled a *prastāva*. It was composed by the (Jaina) *śīra* Jayamaṅgala (Jayamangalachārya), who belonged to the Brihad-gachchha and was a disciple of Rāmachandīa, himself a disciple of Dēvachārya.² And its primary object is to glorify the Chāhamāna chief Chāchigadēva, during whose reign it was composed, and for whom it furnishes a date³ in the month of Vasiṣṭha of the [Vikrama] year 1310, falling in about A.D. 1262. Fortunately, the author has used the occasion to give a eulogistic account of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla generally, which is of considerable interest.

Verses 1-3 pray the moon on Śambhu's (i.e. Śiva's) forehead and (Śiva's consort) Pārvatī or Chandikā to grant continuous good fortune and happiness. Verse 4 then records that formerly there was the hero Chāhamāna, a source of joy to the great *Rishi Vatsa*.⁴ In his lineage there were —

- (1) The lord of Naddūla, king Lakshmana, who was a Śākambhari prince⁵ (vv. 5 and 6).
- (2) His son Sōbhuta (v. 7; the Sōhiya and Sōbhuta of A and B). He took away the glory of the lord (or lords) of the mountain Arbuda.⁶
- (3) His son Balirāja (vv. 7 and 8). He defeated an army of Muñjarāja, i.e. the Paramāra Vākpatriāja II. Amoghavarsha of Mālava, for whom we possess dates from A.D. 974 to 993.
- (4) His paternal uncle's son Mahindu (v. 9). — He is the Mahēndra of A and B, the son of Vīrghapāla whose name is here omitted. He most probably is identical with the Mahēndra or Mahindra (?) mentioned under No. 53 of my *Northern List* as a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikūṭi, whose inscription is dated in A.D. 997.
- (5) His son Aśvapāla (vv. 10 and 11, omitted in A and B).
- (6) His son Ahila (vv. 12 and 13, likewise omitted in A and B). He defeated an army of the Gūrjara king Bhīma, i.e. the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I of Anahilapāṭaka.
- (7) His paternal uncle Anahilla (vv. 14-17, in A and B described as the son of Mahēndra). He also defeated the king Bhīma (Bhīmadēva I), took Śākambhari, and slew

¹ See verses 26 and 27.

² He is described as *śīrkart-saptaka-vādin* which, as intimated above, appears to mean 'playing the seven *śīrkartas*'.

³ The exact date (in verse 57) is the *akṣaya tṛtīyā* or third *tithi* of the bright half of the month Mādhava (Vasiṣṭha) of the [Vikrama] year 1310, given both in words and in figures. The date does not admit of verification; its possible equivalents would be the 4th April A.D. 1261, the 23rd April A.D. 1262, and the 12th April A.D. 1263.

⁴ According to the inscription of Lantigadēva treated of under D the holy Vachchha (Vatsa) brought about the creation of the Chāhamāna family. And according to verse 12 of the Bijol rock inscription of Sōmāvara (No. 154 of my *Northern List*) Sāmānta, the first Chāhamāna chief, was born in the Vatsa *gōṭra* at Ahlohbhattapūra.

⁵ The original has *Śākambhartandra*. It will be seen below under D that Lakshmana most probably had the epithet *Śākambhart-mānīkya*, 'the jewel of Śākambhari.' Mr. Ojha tells me that a Chāhamāna even now will be addressed as *Sambhartarāja*, 'Śākambhari prince.'

⁶ I.e. Mount Arbuda. With the expression *Himādāra dhava* of the original as a name of the mountain Arbuda compare *Himāpatāli śūnha* in the unpublished Vasantgaḍh inscription of Vaimalāta, *Himavati tanayā* in *Kp Ind.* Vol. I. p. 234, v. 5; and *Gaurīvaratāra bhūdhara-sambhava* above, Vol. VIII p. 210, l. 17. The lord (or lords) of Arbuda spoken of above probably belonged to the Paramāra family treated of in the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Pūrpapāla, above, p. 10.

(on defeated) Sādha, a general of the Mālava king Bhōja (i.e. the Paramāra Bhōjadēva), and the Turushka

(8) His son Bālaprasāda (vv 18 and 19, omitted in B) He forced the king Bhīma (Bhīmadēva I) to release from prison a king named Krishnadēva — This Krishnadēva most probably is the Paramāra Krishnarāja (the son of Dhandhuka¹ and grandson of (?) Dēvarāja), of whom we have two inscriptions at Bhūmāl (Śrīmālā), dated in A D 1060 and 1067 (Nos 689 and 690 of my *Northern List*)

(9) His brother Jindurāja (vv 20 and 21, the Jēndrarāja of A and B) He fought victoriously at Sandēra (the modern Sandeiao in the Jōdhpur State, south-west of Nadol)

(10) His son Prithvipāla (vv 22 and 23, omitted in B) He defeated an army of the Gūrjara king Karna, i.e. Bhīmadēva's son and successor Karna Trailōkyamalla

(11) His brother Yōjaka (vv 24 and 25, the Yōjalla of A, omitted in B) He by force occupied Anahillapura (Anahilapātaka)

(12) His brother Āśārāja (vv 26-30, in B described as the son of Jēndrarāja) He pleased Siddhādhurāja, i.e. Karna's son and successor Jayasimha Siddharāja, by the assistance which he rendered to him in the country of Mālava, but afterwards apparently was on hostile terms with him

With the account of Āśārāja ends that part of the inscription which is on the first stone. The part on the second stone (after a symbol for *śm*) begins, as if it were an independent inscription, with a verse (v 31) praying for the blessing of Śambhu (Śiva), 'the crest of the Sugandhādri',² i.e. the mountain Sugandha, which clearly is the Sundhā Hill where the inscription was found. The author then continues the genealogy by stating that Āśārāja's son was —

(13) Āhlādana (vv 32 and 33, the Ālhanadēva of A and B). His assistance was sought by the Gūrjara king, and his army put down disturbances in the mountainous part of Surāshtra (*gurau Saurāshtrā*). He built a Śiva temple at Naddūla — We have seen above that the two inscriptions A and B, which are of this chief's reign, are dated in A D 1161 and 1160. Before that time, he is mentioned (together with his son Kēlhana), apparently as a feudatory of the Chaulukya Kumārāpāla, in the Kerādū fragmentary inscription of Kumārāpāla's reign which is dated in A D 1153 (No 133 of my *Northern List*)

(14) His son Kēlhana (v 34) He defeated the southern king Bhūlma, and after destroying the Turushka erected a golden *tōrana*, 'like a diadem for the abode of the holy Sōmēśa' — For the *Mahārājādīśvarāja* Kēlhana I have given above, p 68, note 1, a date in A D 1165. The southern king Bhūlma, whom he is said to have defeated, must have been the Dēvagiri-Yādava Bhūlma, whose Gadag inscription is dated in A D 1191 (No 334 of my *Southern List*)

(15) His brother Kirtipāla (vv 35 and 36) He defeated a Kīrātākūta chief named Āsala, and at Kāsahrada routed an army of the Turushka. As ruler of the kingdom of Naddūla he took up his residence at Jāvālpura — Of the places here mentioned Kīrātākūta is Kerādū, according to *Bhāvnagar Inscri* p 172,³ 'a small village near Hāthamo under Bādāmara' (Bārmer) in the Jōdhpur State. Jāvālpura, to which Kirtipāla transferred his residence, is the

¹ He apparently is the Paramāra Dhandhu, who according to an inscription at Vimala's temple on Mount Ābā which will be mentioned below, p. 81, transferred his allegiance from Bhīmadēva I to king Bhōja, the lord of Dhārā (i.e. Bhōjadēva of Mālava)

² I understand this epithet to mean that there was a temple of Śiva on the mountain Sugandha

³ In line 5 of the inscription given there the name appears as *Kīrtākūpa*. — According to the *Rajyāsāda Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p 286, 'Kherdū' is about 20 miles west of Bārmer

town of Jālōr in the same State. A place named Kāsahrada has been identified by the late Prof Buhler¹ with Kāsandra or Kāsandhra, a village with about 400 inhabitants on the road from Dholkā to Paltānā, in Long 72° 11', Lat 22° 19', but the Kāsahrada of this inscription may be a different place nearer Nadol—According to verse 41 Kīrtipālā's daughter Rūḍaladēvi built two temples of Śiva at Jāvālpura.

(16) His son Samarasimha (vv 37-40). He built extensive ramparts on the Kanakāchala (or 'gold hill') and founded the town of Samarapura—This town I am unable to identify. *Kanakāchala* according to Mr Ojha is the name of the fort² of Jālōr which, he informs me, is locally known as 'Sonalgah', and the *Sauvarna-giri* of Jāvālpura I find actually mentioned in an inscription on Mount Ābū³. In an inscription of the [Vikrama] year 1221, from which Mr Ojha has sent me a quotation, it is called *Kāñchana-gadha*—Samarasimha clearly is the *Chāhu[māna*]-rāna[ka*]-Samarasīha*, whose daughter Līlādēvi was the (or a) queen of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II.⁴

(17) His son Udayasimha (vv 42-46). According to the prose passage in lines 35 and 36 he ruled 'the glorious Naddūla, the glorious Jāvālpura, Māndavyapura, Vāgbhatamēru, Sūrāchanda, Rātāhṛada, Khēda, Rāmasanya, Śrīmāla, Ratnapura, Satyapura, and other places'—With the exception of Māndavyapura and Rātāhṛada the places here enumerated are easily found on the map of the Rājputāna Agency (in Marwar) under the names Nādol, Jālōr, Barmer, Surāchand, Kher (between Tilwāra and Balotra), Rāmsen, Bhīmāl, Ratanpura and Sānchor. Māndavyapura is Mandor, according to the *Rājputāna Gazetteer* three miles from Jōdhpur, Rātāhṛada I cannot identify—Udayasimha's queen was Prahādanadēvi, who bore to him two sons, Chāchigadēva and Chāmundaṛāja. Regarding his exploits, the inscription states in a general way that he curbed the pride of the Turushka, was not to be conquered by the Gūjrara kings, and put an end to the Sindhu king. He was a scholar conversant with the great works of Bhāṣa⁵ and others, and built two Śiva temples at Jāvālpura—Udayasimha clearly is identical with the *Mahārājādhirāja* Udayasimhadēva of whose reign we have three inscriptions at Bhīmāl (Nos 697-699 of my *Northern List*) dated in the [Vikrama] years 1262, 1274 and 1305, corresponding to about A D 1205, A D 1218, and about A D 1248, and also with the *Mahārājakula* Udayasimhadēva, for whom I have given a date, falling in A D 1249, in *Ind Ant* Vol XIX p 175, No 115. He was succeeded by—

(18) his son⁶ Chāchigadēva (vv 47-57). He in verse 50 is described as 'destroying the roaring Gūjrara lord Virama, hating the enemy Śalya, taking exquisite delight in felling the shaking (or leaping) Pātuka, depriving of his colour Sanga, and a thunderbolt to the mountain—the furious Nahara'. As will be seen from this translation, the words *śalya*,⁷ *pātuka* and *sanga* of the original must in my opinion, like *virama* and *nahara*, be taken as proper names, but of the five persons enumerated I can identify only the first. Being described as 'Gūjrara lord,' Virama appears clearly to be the Vāghēlā Viramadēva, the son of Viradhavala and elder brother of Viśaladēva, who is reported to have been the son-in-law of Udayasimha of Jāvālpura,⁸ and

¹ See his paper on the *Sukritasamkritāna* of Arisimha, p 25. For another identification of Kāsahrada see above, Vol VIII p 206, note 2.

² For a description of this fort which is about 800 yards in length by 400 in width, and crowns a rocky hill of an altitude of 1,200 feet above the surrounding plain, see the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol II p 260.

³ Line 33 of No 1722 of Mr Cousens' List.

⁴ See the plates of Bhīmadēva II (of A D 1206) in *Ind Ant* Vol VI, p 195, Plate I line 1.

⁵ I.e. apparently the *Bhāratīya-nṛtyaśāstra*.

⁶ Udayasimha's other son Chāmundaṛāja is not further mentioned in the inscription. He may be the Chāmundaṛāja whose name occurs under No 703 of my *Northern List*.

⁷ *Śalya* probably is a proper name, denoting an enemy of Lavana-prasāda, also in *Ep Ind* Vol I p 27, verse 13.—In our inscription the name may be *Sairufilya*, compare Prof Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p 1510.

⁸ See *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 190. Compare also the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I. Part I p 208, where Jāvālpura has been taken to be Jabalpur.

would therefore have been the own brother-in-law of Chāchugadēva — The following verses treat of the same chief's works of piety. At Śrīmāla he remitted certain taxes, and at Rāmasainya he granted funds for the worship of (the god) Vighrahāditya, and placed a golden cupola (*kumbha*) and a flag-staff (*dhvaja*) on the temple of (the god) Aparāntēsa to whom at the same time he gave a silver girdle (*mākhald*). For the same temple he provided a hall (*śalā*) with a car (*ratha*) richly decked with precious stones. Chāchugadēva visited the Sugandhādri, worshipped there the goddess Chāmundā, known by the name Aghatēsvārī, and at her temple established a *maṇḍapa* which was consecrated by the Brāhmanas on the *akṣaya-tṛtīyā* of the month Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1319.

I have already stated that the inscription thus for the reign of Chāchugadēva yields a date in about A.D. 1262. Two other dates, of the [Vikrama] years 1333 and 1334, falling in about A.D. 1276 and 1277, are furnished for him by the two Bhūmālī inscriptions Nos. 702 and 703 of my *Northern List*, where he is described as the *Mahārājakula* Chāchuga or Chāchugadēva.

I may add that Chāchugadēva is mentioned, under the name Chācha, in line 8 of the Jōdhpur inscription of Rūpādēvī, published by me above, Vol. IV. p. 312 ff. In my text of that inscription I have given the name as *Chāva*, and a renewed examination of the impressions enables me to affirm that either this is the actual reading, or that at any rate the name would be so read in the impressions by any one not acquainted with what we have learnt now from the Sundhā Hill inscription. Knowing what I do now, I have no doubt that the intended reading is *Chācha*. This Chācha is called a Chāhūmāna in Rūpādēvī's inscription and described as the son of Udayasimha¹ and grandson of Samarasimha, which exactly fits our Chāchugadēva. The inscription supplies the additional information that Chācha's wife was Lakshmidēvī, and that thus lady bore to him Rūpādēvī, who became the wife of a king Tejāsīmha (to whom she bore a son named Kshētrasimha) and founded a well or tank in A.D. 1284, in the reign of the *Mahārājakula* Sāmyantasimhadēva.²

TEXT³

First Stone

- 1 || Ōm⁴ || ⁵Śvētāmbhōj-ātapatram kum=ū Guri-dahitah Svastatnyā gavākshah kim vā saukhy-āsavam vā mahimamukhamahāsiddhidēvī-ganasya | trailōkyānamdāhētōh kum=uditam-anagham ślāghya-nakshatram=uchohaiḥ Sāmbhōr-bhālasthal-āmduh sukritakṛita-
- 2 nūtiḥ pātu vō rājya-lakṣmīm || 1 ⁶Isasy=āmk-āvanir=anupamānamdāsamdōha-mūlā chamchadvāsōmchaladalamayī bhūṣhana-prandhapushyā(śhpā) | sallāvanyōdaya-suphalaiḥ Pārvvatīpṛema-vallī lakṣmīm pushnāt=anu-dnam=stavyakta-bhastyā natānām || 2 ⁷Vikātamukuta-mādyattēja-
- 3 sā ryōmni daityan=iva bhūvi mammayā mākhalāyāḥ kvanēna | ananurajita-līlāhamasakais-trāsayamī phanipatbhuvan-āntas=Chandikā vah ārya=stu || 3 ⁸Śrīmad-Vatsamaharshi-harshanayanōdbhūtāmva(bu)pūraprabha-pūrvvōrvvid h a r a -maulimukhyaśikharālamkāra-tgmadyutiḥ | prithvīm trātu-
- 4 m=apāsta-daityatimraḥ śrī-Chāhamānāḥ purā virah kahirasamudrasōdara-yasōrāśiprakāśō=bhavat || 4 ¹⁰Ratn-āvalyām=iva nripa-tatan tat-kramē viśrutāyām

¹ The proper relation to Udayasimha of the Mānavasimha who is mentioned in my account of Rūpādēvī's inscription, above, Vol. IV. p. 318, will be given below, under D.

² So the name is spelt in the inscription. The published texts of the inscriptions Nos. 704, 706 and 707 (of A.D. 1282, 1286 and 1289) of my *Northern List* have *Sāmvatasimhadēva*.

³ From a rubbing supplied to me by Mr. Gaurishankar Hiraohand Ojha.

⁴ Denoted by a symbol.

⁵ Metre Śrāgddharā.

⁶ Metre Mandākrāntā.

⁷ Metre Mālinī.

⁸ Metre Śārdūlavakṛita.

⁹ Originally *pradhā* was engraved, but the sign for *d* has been struck out.

¹⁰ Metre of verses 5 and 6: Mandākrāntā.

- dharmaśāsthanaprakarakarana-prāptapunyōtsavāyām | śrī-Naddūl-ādhipatir-abbhaya-
Lakshmanō nāma
- 5 rājā Lakshmiñilāsadanasaśrīśākāra-Śākambhar-īmdrah || 5 Ā pātālāt=samara-
jaladhūm Mamdarō yasya khadgō mushta-vyājād=bhujagapatnā śrīmkhalēn=
āvava(ba)ddhah | nirmmathy=ōchchah sapadi Kamalām līlay=ōddhrittya(iya)
mattas=chakrē nrittam ranita-katakah kēlikam-
- 6 pa-chchhalēna || 6 ¹Tasmad=Dhimādrībhavanātha-yaśōpahārī śrī-Śōbhītō-jam
nripō=sya tanūddhavad=tha | gāmbhīryadhairyā-sadanam Va(ba)līrājādēvō yō
Mumjarājā-va(ba)lā-bhaṅgam-achikarat=tam || 7 ²Sāmrājy-āsākarēnum
ripunripatigaja-stōmam=ākramya jahre yat-khadgō gam-
- 7 dhabastī samararasa-bharē Vindhyaśailāyāmānē | muktāsuktīmdukām-
ōjvalaruchishu lasatkīrti-Rēvātātēshu prandhānamdōpachār-ōlvanapulakatatih
pushkarēnām chchhalēna³ || 8 ⁴Tatpitriyajatay=ātha vām(bām)dhavah
śrī-Mahimdur-ajanshta bhūpatih | yat-kpāna-
- 8 latukām-upējyushām chchhāyayā⁵ virahitam mukham dvishām || 9 Jajū⁶
kāmtas=tad-anu cha bhūvas=tat-tanūjō=ēvapālāh kālāh krūrō dvishu su-
chāritē pūrnachamdrāyamānāh | yah samlagnō na khalu tamasā n-aiva
dōshākār-ātmatējō-muktah kvachid=api na yah kinccha mitr-ō-
- 9 dayēshu || 10 ⁷Kēyōrāgramvisharatnamikara-prōdyatprabhādāmva(ba)ra-vyaktam
samgararamga-mamdapatalē yam varī-lakshmih śritā | virēshu prasritēshu
tēshu rajasā nritēshu durīlakshyatām lavdhō(bdhō)pāyava(ba)l=api
nirmala-gunair-vaśyā prasasy-ākrītah || 11 Pu-⁸
- 10 tras=asy-āhila it nripas=tanmayōsha(kha)-chchhalēna srashtā yasya vyadhita
yaśasām tējasām tōlanam nu | Gangātōlē śasī-tapanayōr=dambhataś=
chāruohēlē madhyasthāyidhrumamisha-lasatkamtakē kautukēna || 12 ⁹Gūjarādhipatir-
Bhīma-bhūbhujah sanyā-pūram-a-
- 11 jayad=ranēshu yah [*] Sambhuvat-Tripura-sambhavam va(ba)lam vādavō=
nala iv=āmnu(bu)dhēr=jalām || 13 ¹⁰Sanyākrānt-ākhilavasumatīmamdalas=tat-
pitriyayā śrīmān rājābhavad=atha jī-ārātmallō=naḥillāh | Bhīma-kshōnipati-
gajaghatā yēna bhagnā ran-āgrē hrīdyārth-āmbhōmi-
- 12 dhi-Raghu-kritē ch=ēha pamktāh khalānām || 14 Ambhōjān¹¹ mukhāny-ahō
mrīgadrisām chamdr-ōdayānām mudō Lakshmi-r-yatra narōttamānūsaranavyāpāra-
pāramgamā | yānāni prasabham sūbhām śikhari-śrēn=īva gūpyadguru-stōmō¹²
yasya narēśvarasya tulānām sōn=ām-
- 13 vu(bu)rāsēr=dadhau || 15 Urvvirut¹³ vitapāvalāmva(ba)-sugrīhiharmyēshu datvā¹⁴
drisām dhyāt-ātyamtamanōharākrītmujaprasādavātāyanah | bhīspōtām vanāmtarēshu
vitātāny-ālōkya hāhētū-vāk sasmār=ātapavāranāni śatāśō yad-vairirājavraja-
- 14 h || 16 Drishtah kair=na Chaturbhujah sa samarē Śākambharim yō
va(ba)lāj=āgrāh=ānu jaghāna Māle-va-patēr-Bhōjasya Sādihāvayam |
damd-ādhisām=apāra-sanyavibhavam tīvram Turushkam cha yah sākshād-
Vishnur-asā[dha]nyā-yaśasā śrīmgārītā yēna bhūn || 17 Jajū¹⁵ bhūbhrit=tad-a-

¹ Metre Vasantatilakā² Metre Sragdharā³ Read *chchhalēna*.⁴ Metre Rathōddhatā⁵ Read *chchhāyayā*⁶ Metre Mandākrāntā⁷ Metre Sārdūlavikridita⁸ Metre Mandākrāntā — I am unable to explain this verse See above, p 70⁹ Metre Rathōddhatā¹⁰ Metre Mandākrāntā¹¹ Metre of verses 15 17 Sārdūlavikridita¹² The exact meaning of the word *gūpyadguru* is unknown to me, it occurs again in verses 26 and 27 See above, p 71¹³ Read *urvi-rudhō*¹⁴ Read *datvā*.¹⁵ Metre Mandākrāntā

- 15 nu tanayas=tasya Vā(bā)laprasādō Bhima-kshmābhrich-charanayugalimardana
vyājatō yah | kurvan pidām-ativa(ba)latayā mōchayamāsa kārāgarāi
bhūmipatim=api tathā Krishnadēv-ābhūdhanam || 18 Śrīkaryo¹ jalada-bhraman-
dadhur=ahō san̄yē=sya sē-
- 16 vārasayātartu-pratimē samujvala-patā² vāsā marāla-śrīyam | kampam vāy-
vasēna kētu-nivahā śa(sa)sy-ānukāram cha te³ sangitāni cha kōkīlāra-
tulām chittē tu tāpam dvishah || 19 'Śrīmāms=tasy-āyāni narapat r-
vām(bām)dhayō Jimdurājō yah Samdērē
- 17 śrka⁴ iva tumam vaur-vrindam vi(bi)bhēda | yasya jyōtib-prakaram=sabhu-
vidvishah kauśik-ābhā drashtum śaktā na hi guriguhā-madhyam=adhyāśrta-
tat || 20 Gachchhamitnām rpu-mrigadrśām bhushanānam prapātē vāshp-
āśarair-ghanatatu-tulām vi(bi)bhratinām=aran̄yē | dūrvvā-
- 18 bhramtum marakatamani-śrēṇayō yat-prayānē tāmrv(bā)liya-bhramam-iva churac-
chakrīrē padmarāgāh || 21 Prithvim⁶ pālayitum pavitramatamān yat
karshukānām⁷ karam murchan prāpa yasāmsi kumda-dhavalāny-ānamdahridy-
ānanah | Prithvipāla iti dhruvam kshiti-
- 19 patas=tasy=sāngajam=ābhavat=pratyakshōrumdhih⁸ sa Gūrjara-patēh Karnnasya
sany-āpahah || 22 Yat-sēnā kila kāmadhēnu-sadpśi kīrtum śra(sra)vanmī
payah svachchhamdam sacharīcharē=pi bhuvanē śātrūms-trinikurvati |
dharmam vatsam=iva svakīyam=anagham vridhdum nayanmī
- 20 mudā kasy-ānamda-karī va(ba)bhūva na bhuvē=bhīśhtam samātānvatī || 23 'Śrī-
Yōjakō bhūpatir=asya vam(bam)dhur-vivēkasaudha prava(ba)lapratāpah | svēt-
āpatrēpa virājamānah śakty-Ānahillākhyapurē=pi rēmē || 24 Tyaktvā⁹
saudham=udāra-kēlhipinam krid-ā-
- 21 chalē dirghukām palyamk-āśrayanam karēnushu mudām sthānam samantād=api |
yasy=ārikshatpāla-vā(bā)lalalanāh śailē vanē nirharē sthūlagrāva-śirasu samsmrtum=
aguh pūrvōpabhukta-śrīyam || 25 'Śrī-Āśārāja-nāmā samajani vasudhā-nāyakas=ta-
- 22 sya vam(bam)dhuh sāhāyyam Mālavānām bhuvī yadasi-kītam vikāhya
Siddhādhirājah | tushtō dhattē sma kumbham kanakamayam=ahō yasya
gupyadguru-stham tam hartum n=ava śaktah kalushita-hridayah śēsbabhūpāla-
vāgbhih || 26 'Udayagirisirah-stham kim sahasrāmśu-vimvam¹³
- 23 vitata-visadakīrtit-ē-mūrdndhni kim nu pratāpah | upari subhagatāyā udgatā
mamjari kim kanaka-kalāśa ābhād=yasya gupyadguru-sthah || 27 Kanakaruchi-
śarīrah śailāśār-ābhīrāmaḥ phanipati-mahānīyasy=āvatārah sa Vishnōh |
śa(sa)hlauudhi-su-
- 24 tāyā samandirē skandha-dēśē dadhad=avanum=udārām=agumah punya-mūrtih || 25
¹⁴Sattrāgāra-tadāga-kānana Haraprāsāda-vāpi-prapā-kūp-adini vimrmamē dvīpajan-
ānamdī kshamā-mamdalē | dharmmasthāna-śātāni yah kila vu(bu)dhā-śrēṇishu

¹ Metre Sārdūlavikrīḍita. — Originally *śrīkaryō* was engraved, but this has clearly been altered to *śrīkaryō*.
The word occurs again in verse 59. See above, p. 70

² Read *samujvala*.

³ Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out

⁴ Metre of verses 20 and 21. Mandākrāntā

⁵ The sign of *avagraha* is engraved at the end of the preceding line

⁶ Metre of verses 22 and 23. Sārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁷ Read *karshukendān* (for the ordinary *karshukānām*)

⁸ This word is quite clear in the rubbing, but I am not sure that it is correct. Perhaps the intended reading may be *pratyakshō-mūrdndhni*.

⁹ Metre Upajāti

¹⁰ Metre Sārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹¹ Metre Sragdhārā

¹² Metre of verses 27 and 28. Māhī

¹³ Read *sahasrāntu-bismāh*

¹⁴ Metre of verses 29 and 30. Sārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 25 kalpadrumah kas=tasy=ēmdutushārasāla-dhavalam stōtum yasāh kōvīdaḥ || 29
Svātāny=ēva yasāmsi tungaturaga-stōmaḥ śi(śi)taḥ subhruvām chamchanmaukika-
bhāṣhanāni dhavalāny-uchchaḥ samagrāny=apī | prēmālāpa-bhavam smitam
cha viśadam śubhrā-
- 26 ni vāstraukasām vṛmdān=īti nṛpasya yasya pritaṇā Kailāsa-lakṣmīm śrīta || 30
Prāsastur=iyam Vi(bri)hadgachchhīya-śrī-Jayamagalāchārya-kṛtiḥ || Bhushag-
Viṇyapāla-putra-Nāmvasmehāna līkhitā | Sūtra-Jisapāla-putra-Jisaraṇinā³ utkiṇṇā ||

Second Stone

- 27 || Ōm³ || 'Jatā-mūlā Gamgāprava(ba)lalaharipūrakuhānā-samunmilachchhatraprakara⁵
iva namīēshu nṛpatāḥ | pradātum śrī-Sāmbhūh sakalabhuvan-ādhiśvaratayā
tayā vā dēyād=vah śubham=iha Sugamdhādri-mukutah || 31 'Āśārāja-kṣhīpa-
tanayah śrī-
- 28 mad-Āhlādan-āhvō jayñē bhūbhṛd=bhuvana viditā=Chāhamānasya vamsē | śrī-
Naddūlā Śivabhavana-kṛd=dharmmasarvasa-vētā yat-sāhāyām pratpadam=ahō
Gūrjarēśas=chakāmksha || 32 'Chamchatkētakahampaka-pravīṣattālītamālguru-
sphūryachchamda-
- 29 nanālikērakadalīdrākṣāmra kamrē girau | Saurāśtrē kutlōgrakamtakabhid-
ātyuddāmakirttēs=tadā yasy=ābhūd=abhumāna-bhāsuratayā sēnācharānām ravah || 33
'Sṛimāms=tasy=āmgaja iha nṛpāh Kēlhanō dakṣiṇāśādhiś-ōdamchad-Bhūli-
- 30 ma-nṛpatēr=mānuhrit-samyasmdhuh | nṛbhūdy=ōchchaḥ prava(ba)la-kalitam yas=
Turushkam vyadhata śrīSōmēśpadamukutayāt=tōranam kāmchanasya || 34
'Bhrāt=asya prava(ba)lapratāpa-nīlayah śrī-Kirttipālō=bhavad=bhū-nāthaḥ
pratpakshapārthivachamūdvā-āmva(bu)vāh-ō-
- 31 pamah | yat-khadgāmva(bu)mdhau hat-ānkarinām kumbhasthalibhyah ksharan=
muktānām nikarō marāla-lahitam dhattē sma dhār-āśrayah || 35 Yō
durdhanta-Kīrātākūta-nṛpatum bhūtvā śaraur=Āśalam tasmin=Kāsahradē¹⁰
Turushka-nikaram jtvā rana-prāmganē | śrī-Jāvālī-
- 32 purē sthūtam vyarachayan=Naddūlarājy-ēśvaraś=chumtāratna-nibhaḥ samagra-
vidushām mhsīmasany-ādhipah || 36 'Śrī-Samarasimhadēvas=tat-tanayah
kshōnumamdal-ādhipatib | Imdra iva viva(bu)dhahṛday-ānamdi purushōttamō
Harvat || 37 Prākārah¹³ Kanakā-
- 33 chālē vīrachitō yēn=ēha puny-ātmanā nānyamtramajānā-kōṣhta(shtha)katatir=
vidyādhārīrshavān [| *] kum Śēshah phanavṛmdamēdura-tanur=vakṣahsthālē
vā bhuvō hārah kum bhramana-śramād=udu-gauah kum v=aisa bhājē
sthūtam || 38 'Kamala-vanam=iv=ēdam vapraśīrshālī-dam-
- 34 bhān=nīhilavipuladēśāśrī-samākarsanāyā | līkhitavīśadavimduśrēnīvan=mattavauri-
kṣhīpativīphalājīstoma-samkhyāmmittam || 39 Tōlayāmāsa¹⁴ yah svarannar=ātmanām
sōma-parvanī | ārama-ramyam Samarapuram yah kṛtavān=atha || 40
- 35 'Śrī-Kirttipālābhūpati-putrī Jāvālīpuravarē chakrē | śrī-Būdaladēvī Śivamamdu-
yugalam pavitra-mataḥ || 41 Śrī-Samarasimhadēvasya namdanah prava(ba)-

¹ I.e. *sātradhāra*, compare the same abbreviation e.g. in *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 243, l 27, and above, Vol III p 204, l 5

² Read 'nōc'

³ Read 'chchhatraprakara

⁴ Metre Mandākṛāntā

⁵ Metre Mandākṛāntā

⁶ Denoted by a symbol

⁷ Metre Mandākṛāntā

⁸ Metre of verses 35 and 36

⁹ Śārdūlavikṛīdita

¹⁰ Here the a of the second syllable is (before hr) treated as a short vowel, see *Ind Studien*, Vol VIII p 226

¹¹ Metre Āryā.

¹² Metre Mālīnī

¹³ Metre of verses 41 and 42

¹⁴ Metre Śārdūlavikṛīdita.

¹⁵ Metre Ślōka (Anuakṣubh).

¹⁶ Āryā (*pathyā* and *dā-vipulā*)

Then there came **Lakshmana**, who by his irresistible valour acquired part of the earth. In the mutilated verse 12, which together with verse 11 treats of this chief, the word *Naddūla* is distinctly legible, as well as *Śākambharī*, and it is certain that Lakshmana is described in the verse as king of Naddūla, and highly probable that he is spoken of as Śākambharimānkyā, 'the jewel of Śākambharī'.¹ After him, verse 13 mentions 'his son' Balirāja,² and Balirāja's 'son,' whose name I read as *Sōhi*,³ regarding this to be another form of the name Sōhiya (Sōbhita, Śōbhita) of the preceding inscriptions. According to the latter, Sōhiya was Lakshmana's son, and his son again was Balirāja, the author of the present inscription has erroneously transposed the two names. Verses 14-18 then enumerate Mahindu,⁴ Jindurāja,⁵ Āsarāja, Āhana, Kirtipāla and Samarasimba. From what we know already from the other inscriptions, this is the line, from father to son, of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla from Mahindu to Samarasimba, except that, between Mahindu and Jindurāja, Anahilla, the son of the former and father of the latter, has been omitted — So far our inscription tells us nothing of importance that is new.

Samarasimba, according to verse 19, had two sons, of whom the one called Udayasimba, who also is already known to us from the inscription C, succeeded him in the government. Udayasimba's elder brother⁶ was Mānavasimba (v 20), his son was Pratāpa (v 21), and his son Vijaya, also named Daśasyandana⁷ (v 22). This chief married Nāmālladēvi (v 23), who bore to him four sons — Lāvanyakarna, Lunda,⁸ Lakshmana, and Lūnavarman (v 24), of whom the eldest became the ruling chief. When Lāvanyakarna died, he was succeeded by the next brother, whose name in verse 26 is clearly Luntigadēva, in verse 28 Luntiga, in verse 30 Luntigāgara, and in the prose passage in line 29 Lūntāgara. Luntiga conquered and ruled 'all countries,' particularly Chandrāvati and the divine territory of Arbuda (*Arbuda-dēvyadēsam*, v 27). On the mountain Arbuda he set up images of himself and his queen, and carried out repairs at the temple of Ahalēśvara. As a grant to the temple, he moreover gave the village of Hēthunji⁹ (v 33) for the perpetual worship of the god.

From the prose passage which follows, and which is more or less illegible, we learn that in the year 1377, on Monday, the 8th of the bright half of Vasiśakha, in the Kshaya-samvatsara, Luntiga, described as the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious Lūntāgara, resided at [Vū?]hunda which belonged to Chandrāvati.¹⁰ This date regularly corresponds, for the expuned *Kṛttikāddi*

¹ The Translation, after Lakshmana, mentions "the hero, named Mānkyā, whose distinguished capital was Śākambharī," but this is erroneous.

² The Translation has Adhirāja instead.

³ The second half of the verse, part of which is very indistinct, in my opinion is *Sōhi samjñā[s=ta]tō vamsē sōhī bhūman hi tat-ratō[A]* — The name *Sōhi* occurs above, Vol VIII p 220, l 13.

⁴ The original actually has *Mahindu*.

⁵ The Translation has Sindhurāja, Kulavarddhana, Prabhuraśa Rājā (derived from the actual reading *prabhura-āsarāja*), Dandana (for Āhana), Kirtipāla and Samarasimba.

⁶ According to the Translation Mānavasimba was Udayasimba's son; but this is a mistake. The original text, after mentioning Udayasimba, clearly has *yō tat parō dāna-guṇasr-garishthas-tasyādgrāyō Mānavasimbha-nāma*.

⁷ I.e. Daśaratha. The original text of verse 22 is *Tasya-dīpāyō Spō[r]vagan dāhivāsa [d]st[st]d-Daśasyam-dāna-nāma[āhā(āhā)]yaṇ [i] va(ba)śē(bhā)ya vjān tu Vjādō yō(ya)śhātār rājyā Hārth prarādāt* (1) I shall show below that the chief here spoken of undoubtedly was named *Vijāda*. The name Daśasyandana (Daśaratha) may have been given to him because, like Rāma's father Daśaratha, he, according to the account here given, had four sons — Compare above, Vol VIII, p 215, v 18.

⁸ The reading of the first syllable of this name is not absolutely certain here.

⁹ Above, Vol VIII p 223, line 28, and in an unpublished Mount Ābū inscription (No 1794 of Mr Consens)¹ the name is spelt *Hēthūdhijī*.

¹⁰ The text has, *samvat 1377 vasiśakha Vasiśakha-sudā 8 Sōmē Kshaya-samvatsarē Sdy-ētha Chamārāvati-pratīca(ba)dāha [Vū?]hunda-samvatsarē mahārājakula ēti Lūntigāra Chamārāvati-prabhuraśa-dāśasya-tatād*.

Vikrama year 1377, to Monday, the 6th April A.D. 1321, when the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of Vaisākha ended 17 h 13 m after mean sunrise, the day did fall in the Jovian year Kshaya, which according to the northern mean-sign system lasted from the 30th May A.D. 1320 to the 26th May A.D. 1321

Of the localities mentioned, in addition to the well-known Arbuda or Mount Âbū, Chandrāvātī according to the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. III. p. 126, is a large place (now in ruins) on the Banās river near the south-east border of the Sirohi State. There can be no doubt that it was taken by Luntiga from the Paramāras¹ Hēthuhji is the small village of 'Hetamji' on Mount Âbū² Vūhunda— if this is really the name— I am unable to identify

On Mount Âbū there are at least two other inscriptions,³ of no great extent and partly illegible, of the reign of Luntigadēva, described as the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious Lūndhāka or Lūndha(?) One is dated on Wednesday, the 8th of the dark half of Chaitra in the [Vikrama] year 1372, corresponding, so far as I can see, to Wednesday, the 17th March A.D. 1316, the other on some specified day, which I cannot make out with certainty, in the [Vikrama] year 1373 And there is a third, partly effaced inscription,⁴ which also mentions the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious Lūndhāka or Lūnhāka, and speaks of the glorious Nāmaladēvi, who clearly is the Nāmalladēvi of the present inscription, the mother of Luntigadēva. I am not at present prepared to give a fuller account of these three inscriptions.

But I may add here that another account of some of the later Chāhamānas is found in an inscription⁵ which is on a stone at a temple—the *Vimala-vasahikā*, ordinarily but wrongly called Vimala Sāh's or Shāh's temple—which was founded on Mount Âbū, according to the inscription itself in the Vikrama year 1088,⁷ by a certain Vimala, 'an ornament of the Prāg-vāta race,' after he had been appointed *daṇḍapati* at Arbuda by the (Chaulukya) king Bhīmadēva (I.). This inscription in lines 9-15 (verses 14-22) gives the following '*rājavalī*':—

There was a hero, Āsarāja⁸ by name, a moon to the lotus-flower—the Chāhuvāma⁹ family, who was king of the town of Naddūla¹⁰ (v. 14). Then there came Samarasimha; and his son was Mahanasimhabhata (v. 15). Then came Pratsāpamalla; and of him was born Vijāda, who ruled the Marusthali-mandala (v. 16) He had three sons, the first of whom was the king Lūniga (v. 17) After him the text mentions Lūndha (v. 18) and Lumbha (v. 19), without distinctly saying that they were his younger brothers It then records the conquest of Arbuda (v. 20), says further that Lūniga's son was Tējasimha (v. 21), and after him eulogizes Tihunāka, to whom it wishes long life (v. 22)

The mutilated verse 23 appears to say that the glorious Lumbhaka, 'together with' Tējasimha and Tihupa, in right manner carried on the government of the mountain Arbuda;

¹ See my *Northern List*, Nos 193, 209 and 210 (now above, Vol. VIII. p. 201).

² See above, Vol. VIII. p. 207, and the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. III. pp. 137 and 144.

³ Nos 1907 and 1909 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁴ No 1908 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁵ No 1790 of Mr. Cousens' List I hope soon to give the text of this inscription, which is ready for publication

⁶ *Vimala sās* seems to occur first in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 311, note. It owes its origin to a misunderstanding of the term *Vimala-vasahikā*, 'Vimala's temple,' which we find e.g. in line 8 of No 1774 of Mr. Cousens' List — I may add that in line 10 of the same inscription we have the similar term *Tējapāla-vasahikā*, 'Tējapāla's temple'

⁷ The date is given in verse 11: *Śrī-Vikramāditya-nripād-vyathitē Saktānti-yatī saraddhā sahaire(śre) |* *Śrī Ādinīkam tikhār-ubudaya nīcē(śi) tam śrī-Vimalāna vādhē ||*

⁸ I give all names here exactly as they are written in the original.

⁹ This may be a mistake for *Chāhuvāna* or *Chāhuvāna*.

¹⁰ This is the actual spelling of the name, and is required by the metre. The same may be said of the name *Tējasimha*, which occurs below.

and the rest of the inscription treats of a private family, two members of which made repairs of the temple. The date given in verse 41 is Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Jyêshtha of the [Vikrama] year 1378. It corresponds to Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322.

As regards the genealogy given in this inscription, it is curious, but of no historical importance, that it commences with Āsarāja¹ (Āsarāja, Āśārāja), who was neither the founder of the family nor the father of Samarasimha who is here mentioned immediately after him. Instead of the name Mānavasimha of Luntigadêva's inscription this account has Mahapasimha which must be regarded as another name of the same person, and while according to the former Vijaya had four sons, according to this genealogy he had only three—Lūniga, Luṇḍha and Lumbha. Of these, Lūniga undoubtedly is identical with the Lāvanyakarma of the other inscription,² and Luṇḍha with Luntiga (Lundha), while Lumbha (Lumbhaka) most probably is another name of Lūpavarma. What is new to us and of some importance, is, that by the account here given Têjasimha, who is known to us from other inscriptions, was a son of Lūniga. According to No. 261 of my *Northern List* Têjasimha³ was ruling in the [Vikrama] year 1387, corresponding to A.D. 1331, and there is an unpublished Mount Ābū inscription⁴ of his of the [Vikrama] year 1393, corresponding to A.D. 1336. What was the exact relation of Tihunāka (Tihūpa) to Têjasimha, does not appear from the Vimala temple inscription; but the matter very probably is cleared up by a statement in an inscription (No. 265 of my *Northern List*)⁵ of Têjasimha's son Kānhadadêva, who was reigning at Chandrāvati in the Vikrama year 1394, corresponding to A.D. 1338. That inscription in lines 11-14 records four separate grants of villages by the *Chākhumdnajñītya-rāja-sri-Têjasimha*, the *dêvagrī-Tihunāka*, the *rāja-sri-Kānhadadêva*, and the *Chākhumdnajñī(')ītya-rāja-sri-Sāmatasimha*. Here Tihunāka is placed between Têjasimha and his son Kānhadadêva, who both are distinguished from him by their title of *rāja*. Thus and the order in which Tihunāka is mentioned in the Vimala temple inscription render it probable that he was Têjasimha's younger brother. And this may possibly be the meaning of the word *dêvagrī* prefixed to his name, a word which seems to be etymologically connected with the Sanskrit *dêvī*, *dêvara*, used in the specific sense of 'a husband's younger brother'.

In the Table on page 83 I have placed all the chiefs mentioned in the above in their genealogical order, and have given the dates known from inscriptions either for themselves or for the kings and chiefs with whom they are said to have come in contact. The Table will show that Lakshmana, the founder of the family, must be placed in about A.D. 925-950, and that therefore he very probably was a son of that Vākpatarāja of Śākambhad, who was the grandfather of the Vīgraharāja of the Harsha inscription who lived in A.D. 973. My genealogical Table of the family is not quite complete. I do not know yet how to place exactly the *Mahārājakula Sāmyatasimha* or *Sāmyantasimha*, who is mentioned in Nos. 704-707 of my *Northern List* with dates from about A.D. 1282 to A.D. 1289, and— if this should be a different chief—the *Rājā Sāmatasimha*, mentioned in Kānhadadêva's inscription of A.D. 1338.

¹ If it were not for the other inscriptions, this name might of course be taken to stand for *Āsarāja*.

² Compare Lūpigadêva for Lāvanyakarma in No. 246 of my *Northern List*.

³ In the original of No. 261 (No. 1349 of Mr. Cousens' List) the name is spelt *Têjasimha*.

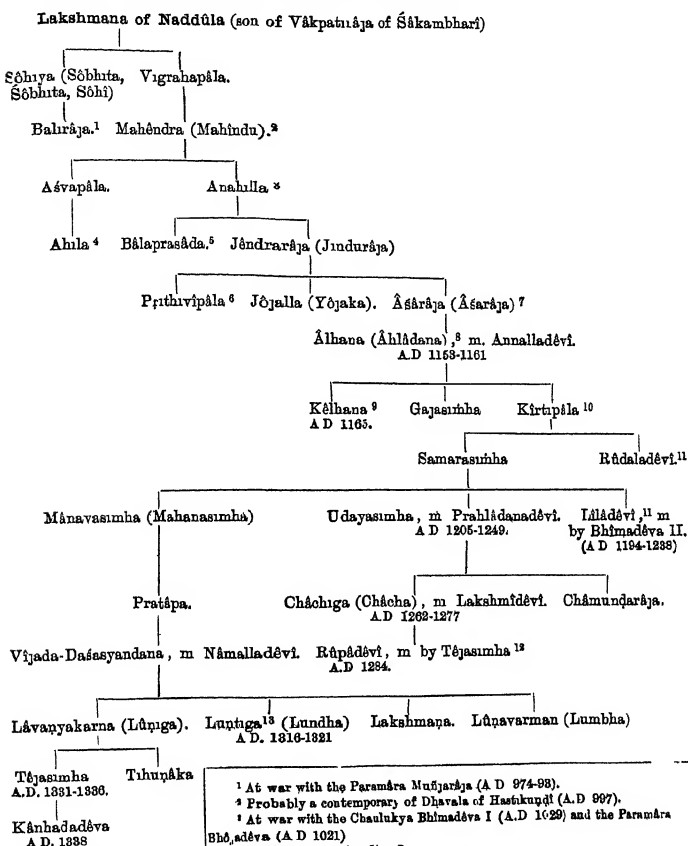
⁴ No. 1047 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁵ No. 1919 of Mr. Cousens' List. The inscription has been roughly edited in *Ind. Ant. Vol. II*, p. 256.

⁶ In No. 1958 of Mr. Cousens' List a *Dêvagrī-vijaya* is mentioned. According to *Ind. Ant. Vol. IV*, p. 146,

the Bhoji chieftains, . . . though Chobhis, are universally known by the name of *Chobhis*, the *Dorā*.

⁷ The foundation of the separate kingdom of Naddūla was perhaps connected with the disturbances which preceded Vīgraharāja's reign.

¹ At war with the Paramāra Muñjarāja (A.D. 974-98).² Probably a contemporary of Dhavala of Hastinapur (A.D. 997).³ At war with the Chalukya Bhīmadēva I (A.D. 1029) and the Paramāra Bhōadēva (A.D. 1021)⁴ At war with Bhīmadēva I⁵ Probably a contemporary of the Paramāra Kṛṣṇadēva (A.D. 1060-67)⁶ At war with the Chalukya Karka (A.D. 1091).⁷ Contemporary of the Chalukya Siddharāja (A.D. 1138, 1139)⁸ Contemporary of the Chalukya Kumārapāla (A.D. 1145-69).⁹ At war with the Dévagiri-Yādava Bhīllama (A.D. 1191)¹⁰ Transferred the seat of government to Jāvālipura¹¹ It is impossible to say whether these were younger daughters¹² This Tējasimha had a son named Kālīśtrasimha¹³ Took Chandravatī with Mount Ābū from the Paramāras.

No 10.—AMBASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-PANDYA

By V VENKAYYA, M A, RAI BAHADUR

Ambásamudram is situated on the northern bank of the Tāmraparni river and is the headquarters of the taluka of the same name in the Tinnevely district. The town has a long reputation for the manufacture of cloths largely in demand on the western coast. On the southern bank of the river is the big and flourishing village of Kallidaikkunchchi, which gives its name to the cloths manufactured at the sister town on the other bank, because the trade between them is carried on mostly by the Brāhmanas of the former place, who temporarily reside in Malabar and are frequently met with on the west coast.

The site of Ambásamudram seems to have been altered in comparatively recent times. A greater portion of the town is now situated at some distance from the river, while the more important temple, now called Erichcha-Udayār, is quite close to it, and is separated from the town by a pretty large extent of rice fields. The heavy floods in the Tāmraparni at certain seasons of the year might be one of the causes which led to the removal of the town to a more distant locality. Besides, in ancient times, Ambásamudram seems to have been a big place including some of the adjacent villages such as Tiruválisvaram¹ and Maṇṇārkōyil.² In an inscription of [Jatāvarman Sundara-]Chōla-Pāndya³ the temple of Erichcha-Udayār is said to be situated in the southern hamlet of Rājārāja-chaturvēdmangalam. During the period of Pāndya supremacy the town was called Ilangōkkudi or Ilangōykkudi,⁴ which was altered into Rājārāja-chaturvēdmangalam after the Chōla conquest.⁵ The latter name has probably to be traced to the Chōla king Rājārāja I., after whom the Pāndya country was itself called Rājārāja-maṇḍalam.⁶

During the field season of 1904-05 I copied eight inscriptions in the temple of Erichcha Udayār, of which two belong to the early Pāndyas,⁷ two to the Chōlas,⁸ one to the Chōla Pāndyas⁹ and two to the later Pāndyas,¹⁰ while the eighth does not mention any king.¹¹ One of the early Pāndya records¹² seems to belong to the reign of Vira-Pāndya, 'who took the head of the Chōla'. The Chōla king with whom he fought must be Āditya (II.) Karikāla,¹³ who, according to the large Leiden plates, fought in his youth against Vira Pāndya.¹⁴ The newly discovered Tiruvālaṅkāḍi plates of Rājendra-Chōla I. do not mention the name of the Pāndya king against whom Āditya II. fought, but report that the latter "killed the Pāndya king in battle and set up his lofty head as a pillar of victory in his city."¹⁵ Accordingly, Vira-Pāndya reigned in the

¹ The temple at Tiruválisvaram is said to have been situated in Rājārāja-chaturvēdmangalam, which was the name of Ambásamudram in Chōla times; *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904-5, p. 48, Nos 115 and 119 of 1904.

² The Vishnu temple at this village, called Rājendra Chōla-vinnagar in ancient times, was also situated in Rājārāja-chaturvēdmangalam, No. 112 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

³ No. 103 of the same collection.

⁴ No. 104 of the same, and lines 2, 6 f. and 10 f of the subjoined inscription.

⁵ The name occurs already in an inscription of the 11th year of Rājārāja I., No. 119 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁶ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 148.

⁷ Nos. 101 and 105 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁸ Nos. 98 and 99 of the same collection.

⁹ No. 102 of the same.

¹⁰ No. 104 of the same.

¹¹ Nos. 100 and 108 of the same.

¹² No. 101 of the same.

¹³ He was the elder brother of Rājārāja I. (A D 985 to at least 1018).

¹⁴ *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I, p. 112.

¹⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905 6, Part I, paragraph 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Part II, paragraph 16.

period prior to the conquest and occupation of the Pāṇḍya country by the Chōlas at the end of the 10th century A D

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a slab built into the floor of the first circuit in the Ernehcha-Udayār temple, which is comparatively dark. The record was found and copied with the help of a lamp. At my request the Collector of Tinnevely has removed the slab to the Government Central Museum at Madras. The plate issued with this paper is based on fresh impressions prepared by my Assistant Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., after the removal of the stone to Madras.¹—The alphabet of the document is Vatteluttu and the language Tamil prose intermixed with a few Sanskrit words in the Grantha alphabet. The preservation is good, though a few syllables are mutilated at the end of lines 3 to 13 and 81. The slab was ruled before the writing, which is crowded into three sides of it, was engraved. The number of Sanskrit words written in Grantha is comparatively few, viz *svasti* (1 1), *śrī* (11 1 and 3), *amigraha* (1 1), *bhāṭāra* (11 1, 3 and 10), *maharaja* (1 5), *mahārāja* (11 12 and 81) and *ājyavasha* (1 12).

The following peculiarities of the alphabet deserve to be noted. The horizontal stroke of *ka* is very often small and indistinct. But the letter has not yet assumed the slanting form found in the Tirunelli² and Cochin plates³ of Bhāskara-Ravivarman. The variant of the letter *ya* noticed by Prof. Hultzsch in the Kōttayam plates of Sthānu-Ravi and in certain Chōla inscriptions⁴ does not occur here. Two slightly different forms of *i* are used, of which one (the first *i* of *śeluttu* in 11 5 and 14) resembles, to a certain extent, the form in an ancient Vatteluttu record from Tirunāḍarkunru in the South Arcot district.⁵ The vowel *ai* occurs thrice in the inscription (11 9, 22 and 75). As in other Tamil inscriptions, hardly any distinction is made between the short *i* and the long *i* when they occur in combination with consonants. Double *kk* is occasionally written as a group, *e g* in *mahārājarkku* and *nāggāvadukku* in line 12, *poḷudarkku* in line 15, *kammāyattukku* in line 16, *ḷakku* and *kharuvāḷar* in line 18. The *v*-symbol is added in some cases over the top of the consonant to which it belongs, instead of by the side as in later Vatteluttu epigraphs, see *e g* *vi* of *viruvirundu* (1 6), *li* of *poli* (1 9), *ḷi* of *kuḷi* (1 11), *mi* of *vamidu* (1 14), and *li* of *nāpāḷi* (1 16). The syllable *pō* is written as in the Madras Museum plates of Jātīlavarman⁶ without the addition of the *ā*-symbol (on the right) found in the Chōla Vatteluttu inscriptions⁷ published by Prof. Hultzsch. The Tirunelli plates⁸ distinguish by a similar addition the long *pō* from the short *po*, and only a single instance of the former occurs in the Cochin Jews' grant.⁹ Thus the distinction between *pō* and *pō* appears to be a later innovation, and evidently belongs to a period subsequent to the Jātīlavarman plates and to the subjoined inscription. If this conclusion be correct, the Cochin and the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara-Ravivarman must be later than Varaguna-Pāṇḍya. And as Prof. Hultzsch has remarked that the alphabet employed in both of them agrees with that of the Chōla inscriptions from South Travancore published by him,¹⁰ Bhāskara-Ravivarman may have to be assigned to the 10th or 11th century A D.

The language of the subjoined record calls for a few remarks. The vulgar form *mahārāja* occurs twice instead of the Sanskrit *mahārāja* (11 12 and 81), while *maharaja* in line 5 is

¹ The stone has evidently been slightly damaged in transit. Accordingly, portions of the last letters in 11 4 to 9, which are missing on the Plate, are found on my original impression prepared at Ambāsamudram in 1905 before the stone was removed to Madras.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. Plate facing p. 290.

³ Above, Vol. III. Plate facing p. 72.

⁴ Above, Vol. V. p. 42.

⁵ No. 289 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904 and *Annual Report* for 1903-4, paragraph 80.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. Plates facing p. 70, 11 32 and 43.

⁷ Above, Vol. V. Plate facing p. 46, E, line 1; and H, 11 5, 8 and 9.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. Plate facing p. 290, compare *pōp* in 11 13, 19 and 34 with *pōm* in 1 31.

⁹ Above, Vol. III. Plate facing p. 72, compare **pōlān* in line 27 with *pōm* of the preceding note.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. V. p. 42.

evidently a mistake *Amidu* (l 14) and *amirdu*¹ (l 19 f), both of which correspond to the modern Tamil *amudu*, are *tadbhavas* of the Sanskrit *amṛta*. The word *poli* (l 9) is used both here and in the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya² instead of the more common *polisai*, which occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions³ and survives in the Malayālam *palisa*.⁴ The word *nāru* (ll 27 and 69) is still current in Malayālam, while its modern Tamil equivalent is *nīru*. The root from which they are both derived is *nāru*, which has acquired a figurative sense in Tamil,⁵ while the original meaning seems to be preserved in Telugu.⁶ The measure known as *seṭṭu* occurs four times in the form *seṭṭu* (ll 25, 27, 54 and 70). The word *niyadu* is used in line 27 as well as in line 13 apparently in the same sense as *niṣadi*, of which *niyadi* (l 77) is a variant. *Vēna* in line 75 is a vulgar form of the word *vēndiya*. The form *kuni*, which occurs twice (ll 58 and 73), is perhaps a simple mistake for *kuruni*.

The subjoined inscription belongs to the time of Varaguna-Maharāja, whose name occurs thrice (ll 5, 11 f and 81), and is dated in the 12th opposite to the fourth year of his reign. From his camp at Arasīr on the bank of the Pennar river in Tondai-nādu, the king granted 290 *kāṣu* to the temple of Tiruppōttudaiyār⁷ (the ancient name of Eriḥocha-Udayār) at Ilangōkkuṇi in Muḷli-nāḍu.⁸ The assembly of the village received the money. The committee of the assembly⁹ and the temple servants had jointly to provide for offerings to the god, according to a fixed scale, out of the interest from those 290 *kāṣu*.

The inscription of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya in the Upper Cave at Trichinopoly is dated on the 2501st day (and) in the 4th year or the 11th year of his reign.¹⁰ No reasonable doubt can at present be entertained as regards the identity of this king with the donor of the subjoined record. On the occasion of making the former donation Varaguna was at Niyamam in the Tanjore district, after having destroyed the fortifications of a town named Vēmbi. At Rāmanāthapuram near Dindigul in the Madurai district is a Tamil inscription which refers to the expedition (*yāttirai*) of Mārāṇḍaiyaṇ against Idavai in the Chōḷa country.¹¹ The Trichinopoly epigraph implies that Mārāṇḍaiyaṇ¹² was a surname of Varaguna,¹³ and this inference is borne out by a

¹ *Amirdu* occurs also in the Tanjore inscriptions; see e.g. *South-Ind Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 69, text line 3. *Amirdu* is another form of the same word; see above, Vol. VII, p. 184, text line 8.

² See the Director General's *Annual* for 1908-9, p. 276, text line 16.

³ See e.g. *South-Ind Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 69, text line 8. The form *palisai* also occurs in epigraphical records, see *ibid.* p. 122, text line 27.

⁴ According to Dr. Gundert *palisa* means 'interest on money'.

⁵ According to Wmslow *nāru* means 'to destroy, to kill'.

⁶ According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *nāru* means 'to grind or sharpen' and 'to reduce to powder'.

⁷ This name means 'the blessed lord of the bull,' i.e. Śiva.

⁸ According to an inscription of the Chōḷa king Rājendra-Chōḷa I (above, Vol. V, p. 47) Shērmādevi in the Tinnevely district was included in Muḷli-nāḍu. Muḷli-nāḍu belonged to the Tivēṇḍi-nāḍu, i.e. Travancore, in the 17th century A.D. (*ibid.* Vol. III, p. 240).

⁹ The expression *seṭṭai-vēṇḍiyan* seems to imply that the system of village administration prevalent in the Chōḷa country in the 10th century A.D. was also in operation in the Pāṇḍya kingdom in the 9th century A.D.; see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1898-99, paragraphs 58 to 78.

¹⁰ See the Director General's *Annual* for 1908-9, p. 276.

¹¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1906-7, Part II, paragraph 26. This is the inscription mentioned by Mr. Sewall (*Liste of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 289) as being engraved on the "Pāṇḍya Book" in very old Tamil characters.

¹² Mārāṇḍaiyaṇ seems to have been a formal name of Varaguna, just as Rāṣṭhāṇḍarman and Parakāśari varman were of Chōḷa kings. Kōṇṇiramaikōṇḍāṇ was a similar name assumed originally by Chōḷa kings and subsequently by the Pāṇḍyas too. Among the later Pāṇḍyas, Māravarman and Jayavarman were similar formal names derived, evidently, from the Tamil words *Māra* and *Saṇḍaiyaṇ*. The former denotes in Sanskrit 'Cupid,' but has been so often applied to the Pāṇḍya king that it has become one of the synonyms of 'the Pāṇḍya king.'

¹³ No. 277 of 1896 in the Travancore Museum belongs to the 27th year of Mārāṇḍaiyaṇ. It may be a record of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya, though this is not absolutely certain. It mentions a hero named Rāṣṭhāṇḍar, the army of the Chōḷa king, and Vijūṣam.

record at Tillasthānam in the Tanjore district, which is dated during the reign of Mārañjadaiyan and records a gift for the merit of Varaguna-Mahārāja.¹ Accordingly, it may be concluded that Varaguna *alias* Mārañjadaiyan led the expedition against Idavai in the Chōla country. Idavai is evidently identical with the village of the same name² in Manñi-nādu, a subdivision of Rājendrasimha-valanādu situated on the northern bank of the river Kāvēri.³ The village of Vēmbarrūr situated in the same subdivision⁴ might be identical with Vēmbul, whose fortifications Varaguna destroyed. The destruction of Vēmbul probably followed soon after the expedition against Idavai. In the same locality is Tiruppirambiyam,⁵ where a battle was fought between the Pāndya king Varaguna and the Western Ganga Prithivipati I.⁶ The expedition against Idavai in the Chōla country and the attack of Vēmbul were apparently acts of aggression⁷ on the part of the Pāndya king, which eventually led to the battle of Śrīpurambiya (in Tamil Tiruppirambiyam). The part which Prithivipati I played in this battle was hitherto inexplicable. In editing the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguna-Pāndya, I remarked⁸—"How it was that the Gangas of Gangavādi in the Mysore State managed to get so far south as Kumbhakōnam in the Tanjore district, and why the Pāndya king Varaguna had to fight against them, are points on which no information is at present forthcoming." The verse in the Udayēnduram plates which describes the battle runs as follows, with Prof Hultzsch's corrections⁹—

यः श्रीपु००भुवियमहाहवमूर्ध्नि धीरः पाण्ड्येष्टरं वरगुणं सहसा विजित्व [I*]
 कृत्वाऽर्थयुक्तमपराजितशब्दमात्रप्राणव्ययेन सुहृदस्त्रिदिवस्त्रगाम [II*]

With the approval of Prof Hultzsch, whose translation of the verse is slightly different, I render it as follows—"Having defeated by force the Pāndya king Varaguna at the head of the great battle of Śrīpurambiya, and having made (his) friend's title Aparājita (see the unconquered) significant, this hero entered heaven by sacrificing his own life." Thus we get a king whose name or surname was Aparājita, and who with his ally Prithivipati I fought against the Pāndya king Varaguna. The existence of a king named Aparājita might be concluded already from one of the Ukkal inscriptions, where the other name of that village is Aparājita-chaturvēdimangalam.¹⁰ From the Āmbū inscriptions of the Ganga-Pallava king Nripatunga it may be supposed that Prithivipati I was his feudatory.¹¹ Accordingly, Aparājita, the friend of the latter, was probably also a Ganga-Pallava. Indisputable evidence of the existence of a Ganga-Pallava king of that name is furnished by an inscription of Vijaya-Aparājita-vikramavarman, discovered by my Assistant Mr K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar at Tiruttani in the North Arcot district.¹² Aparājita-vikramavarman was apparently the successor of Nripatunga, and we may at present suppose that during the reign of the latter (or after his

¹ No. 51 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895

² *South Ind Inscr* Vol II pp 325 and 336

³ *Ibid*, p. 53

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 325, paragraph 88, and p. 336, paragraph 77

⁵ Tiruppirambiyam near Kumbhakōnam is the modern Tamil name of Śrīpurambiya mentioned in the Udayēnduram plates of Prithivipati II, see also the following note

⁶ *Ibid* p. 337. Vaumbalguṇ, where another battle was fought by Prithivipati I according to the Udayēnduram plates, may have to be looked for in the same locality. It is not impossible that the place is identical with Vēmbul, whose fortifications Varaguna destroyed. But the name of Prithivipati's enemy in the battle of Vambalguṇ is not mentioned. Consequently this identification remains doubtful.

⁷ That the Pāndyas were strong and powerful about this time, is proved by their invasion of Ceylon recorded in Chapter I. of the Sinhalese Chronicle *Mahāvamsa*, see Mr L. C. Wijesinha's *Translation*. The invasion seems to have been unprovoked and falls into the period A.D. 846-866.

⁸ Director General's *Annual* for 1903-04, p. 273

⁹ *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p. 384, verse 18

¹⁰ *Ibid* Vol III p. 2

¹¹ Above, Vol IV p. 132

¹² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 8

death) there was a Pāṇḍya invasion headed by Varaguna. The invader probably did not meet with any effective resistance at first, and therefore advanced as far north as Arasūr on the Southern Pennar river, where he was encamped at the time of making the grant registered in the subjoined Ambāsamudram inscription. Subsequently, Aparājita, who was perhaps the heir-apparent at the time,¹ appears to have been sent with the Western Ganga Prithivipati I to repel the invasion. The decisive battle was fought at Śrīpurambiya, and the invader was driven back. But the Ganga king lost his life in it.²

The Tiruvālaṅkāṇ plates of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I. help us to trace the fortunes of the Ganga-Pallavas to the very end. Verse 49 of the Sanskrit portion of this grant, which describes the achievements of the Chōla king Āditya I, runs as follows —

अपराजितमयसौ रणे जितवान् पञ्चवसुसत्त्वलम् ।[*]
दयितामपि तस्य मेदिनीं स्वमीकृत्य [त*]यायभूत् कृती ॥

"Having conquered in battle the Pallava who had brilliant troops, though (he was) Aparājita, (i.e. the unconquered), he (viz. the Chōla king Āditya) also took possession of his queen, (viz.) the earth, (and) thus accomplished his object."³ In other words, the Chōla king Āditya I conquered the Pallava Aparājita⁴ and annexed his dominions. The Pallava Aparājita⁵ may now be identified with the Ganga-Pallava king Aparājitavikramavarman of the Tiruttam inscription, and with that Aparājita who defeated Varaguna-Pāṇḍya. And, evidently, Ukkal in the North Arcot district was called Aparājita-chaturvēdimangalam after this Ganga-Pallava king. He was apparently the last member of his family. Though successful against the Pāṇḍyas, he could not offer any effective resistance to the rising Chōlas, who, under Āditya I., not only conquered him in battle, but also annexed his dominions.

In a Vattejuttu inscription at Aivarmalai in the Madura district,⁷ copied during the last field season by my assistant Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, I found a Śaka date for Varaguna. His 8th year is coupled with Śaka-saivrat 792. Thus his accession took place in A.D. 862-63. If the facts and inferences set forth in the preceding paragraphs be confirmed by future researches, and if there was only one Pāṇḍya king named Varaguna, the invasion of Idavai in the Chōla country and the destruction of the fortifications of Vēmbil must have taken place in or before A.D. 872-73.⁸ Varaguna was at Arasūr on the southern Pennar in A.D. 877-8. The battle of Śrīpurambiya might have taken place towards the close of the same year or in the next year. If the surmise made by me, that Aparājita was probably heir-apparent when that battle took place, be true, his accession may be placed about A.D. 880. His defeat by the Chōla king Āditya evidently occurred after the Tiruttam inscription of the 18th year of his reign.

¹ Aparājita is called the friend (*suhrid*) of Prithivipati I, who was a Ganga-Pallava feudatory. If the former had been the reigning king, it is perhaps not likely that he would be referred to as the 'friend' of Prithivipati I.

² Soon after the conquest and occupation of the Pallava dominions by the Chōlas, the Gaṅgas, who had been feudatories of the Ganga-Pallavas, seem to have acknowledged the Chōlas as their overlords. In an inscription of Rājāśarivarman which has to be attributed to Āditya I, Pindipati, son of Māramamiyar (i.e. perhaps Prithivipati II, son of Mārambiha), is mentioned, apparently, as a Chōla feudatory; *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1896-97, paragraph 7.

³ Read "सुखदयलम्."

⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II paragraph 10.

⁵ The place at which this battle was fought is not mentioned here. According to tradition the battle which crushed the Pallava power was fought near Sholinghur in the North Arcot district; see the *Journal of the North Arcot District*, Vol. I p. 89.

⁶ That Aparājita is called a Pallava, is no bar to the proposed identification. In the *Śāhī* plates (above, Vol. IV p. 181), the Ganga-Pallava Nṛpatuṅga-vikramavarman and his ancestors were called Pallavas, and their legendary ancestors are the same as those of the Pallavas of Cojeveram.

Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Part II paragraph 26.

⁸ The latter event is mentioned in the Trinopolis inscription, dated in the 11th year of the king's reign.

Accordingly, the event may be supposed to have taken place at the end of the 9th century A D¹

The great Śaiva saint Mānikkavāṣagar mentions the Pāndya king Varaguna twice² in his *Tṛuṭṭiṇṇambalakkōvayār*. The time of Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār, who probably flourished in the 8th century A D, is the upper limit of the date of Mānikkavāṣagar, who is conspicuous by his omission from the *Tṛuṭṭiṇṇattogai*, i.e. the list of Śaiva saints composed by the former. The lower limit may be taken as the reign of the Chōla king Parakēśarivarman Rājēndradēva (A D 1052 to 1063),³ because in an inscription of the 5th year of his reign (= A D 1056-57) reference is made to the poem [Tṛu]vembāvai composed by Mānikkavāṣagar.⁴ It may, therefore, be concluded that this Śaiva saint was a contemporary of the Pāndya king Varaguna. And if there was only one king of that name, the Śaiva saint must have flourished in the second half of the 9th century A D.

It is worthy of note that the calculation of the annual requirements of the temple provided for in the subjoined inscription implies that the measure of paddy known as *halam* consisted of 90 *nāli*, instead of 12 *kurun* or 96 *nāli*, which we find, for instance, in the Tanjore inscriptions, and which is the prevailing equivalent in the Tamil country. A *halam* was equal to 15 *kurun*, and a *kurun* equal to 6 *nāli*. The rate of interest, according to the subjoined inscription, is 2 *halam* of paddy for each *kāṣu*, while in the Tanjore inscriptions it is 3 *kurun* for one *kāṣu*. Thus the rate in the Pāndya country at the time of Varaguna would be nearly eight times higher⁵ than that prevailing in Tanjore during the reign of the Chōla king Rājārāja I (A D 985 to at least 1013), in case there was no difference in the value of the *kāṣu*. The variations at the same two places and periods in the price of some of the important articles of daily consumption are recorded in the foot-notes. It is interesting to note that common salt and firewood, which are included among the daily requirements in the Tanjore inscriptions, are conspicuous by their omission in the subjoined document. This is a significant fact, though we may not be warranted in concluding from it that these two articles had not to be paid for in the Pāndya country during the reign of Varaguna.

TEXT

First Side of the Stone

1 Svasti [||*] Śrī-Bhatārar-anugra[ha]tt[nā]-

2 ^k Mulli-nātt-Iṅgōyakkudi T[ri]-

¹ The conquest of the Pallavas is attributed by tradition to Āṇḍonai, an illegitimate son of Kulōttunga of Tanjore. The first battle, said to have been fought at Purulūr, ended in favour of the Pallavas. Āṇḍonai was then forced to retreat to Sholinghur. "Encouraged there by a dream, he renewed the contest and defeated the enemy with great slaughter. The Pallava king was taken prisoner, and the hazy gates of the Purulūr fort were carried to the temple (!) of Tanjore," see the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, Vol I p 39. If there be any truth in this tradition, Kulōttunga must have been a surname of Vijayalaya, and Āṇḍonai of his son Āḍitya I. But there is not even the slightest hint in epigraphical records that Āḍitya was the illegitimate son of Vijayalaya. Another tradition has it that the mythical Chōla king Kōṅkili had an illegitimate son named Āṇḍonai by a Nāga woman, and that the province conferred on the latter by his father was called Tondai-nāḍu or Tondai mandalam. It looks as if this Āṇḍonai is mixed up with the conqueror of the Pallavas in the former story.

² Verse 306 in illustration of *Maruvudaluranattal*, and verse 327 in illustration of *Pṇamurṇṇanattal*.

³ Above, Vol VII p 7.

⁴ No 12 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905 from the Virāṭṭānēśvara temple at Kīlūr near Tirukoilūr.

⁵ In ancient times the rate of interest seems to have been more or less arbitrary. It looks as if the ordinary laws of Political Economy were not allowed full play, and it is therefore unsafe to draw any conclusions from the rate of interest. At Conjeevaram the rate of interest during the reign of a Chōla king named Parakēśarivarman was 15 per cent. About a century earlier the rate was 5 per cent in the same place. Again the interest on 250 *kalaṅṅu* of gold was 500 *kāṣu* of paddy, and 150 *kāṣu* on 50 *kalaṅṅu*, G O No 452, Public, dated 10th June 1891, p 5.

⁶ Read 'nāli', the *ha* of *anugraha* is slightly different from *ha* in ll 5, 12 and 81.

- 3 ruppóttudaiyār śrīkōyī-Bhatāra[r*]kku mu[da!]
 4 [ke]dāmai poli kondu¹ nā[ṇ]gu kālamun=di[ruv-amu*]-
 5 du selu[t]tuvadā[ga] Varaguna-Maharajar Tōṇḍai-nāt[tu-P*]-
 6 pennai-kkarai Araiśūr viṇṇurundu lla[n]gōkku*]-
 7 di=chchavaiyār kaiyiyi=kndutta kāsū iru-nūṇ[ru-to*]-
 8 nūṇru [i*] ivayīāy=kāsinvāy=iru-galamāga ān[du*]-
 9 varai śavaiyār=alakkum poli-nel ai-nūṇ[r-e[nba][di*]-
 10 n kalam [i*] ivai kondu Bhatārar paṇi-makkalum lla[n*]-
 11 gōkkudi=chchavai-vāriyarum uḍa=ṇṇṇu Varagu[na*]-
 12 Mahar[ā]jarkku rājya-va[r*]śham nāṇḡvaduṇṇu eḍ[ir*]
 13 pannirandā[m*] yāndu Tulā-śāyirṇu mndalāga mḡa[di*]-
 14 yāga nāṇḡu kālam[u]n=diruv-amdu seluttum [pa]-
 15 di [i*] oru-pōḷudaiṇṇu vēṇḍuvāga ariśi senn[e]r=
 16 ṇṇittal nā=ṇāḷi kummāyattukku pa[ya]ṇṇu=
 17 pparupp=uri mvēdikka paṣuvin=ṇaṇu-ney[y]=u-
 18 laḷkku=ppasuviṇ=ṇōy-tayir=uri-kkaruvāḷai-
 19 ppala-nāṇḡu śarkkarai oru-palam kaṇi-am[ī]-
 20 rdu kāy[k]ṇi oṇṇu puṇḡgaṇi irāṇḍu puḷu-
 21 [k]kukkaṇi oṇṇu porikkaṇi oṇṇu ēṇṇi-kkaṇi
 22 aiṇṇuṇṇukku=gaṇi paḍiṇ-pala[m]
 23 [ka]ṇi tumikkavum porikkavum paṣuvi=ṇaṇu-ne-
 24 y āḷakku=k[kūṭ]tukku paṣuviṇ [t]ō[y]-taiyi-
 25 r=uri-kkāyam iru-śevittu ilai-amirḍa
 26 vellilai ir-aḍukku adaikkāy pattu
 27 nūṇru oru-śevittu [i*] āga mḡaḍi nāṇḡu
 28 pōḷudaiṇṇu vēṇḍuvāga ariśi śe-
 29 nneṇ-ṇṇittal paḍiṇ-aṇu-nāḷi

Second Side of the Stone

- 30 āga ḍr=āttai[k]ku ariśi sen[ne]-
 31 [r]=ṇṇittal aṇba[t]tu-nāṇ=
 32 [ka]lam [i*] ivai [ka]lav-ariśikku mu=[kkala]-
 33 nellāga nūṇṇu-tton[nā]ṇṇu-iru gala-
 34 m [i*] payaṇṇu=pparupp=iru-
 35 nāḷi ivai nāḷi=pparuppa-
 36 kku mu=nnāḷi nellāga ḍr=[ā]t-
 37 taikku nel irubattu-nāṇ=kalam [i*]
 38 paṣuvini=ṇaṇu-ney nāḷi-y-uri i-
 39 vai nāḷi[i] ne[y*]kku muppaḍi=ṇāḷi ne-
 40 nellāga ḍr=ā[t*]taikku nel nūṇṇu-ṇba-
 41 diṇ kalam [i*] paṣuviṇ=ṇōy-[taiyi]-
 42 r nā=ṇāḷi ivai nāḷi=t[ta]yirṇu
 43 mu=nnāḷi nell[ā]ga ḍr=āttaikku ne-
 44 l nā[r]patt-en-galam [i*] karuvāḷappa-
 45 lam paḍiṇ-aṇu ivai irāṇḍu[kku]
 46 nāḷi nellāga ḍr=āttaikku ne[l]

¹ The phrase *mudal kēdmai poli kondu* corresponds to *mudā=ṇṇṇa poli kōṇḍu* of the Trichinopoly inscription; Director-General's *Annual* for 1908-04, p. 275, text line 15 f.

² At the beginning of this line is a symbol which looks like *ra*, but which is probably a mere crack on the stone

47 muppatt-iru-galam [i*] śarkkarai 'nāṛṇa[p]f
 48 [la]m i[du] oru-palattukku nāḷi-
 49 y-uri nellāga ōr=āttaikku nel
 50 irubattu-nāṛ=kkalam [i*] kaṇi nāṇpa-
 51 diṇ palam ivai paṇ-pa[la]-
 52 ttukku nāḷi nellāga ōr=ā[t]-
 53 ṭaikkku nel pa[di*]n-aṇu-kalam [i*] kāyam
 54 ālakṣē mu=chevittu idu
 55 uḷakku kāyaṭtukk-aṇu-nā-

Third Side of the Stone

56 [h] nell[ā]ga ōr=āt[ta]-
 57 kku nel patt[o]ṇ[ba]-
 58 [di]n kalaṇē mu=kku[ṇu*]nī [i*]
 59 lai-amirdu vel-
 60 [h]lai irandu paṇṇu
 61 [i]vai oru-paṇṇuk[k=]-
 62 [ru]-nāḷi nellāga ōr=[ā]-
 63 ṭaikkku nel pa[di]-
 64 [n-a]ru-galam adai[kkā]-
 65 y nāṇpadu ivai [i]-
 66 rubad=adaikkāy[kku] mu=n-
 67 [nā]ḷy-uri nellāga
 68 ōr=āttaikku nell=[i]-
 69 r[u]ba[tt]-en-galam [i*] nūṭ[u]
 70 n[ā]ṇchevittu idu
 71 nāḷikk=iru-nāḷy[āga]
 72 ōr=āttaikku nel
 73 pann-iru-ku[ṇu*]nī [i*] el-
 74 l[ā]m āṇṇi ōr=ā[t]-
 75 ṭaikkku vēṇa nel [ai=n]-
 76 nūṭṭ-[e]nbadin kala[m] [i*]
 77 i=ppaiṇu niyadi-
 78 [p]padu mutt[ā]mai
 79 n[e]dun=gālamuṇ=je-
 80 lu[t]tutv[adā]ga vai[t*][t]ā-
 81 r śri-Varaguna-Maharāja[r*] [i*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 8) Hail ! By the grace of the blessed lord (*bhāṭāra*)¹ Varaguna-Mahārāja, being encamped² at Araṣūṭ on the bank of the (river) Peṇṇai in Tondai-nādu, gave into the hands³ of the members of the assembly of Iṇṇagōkkudī two hundred and ninety *kāṣu*, from the interest of which—the capital remaining unspent⁴—offerings had to be provided for four times

¹ Read *nāṇpalam*

² *Vīṇṇirundu* means literally 'being seated majestically'

³ This is the literal translation. The money must have been sent by a messenger to be made over to the village assembly

⁴ Literally 'taking interest (in such a way) that the capital is not destroyed,' see note 1 on page 90 above.

for a year At three *kalam* of paddy for one *kalam* of rice,¹ this (comes to) one hundred and ninety-two *kalam* (of paddy) The split green gram (required for a day) is two *nāḷi* At the rate of three *nāḷi* of paddy for (one) *nāḷi* of split (green gram),² twenty-four *kalam* of paddy per year (have to be allotted) for this (item) Cows' ghee of the best quality (required for a day) is (one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* At the rate of thirty *nāḷi* of paddy for (one) *nāḷi* of ghee,³ this (comes to) one hundred and eighty *kalam* of paddy for a year (The quantity of) cows' curds (required for a day) is four *nāḷi* At the rate of three *nāḷi* of paddy for (one) *nāḷi* of curds,⁴ this (amounts to) forty-eight *kalam* of paddy annually (The number of) black plantain fruits (required for a day) is sixteen. At the rate of (one) *nāḷi* of paddy for two (fruits),⁵ these (cost) thirty-two *kalam* of paddy annually The sugar (required for a day is) four *palam* At the rate of (one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* of paddy for every *palam*,⁶ this (item costs) twenty-four *kalam* of paddy per year (The daily consumption of) vegetables being forty *palam*, sixteen *kalam* of paddy (have to be allotted) for this (item) every year—at the rate of (one) *nāḷi* of paddy for ten *palam* ⁷ (One) *ālakkū* and three *śevittu* of asafoetida (being required daily), nineteen *kalam* and three *kurumi*⁸ of paddy (have to be allotted) for this (item) annually—at the rate of six *nāḷi* of paddy for (one) *ūlakku* of asafoetida ⁹ (For) the leaves offering (as required) two bundles¹⁰ of betel-leaves (daily), which, at the rate of two *nāḷi* of paddy for one bundle, (come to) sixteen *kalam* of paddy for a year, forty areca-nuts (daily), which, at the rate of three *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts, (cost) twenty-eight *kalam* of paddy annually,¹¹ (and) four *śevittu* of lime (daily), which, at the rate of two *nāḷi* (of paddy) for (one) *nāḷi* (of lime), (cost) twelve *kurumi*¹² of paddy per year

(LI 73 to 81) Altogether, the (quantity of) paddy required annually is five hundred and eighty *kalam* ¹³ The glorious Varaguna-Mahārāja thus deposited (this money), in order that

¹ In Tanjore 5 *kalam* of paddy were required for 2 *kalam* of rice during the time of Rājārāja I

² Pulse was exchanged at this rate during the time of Rājārāja I at Tanjore

³ In Tanjore ghee and paddy were exchanged in the proportion of 1 to 32 at the time of Rājārāja I

⁴ The same rate obtained in Tanjore during the reign of Rājārāja I

⁵ There seem to have been three varieties of plantain fruits available in Tanjore and its vicinity about the beginning of the 11th century A D Two fruits of the first kind could be had for one *nāḷi* of paddy (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II pp 75 and 77), five *nāḷi* of paddy had to be given in exchange for 18 fruits of the second variety (*ibid* p 127), the third was sold at the rate of 1200 for each *kāṣu* (*ibid* p 151)

⁶ Two kinds of sugar were apparently available about the beginning of the 11th century A D in the Chōḷa capital and the country surrounding it Of the cheaper kind 8½ *palam* could be purchased for 2 *nāḷi*, 1 *uri*, 1 *ālakkū* and 4 *śevittu* of paddy (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II p 127), while the more costly variety exchanged at the rate of 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for ½ *palam* (*ibid* pp 70 and 71)

⁷ In one of the Tanjore inscriptions quoted in the preceding foot-notes, the daily allotment for purchasing vegetables is 6 *nāḷi* of paddy The quantity of vegetables is not mentioned

⁸ If this calculation is correct, a *kalam* must be equal to 15 instead of 12 *kurumi*, and a *kurumi* equal to 6 *nāḷi*

⁹ Asafoetida and lime are not mentioned in any of the Tanjore inscriptions, where common salt and firewood are especially provided for (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II pp 75, 77 and 180) The two latter are conspicuous by their omission in the Ambasamudram record Perhaps they had no exchange value in the Pāṇḍya country during the time of Varaguna It may also be that temples could obtain both common salt and firewood without any payment

¹⁰ From lines 26 and 60 of the text it may be concluded that one bundle (*parru*) was equal to 4 *ādūkkū* of betel leaves

¹¹ Provision is made for the supply of areca-nuts and betel leaves in three of the Tanjore inscriptions, where only the aggregate cost of both is given (Nos 6, 26 and 35 of *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II) 1 *nāḷi* of paddy for 8 areca-nuts and 32 betel-leaves (No 6), 4 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 30 areca-nuts and 60 betel leaves (No 26), and 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 12 areca-nuts and 24 betel leaves (No 35)

¹² The actual calculation yields 36 *nāḷi* of lime annually, costing 72 *nāḷi* of paddy, i.e. 18 *nāḷi* less than a *kalam* (= 90 *nāḷi* according to this inscription) or 12 *kurumi* But it has been pointed out that a *kalam* was made up of 15 *kurumi* (note 8 above) Thus the *kurumi* was equal to 6 *nāḷi* instead of the more common 8 *nāḷi* With this equivalent of the *kurumi* the calculation in the text would be correct

¹³ This calculation would be correct only on the assumption that a *kalam* was equal to 1½ *kurumi* and a *kurumi* equal to 6 *nāḷi*; see the preceding note

(the members of the village assembly) might provide (the requirements) day by day¹ for a long time² without (any) obstruction

NO. 11 — MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III,
SAKA-SAMVAT 984

By STEN KONOW, PH D, CHRISTIANIA

The inscription is found on a set of copper-plates which have been deposited in the Madras Museum. I did not know where they have been originally found. I publish the inscription from excellent ink-impressions³ supplied by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, M A, who describes the plates as follows —

'The plates are five in number. The first bears writing on the inner side only. The last is completely blank, it was evidently put in to protect the single line of writing on the second side of the fourth plate. The plates have slightly raised rims (though in certain places these are either beaten down or worn away) and are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered into the lower part of a round seal. About the middle of the seal is a seated Nandin, whose tail extends to the bottom of the seal. From either side of the hind part of the Nandin proceed what may be taken for lotus buds. On the proper left of the Nandin are two flag-staffs placed one by the side of the other, with a bowl above them, and on the proper right of it are a conch, a lampstand and a digree. The ring was cut by me. It is not quite circular. The diameter varies between 5" and 1½". The thickness of the ring is ½". The seal is roughly 2½" in diameter. The following measurements of the plates show that, as regards breadth, they are slightly bigger in the middle than at the ends, while, as regards height, the reverse is the case —

Average breadth of plates	.	.	.	9½"	9½"	9½"
Average height of plates	.	.	.	4½"	4"	4½"

The fourth plate is comparatively small in height, measuring 4½" at the ends and almost 4" in the middle."

The inscription consists of 54 lines. The greater part is in a good state of preservation. The fourth plate, however, is rather corroded, and some passages of it can only be read with difficulty.

The alphabet is Nāgarī of the same kind as in the Nadagām plates of Vajrahaṣṭa of Śaka-Samvat 979.⁴ The class nasal, and not the *Anusvāra*, is used before class mutes. Exceptions from this rule are "चौत्तु" in l 9, and "वृ" in l 48. Consonants are doubled after *r*, except in "निर्जित", l 26. *ṣ* is written for *ṣ* throughout. *ṣ* has been substituted for *ṣ* in "चौत्तु", l 25, and "वृ", l 49. On the other hand, we find *ṣ* for *ṣ* in "चौत्तु", l 21, "चौत्तु", l 39, and "वृ", l 54. A nasal with a following guttural or palatal is written in the same way as in the Nadagām plates. Note further such writings as *समुत्तु*, ll 7 and 24, *प्रज्ञासित* instead of *प्रज्ञासित*, l 3, and *प्रयोदश्वद* instead of *प्रयोदश्वद*, l 19.

¹ The word *nigadati* is apparently synonymous with *nīdam* which occurs frequently in the Tanjore inscriptions, and with *śśadati* in the Trichinopoly cave epigraph of Varaguna (Director General's *Annual* for 1903, 4, p. 275, text line 19).

² In later inscriptions the phrase *nedan-gālamu* is replaced by the Sanskrit *cāndan-dātavyam*, 'as long as the moon and the sun (endure)'

³ Since the above was written, I have had an opportunity of inspecting the original plates together with Mr Venkayya.

⁴ Above, Vol IV p. 183 ff.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It contains the same twelve verses as the Nadagām plates of Śāka-Samvat 979. The remainder of the inscription is in prose. The first 41 lines are almost identical with the corresponding portion of the Nadagām plates. They are, however, more carefully engraved and gave several passages in a more correct form.

The inscription is one of king Vajrahasta (III), the son of Kāmārnava (II) of the Gāṅga lineage, and of Vinayamahādēvi of the Vaidumba family. His genealogy is given in the same words as in the Nadagām plates, from Gunamahārnavā downwards, including the date of Vajrahasta's coronation¹. The inscription then goes on to state (l 40 ff.) that 'the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the Paramabhātāraka Mahārājādhirāja, the lord of the three Kalingas, the glorious Anantavarman Vajrahastadēva, being in good health, issues the following order from Kalinganagara, having called together all the subjects, headed by the ministers'—“Be it known to you (that), for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother, father, and Ourselves, the village named Tāmaracheru in Varāhavartanī, combined with the Chikhali hamlet (*vāṭaka*), circumscribed by the four boundaries, including water and land, free from all molestation, to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the earth, has been granted by Us, with libations of water, as an *Agrahāra*, to five hundred learned Brāhmanas who delight in the six acts of sacrificing, conducting sacrifices, studying, teaching, [giving] and accepting, (and) who are well versed in sacred lore, in the Śāka year of the dice (4), the Vasus (8) and the treasures (8), on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. Therefore (Our gift) should be preserved by future kings in compliance with the law proclaimed by Manu. Moreover, land with the produce of two hundred *Murakas* of grain has been given, to last as long as the moon and the sun, free from hindrances, to the god Kōtīśvara² for (the maintenance of the rites of) *Bali*, *Charu*, *Navvēḍya*, *Dīpapūjā*, and so on. And the repairs of what is broken and torn in this (temple) should without fail be effected by the Brāhmanas living there.”

The inscription does not add anything to our knowledge of the history of king Vajrahasta III. We only learn that he also had the name Anantavarman, like his grandson Chōdagangadēva.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Kalinganagara has been identified by Mr. Ramamurti³ with the villages Mukhalungam and Nagarakatakam in the Ganjam district. Varāhavartanī occurs in several Gāṅga grants⁴. The village of Tāmaracheru is also known from Gāṅga inscriptions. Its boundaries are given in the Chicacole plates of the Mahārāja Dēvendravarman,⁵ in which the village Tāmaracheru is granted to three hundred Brāhmanas on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. The Chicacole plates of the Gāṅga Mahārāja Indravarman, issued from Kalinganagara in Gāṅgēya-Samvat 128,⁶ further state that the village of Tāmaracheruva was granted to certain Brāhmanas on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Mārgaśīra. The latter inscription mentions *Tāmaracheruva-grāmaṁ bā(vā)ṭakā(kā)-sahita[m]* (l 8 f). This *vāṭaka* is perhaps identical with the Chikhali-vāṭaka of our inscription. The village of Tāmaracheru has not as yet been identified. It should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Chicacole.

The date of the grant is found in a part of the inscription which has not been so well preserved as the rest. The first word is scarcely legible in the ink-impression. After a careful examination of the original, however, Mr. Venkayya and myself find that the reading *kṛtā* is certain. The date of the inscription is accordingly the Śāka year 984. If we take this to be

¹ Above, Vol IV p 185, Vol V Appendix, p 50, No 355

² This was evidently the name of the temple of Śiva at Tāmaracheru

³ Above, Vol IV p 187 f

⁴ Above, Vol III p 127, note 5, Vol V, p 185, note 5, etc

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol XIII p 273 ff

⁶ *Ibid* p 119 ff

the current Śaka year, the date would correspond to A.D. 1061-62. Professor Kielhorn has been good enough to inform Professor Hultsch that the only eclipse of the sun which was (slightly) visible in Ganjam between the Śaka years 980-989 took place on the 20th June A.D. 1061. This would therefore be the date of our inscription.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 श्री² स्वस्त्य³ श्रीमतामखिलभुवनवितुतनय[विनयद]यादान[दा]क्षिणसत्य[शो]-
- 2 चश्रीर्यैर्व्यादिगुणरत्नपवित्रकाशामात्रेयगोत्राणां विमलविचारा-
- 3 चारपुण्यसलिलप्रचयालितकलिकालिकल्पमधीणां⁴ [महाम]हेन्द्राचल-
- 4 शिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरोः सकलभुवननि-
- 5 र्णाथैकसूत्रधारस्य⁵ शशाङ्क[चू]डांसयेर्भगवतो गो-
- 6 कर्णस्वामिनः प्रसादात्समासादितैकशङ्कभेरीप-
- 7⁶ श्चमाहाशब्दधवलच्छत्रहेमच[र*]मरवरत्नपमलाञ्जनसमुज्ज्वल-
- 8⁷ सत्यस्तसाम्बान्यमाहिन्नामनेकसमरसङ्घट्टसमुपलब्धविजयलमी-
- 9 समालिङ्गितो[त्तु]ग[भु]जदण्डम[ण्ड]तानां त्रिकलिङ्गम[हो]भुजां [गा-

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 [ज्ञा]नामन्वयमलङ्कारि[णोर्विणो]रि[व*] विक्र(१)माक्रान्तधरामण्डल-
- 11 स्व गुणमहार्णवमहाराजस्य पुत्रः ॥०॥ पूर्व⁹ भूपतिमर्विभक्त्य
- 12 वसुधा या पञ्चभि[:*]¹⁰ पञ्चधा भुक्ता भूरिपराक्रमो¹¹ भुजवलात्[र*]मि-
- 13 क एव स्वयं [r*] एकोक्त¹² विजित्य मत्तनिवहान्¹³ श्रीव-
- 14¹⁴ अहस्तसत्तुचात्वारिशतमत्युदार(१)[स्त्र]रित्व[:*] सर्वा-
- 15 मरचीत्समाः ॥ [१*] तस्य तनयो गुण्डमराज¹⁵ [व]षट्त्रयं-
- 16 मप[र*]लयश्चर्हि ॥ तदनुजः कामार्णवदे[व]: पञ्चत्रि[श]तम-
- 17 [न्द]कान¹⁶ ॥ तस्यानुजो विनयादित्य[:*] समाससः¹⁷ ॥ ततः¹⁸ कामार्णवा-
- 18 जातो जगतीक[ल्पभू]वहः [r*] योराजद्राजितः¹⁹ अयो वज्रह(१)-

¹ From the original plates² Expressed by a symbol³ Read स्वस्ति⁴ Read °प्रचालितकलिकाव°⁵ Read °ब्रह्मसणेर्भ° The ४ stroke is not visible in the ink-impression⁶ Read °महाशब्द°, °च्छत्र°, °समुज्ज्वल°⁷ Read समस°, °महिम्ना°, °समुपलब्ध°, °लक्ष्मी°⁸ This looks like °व्याघ्रीहीविंव.⁹ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita; read भूपतिमि°¹⁰ Before पञ्चधा the engraver began to write च, but subsequently cancelled it¹¹ Read °बला°¹² Read °ज्ञल°¹³ Read शत्रुनिवहान्°¹⁴ Read °हस्तसत्तुचला°, °चरित°¹⁵ Read °राजी वर्षचय-¹⁶ Read °मन्दकान्°¹⁷ Read समासिच्च,¹⁸ Metre Ślōka, read °वाञ्छादी.¹⁹ Read °द्राजितव्यायो.

11 a

11 b

Collotype by G. br. Plattner, Halle-Saale

[illegible]

38
 40
 42
 44

[illegible]

Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 स्तोवनीपतिः ॥ [२*] ¹प्रद्योदन्मदगन्धलुब्धमधुपव्यालीढगण्डा[न्य]जान्नायि³
 20 भ्यस्त्रमदात्तह्रस्वमतुलो य[स्थ]ागिनामययी[ः] 1* स[ः] श्रीम[ान]निय-
 21 ह्वभीमनृपातिगाङ्गान्वयोतशकः³ (i) पञ्चत्रिंशतमन्दकान्मम-⁴
 22 भुनक्तिपथी⁵ [सु]तः पार्थिवैः ॥ [३*] तदग्रस्तुः⁶ सुरराजस्तुना
 23 समस्तमस्तां [श*]मितारिमण्डलः [1*] स्म पाति कामार्णवभूपतिर्भुव⁷
 24 सन्दृढिमानर्हसमा⁸ समुज्ज्वलः ॥ [४*] तदनु⁹ तदनुजम्बो¹⁰ चित्तजम्बो(प)-
 25 पमानो गुणनिधिरनवद्यो गुण्डमाख्यो महीसः¹¹ [1*] [स*]कलमिदमरक्षत्रिणि¹²
 26 वर्षाणि धात्रीवल्लयमलघुतेजोनिर्जितारातिचक्रः ॥ [५*] ततो¹³ हेमातुरस्तस्य म-
 27 धुकामार्णवो नृपः । अचति स्मावनीमेताम[व्]मेककर्णविंशति¹⁴ ॥ [६*] ॥

Third Plate, First Side

- 28 अथ¹⁵ वज्रहस्तनृपतेरयसुतादखिलगुणिजनाग्रण्यः [1*] कामार्णवा]-
 29 ¹⁶क्ववन्दप्रगीयमानावदातशुभकीर्तिः ॥ [७*] श्रीय¹⁷ इव ¹⁸वेदुम्बान्वय[प]-
 30 यःपयोनिधिसमुद्भवायाश्च [1*] य(1)ः समजनि ¹⁹विनयम[हा*]देव्याः श्रीवज्रह-
 31 स्त इति त[न*]यः ॥ [८*] ²⁰वियदृतुनिधिसंख्या²¹ याति ²²शाकादसङ्गे दिन[क]-
 32 [ति] वृषभमस्ते²³ रोहिणीमे सुलग्ने [1*] धनुषि च सितपये²⁴ सूर्य[वारे] व-
 33 तीयांयुजि²⁵ सकलवरिची रक्षितं योभिषिक्तः ॥ [९*] न्यायेन²⁶ यच्च
 34 सममाचरितुं चित्रग²⁷ मार्गेण रक्षति महीम²⁸ महितप्रतापे [1*] नि-
 [व्या]धय-
 35 च निरसा²⁹ निरापदश्च शशत्पजा³⁰ भुवि भवन्ति विभूतिमयः ॥ [१०*] व्या-³¹
 36 मे ³²गङ्गकुलोत्तमस्य स्यशसा³³ दि[क]क्रवाले शशिप्रद्योतामलिनेन य-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 37 स्य भुवन[ः]प्र[ह्व]ादसम्पादिना [1*] सिन्दूरैरतिसान्द्रपङ्क[प*]टलैः[1*] [कुम्भ]स्थली
 38 पट्टके[ष्व]ाल्पिमन्ति पुनः पुनश्च हरितामाधोरणा वारणान³⁴ ॥ [११*] ³⁵अतुरारी-

¹ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita, read प्रद्योत³, लुब्ध³

³ Read नृपतिगाङ्गान्वयीचउक .

⁵ Metre Vamśastha

⁶ Metre Mālinī

¹² Read रक्षत्रीणि

¹⁵ Metre Gīti

¹⁶ Read वेदुम्बा³

²¹ Read उख्या

²³ Read वृषभस्ते

²⁷ Read चित्रगवे

³⁰ Read शशत्पजा

³³ Read यशसा

⁴ Read मन्दकान्मम-

⁷ Read भुव

¹⁰ Read जम्बा

¹⁸ Metre Ślōka, read हेमा³

¹⁹ Read रक्षत्रीन्द

²⁰ Read विनयसहा³

²² Read शाकाद³

² Read मगजानर्लि-

⁸ Read सुनक्षपूरयो

⁹ Read ससा समुज्ज्वल

¹¹ Read महीस

¹⁴ Read मन्दानेकान्नविंशति

¹⁷ Metre Gīti, read द्वय

²⁶ Metre Mālinī

The second वृ seems to have been cancelled by the engraver

³¹ Read ययुजि सकलधरित्री

³² Read महीम्

³⁴ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

³⁵ Read भान्

²⁵ Metre Vasantatilaka

²⁸ Read निरसाश्च

²⁹ Read गङ्ग³

³⁶ Metre Ślōka.

- 39 ण गुपीनो¹ यस्य वक्षोमुखावयोः² [*] आशीने³ श्रीसरस्वत्यावनुकूलि
 40 विराजतः ॥ [१२*] ०॥ 'कलिङ्कनगरातारममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टा-
 41 रक[म*]हाराजाधिराजचिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमदनन्तवर्मा व-
 42 ञ्चहस्तदेव[*] कुशली 'समस्तामाच्यप्रसुखजनपदान्धमा[ङ्ग]य [स]-
 43 मन्नापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां ॥ वराहव[र्त्त]न्यां । तामरचे-
 44 रुशामी नाम (1) चिखलीवाटकेन⁴ सममेकीकृत्य ॥ चतुष्प्रीमा-
 45 'वच्छिन्नस्रजलस्रलस्रर्वपीडाविहर्जितमाचन्द्रार्कचितिस-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 46 मकालं यावन्मातापित्रोरात्मनः पुण्ययशोभि[वृद्धये कृत]व-
 47 सुनिधिशकाब्दे⁵ । सूर्यग्रहोपरागे । विद्वद्गो य[ज]नया[ज]ना[ध्यय]-
 48 नाध्यापन[दान*]प्रतिग्रहपट्टमनिरतेभ्यो 'वज्रव[र्त्त]मङ्गाः ॥ पंच-
 49 ¹⁰सत[ब्राह्मणे]भ्य उदकपूर्वकं कृत्वाग्रहारोस्माभिः
 50 प्रदत्तस्माङ्गाविभि[र्भू]मि[पा]लेर्मुनोधर्मागौ-¹¹
 51 रवात्परिपालनीयमिति¹² ॥ अपर च । कोटीश्वर-
 52 देवाय आचन्द्रार्कपर्यन्तं निर्विरोधा । ¹³वल्लिचरुनैवेद्यदीपपू-
 53 जायत्य धान्यसुरकशतद्वयोत्यत्या¹⁴ भूमिर्हता । तच्च च । खण्डस्फु-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 54 टितभग्नघटनं ¹⁵तच्चस्ववाङ्मणेरवस्यं कर्तव्यमिति ॥

No. 12 — TALAMANCHI PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I, A. D. 660.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH. D., HALLE (SAALB)

This inscription was first published by Messrs A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetty in their *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 189 ff. According to p. 192 of the same work, the I were "discovered about 12 years ago by a servant of Adapañi Venkata Reddi of Pāñi

¹ Read गुपीनो.

² Read 'खामयोः.

³ Read आशीने.

⁴ Read 'नगरापरम'.

⁵ Read 'माय'.

⁶ The engraver had originally written 'वाटकेन.

⁷ The engraver originally wrote 'जखलस्रल', but cancelled the first स्र Read 'विहर्जित'; after the स्र has been cancelled

⁸ Read 'शाकाब्दे.

⁹ The reading of this word is very uncertain, read perhaps ब्रह्मवर्षो.

¹⁰ Read शतब्राह्म'.

¹¹ Read 'मिपासेर्मुनोधर्मागौ.

¹² Read 'पालनीय इति.

¹³ Read वल्लि.

¹⁴ Read 'स्पष्ट्या.

¹⁵ The engraver seems to have begun to write तच्च, but the d stroke has been left unfinished; 'तच्चस्ववाङ्मणेरवस्यं,

while ploughing some land known as Talamanchipádu in Talamanchi of Nellore taluk¹ where a flourishing village is said to have once stood " They "have been sent to the Madras Museum at the request of the owner" I re-edit the inscription from three sets of ink-impressions, kindly prepared at my request by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, M A, who describes the original as follows —

"Three copper-plates, of which the first and last are engraved on their inner side only they measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth The height of the plates is not uniform Generally they are higher in the margins than in the middle

	Height in the margins	Height in the middle
1st plate	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "
2nd plate	$3\frac{3}{8}$ "	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "
3rd plate	$3\frac{1}{4}$ " & $3\frac{3}{8}$ "	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "

Through circular holes bored on the left margin of each plate passes an oval ring measuring $2\frac{1}{4}$ " by $3\frac{3}{8}$ " It is nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a seal, which is also oval and measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ " by $\frac{3}{8}$ " The emblems on the seal, which appear to have been engraved on a countersunk surface, are much worn, but show a lump in the middle—perhaps meant to represent a boar The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 80 tolas "

The writing on the plates is well preserved, excepting a few letters near the margins of plate 1 and plate 2. The alphabet resembles that of two other grants of Vikramaditya I² the *upadhānīya* is used once (l 24), a final form of *m* twice (ll 24, 27), and one of *n* once (l 17) The three Dravidian letters *l*, *ḷ* and *r*, the second of which has the same shape as the *pādhānīya*, occur in the two village names *Elasatti* (l 23) and *Koḷchumko[nra]* (l 22) the language is Sanskrit There are four well-known Anushtubh verses one at the beginning and three near the end, the remainder of the inscription is in prose

The document was issued in the sixth year of the reign (l 20) of the (Western) *halikya* (l 5) Vikramāditya (I), the son of Satyāsīya (i.e. Pulakēśin II), grandson of *ṭritvarman* (I) and great-grandson of *Polikeśin* (I) Each of these four kings receives the melodatory epithets as in other published grants of the same period The new inscription records the grant of the village of *Elasatti*,³ north of *Koḷchumko[nra]*, to *Śrīmēghāchārya* (l 22 and 31 f), the preceptor (*guru*) of Vikramāditya I, and was written by *Vajravarma* of the *Vaidya* family

The historical importance of the plates lies chiefly in the date of the grant (l 20 f), regarding which Prof. Kielhorn kindly contributes the Postscript on p 102 below On the strength of the latter I have added the date "A D 680" to the title of this article and to the heading of the accompanying Plate

TEXT⁴

First Plate

1 जयत्या[विष्कृतं विष्णो]र्वीराहं चोभितापण[वं] [!*] दक्षि[णी]न्नतदंष्ट्राग्र-
विश्रान्तभु-

¹ On the map prefixed to the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Talamanchi is marked by the figure '32' on the north of Nellore town

² *Journ. Bombay Br. E. A. S.* Vol XVI pp 235 and 238

³ Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty are unable to identify this village, see *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Preface, p. vi

⁴ From three sets of ink-impressions

- 2 वन वपुः [॥ १*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितिपुत्रा-
 3 णां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्तिकेयपरिरक्षणाप्राप्तक-
 4 ष्ठाक्षपरंपराणां भगवन्मारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराह्याब्जनेत्र-
 5 णक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चलिक्वानां कुलमलंकरिस्थोरश्वमे-
 6 धावश्चक्षानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपोलिकेशिवल्लभमहाराज-
 7 स्य प्रपौत्रः ¹पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरतृपतिमण्डलप्रसिद्धविशुद्ध-
 8 ²[वि]शुद्धकीर्तिश्रीकीर्तिश्रीकीर्तिवन्मपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्य पौत्रः समर-
 9 [स]सक्तसकलौत्तराप[थे]श्वरश्री[हर्षवर्धनपरा]ज[योप]ल[स्य]परमेश्वरा-

Second Plate; First Side

- 10 [पर]नामधेयस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर]-
 11 [स्य] प्रियतनयः³ चित्रकण्ठाख्यप्रवरतुर्गमेष्वेकेनैव प्रतीतानेकस-
 12 मरमुखेषु रिपुतृपतिरुधिरजलास्त्रादनरनायज्वलदमलनिशितनिस्त्रिंश-⁴
 13 धारया च धृतधरणीभरभुजगभोगसदृशनिजभुजविजितविजिगीषुः⁵
 14 आत्मकवचावमग्नानेकप्रहारस्त्रगु[रोऽश्रय]मवनिपतिजितया-
 15 ⁶न्तरितांमात्रसात्कृत्य ⁷क्षतैकाधिहितागे[धरा]ज्यभरस्त्रभिन्नशब्द-
 16 जये विनष्टानि देवस्रज्ज्वादेयानि धर्मयशोभिवृद्धये समुखेन स्वा-
 17 पितवान् रणशिरसि रिपुनरेन्द्राश्रिं दिशि जित्वा स्ववंशजां लक्ष्मी
 प्राप्य च
 18 परमेश्वरतामनिवारितविक्रमादित्यः⁸ विक्रमादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपु-
 19 [थि]वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्त्रा[ना]ज्ञाप[यति] [१*] विधितः⁹

Second Plate; Second Side

- 20 [म]त्तु ¹⁰भोक्ताभिः प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यवद्भवसरतमे¹¹ आव-
 21 णमाससूर्यग्रहणे¹² उदकपूर्वं साङ्गोपाङ्गवेदविदुषे वासिष्ठ-
 22 सगोत्राय श्रीमेघाचार्याय स्वकीयगुरवे को०७३को[७०]ग्राम-
 23 स्वीत्तरपात्रे¹³ एकसत्तिर्नाम ग्रामः¹⁴ मातापित्रीरामन-
 24 यपुण्यश्रीवातये सर्व्ववोधापरिहारः¹⁵ दत्तम् [१*] आचन्द्रार्क-

¹ Read "ज्ञान".

² Read "तनयविष".

³ Read "पुराण".

⁴ Read "कृतैकाधिहिताशेष".

⁵ Read "सो".

⁶ Read "पात्र".

⁷ Cancel the second "विषय" and the second "वीर्तिश्री"; read "वीर्तिवक्त्र".

⁸ Instead of "रनाय" read "रसनासनाय".

⁹ Cancel the *anuvāsa* of त् and read "साम्प्रदाय".

¹⁰ Read "दिल्ली".

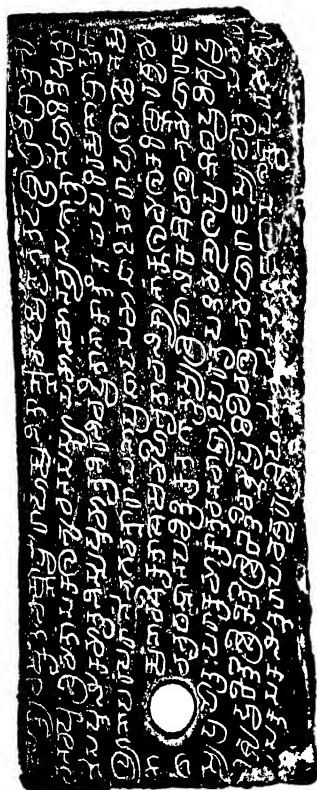
¹¹ Read "वृद्धसद्वक्त्र".

¹² Read "शाली".

¹³ Read "विधित".

¹⁴ Read "सद्वक्त्र".

¹⁵ Read "सर्व्ववोधापरिहारी दत्तः".



2

4

6

8

11a



10

12

14

16

18

Scale 9

Callotype by Gehr. Pletner, Halle-Saale

E. Hultsch

- 25 धराश्ववस्थितिसमकालं यशस्विनीषुभिस्त्वदत्तिनिर्विशेषं परि-
 26 पालनीयं [1*] स्वन्दातु सुमहच्छब्दं दुःखमन्यस्य पालनं [1*] दानं
 27 वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिम् [1 २*]

Third Plate.

- 28 उक्तं च भवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन³ [1*] बहुभिर्बन्धुना मुक्ता
 29 राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 30 तदा फलं [1 ३*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरा[म् 1*] षष्टिं व-
 31 र्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्षिमिरिति । [४*] श्रीमेघाचा-
 32 र्यस्यान्वयस्य शासनं वेद्यान्वयश्रीवत्त्ववर्षणा लिखितं [1*]
 33 स्वस्यस्तु गोत्राङ्गणेभ्यः [1*] श्री³ ॥—

TRANSLATION.

[Verse 1 contains an invocation of the boar-incarnation of Vishnu]

(Lane 2) The great-grandson of the glorious Polikéśi-Vallabha-Mahārāja, whose body was purified by bathing at the end of a horse-sacrifice, (and) who adorned the family of the glorious Chalikyās,⁴

(L 7) The grandson of the glorious Kirtavarma-Prithivivallabha-Mahārāja, whose pure fame was established in the territories of hostile kings, such as Vanavāsi, which had been subdued by (his) valour,

(L 8.) The dear son of Satyāśraya-Śrīprithivivallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara,⁵ who acquired the surname of 'supreme lord' (paramēśvara) by defeating the glorious Harshavardhana, the lord of the whole northern country, who had encountered (him) in battle,

(L 11) He who, at the head of many famous battles, (assisted) by none but (his) noble steed named Chitrakantha and by the edge of (his) glittering, spotless and sharp sword which behaved like a tongue in licking the blood of hostile kings, conquered would-be conquerors by his own arms which resembled the coils of the serpent who carries the burden of the earth, into whose own armour many blows had plunged, who, having gained for himself the royalty of his father, which had been concealed by the triad of kings,⁶ caused the burden of the whole kingdom to be governed by (himself) alone, who, for the increase of (his) merit and fame, by his own mouth confirmed the property of temples and the grants to Brāhmanas which had lapsed in that triad of kingdoms, the son of whose valour (became) irresistible after he had recovered at the head of battles the royalty belonging to his family from the hostile kings of every quarter, and after he had acquired the title of 'supreme lord' (paramēśvara), Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Śrīprithivivallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara commands all people (as follows) —

(L 19.) "Be it known to you (that), in the sixth year of (Our) reign of growing victory, at an eclipse of the sun in the month of Śrāvana, the village named Hāsatti on

³ Read ० नमिति.

³ The *ś* of श्री is expressed twice.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ The usual epithets of this family (ll. 2-5) are omitted in the translation.

⁵ I.e. Pulakāśin II.

⁶ I.e. the Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Kēraja. Compare one of the epithets applied to Vikramāditya I. in the grants of his son Vinayāditya, above, Vol. V p. 302, note 16.

the northern side of the village of *Kolohumko[nra]* has been given by Us, with libations of water, with exemption from all molestation, to Our own preceptor (*guru*) Śrimeghāchārya of the Vāsishṭha *gōtṛa*, who knows the Vêdas with (their) *Angas* and *Upāṅgas* in order that (Our) mother and father and Ourselves might obtain merit and fame. As long as the moon, the sun, the earth and the oceans shall exist, (*this grant*) should be protected without distinction from their own gifts by those who desire to accumulate fame."

[Verses 2-4 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(L 31) (*This*) edict (*in favour*) of the family of Śrimeghāchārya was written by the illustrious **Vajravarma**n of the Vaidya family. Let there be welfare to cows and Brāhmanas!
Om

POSTSCRIPT.

By PROFESSOR F. KILLHOLN, CIE, GOTTINGEN

The inscription edited above by Prof. Hultzsch is dated in the 6th year of the reign of the W. Chalukya Vikramāditya I, at the time of a solar eclipse in the month Śrāvana. From page 2 of Appendix II to Vol. VIII of this Journal it will be seen that this date must necessarily fall between A.D. 635 and 685, and from what we know to be the general rule regarding eclipses that are quoted in dates, we may conclude that the eclipse here referred to most probably was one that was visible at Bādāmi, the capital of the W. Chalukyas, situated in about Long 76° and Lat 16°.

Now it so happens that during the fifty years from A.D. 635 to 685 there was, in both the *pūrṇimānta* and the *amānta* month Śrāvana, only a single solar eclipse that could have been at all visible at Bādāmi, viz. the eclipse which took place 3 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 13th July A.D. 660. That eclipse, an annular one, was fully visible at Bādāmi, and the 13th July A.D. 660 was the 15th of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvana. We may compare especially the solar eclipse in the date of the Pattadakal duplicate pillar inscription of the reign of the W. Chalukya Kirtivarman II (No. 48 of my *Southern List*), of the 25th June A.D. 754, which likewise took place in the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvana, and to show that in early times the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of the months was prevalent in Southern India, we may also cite the solar eclipse in the date of No. 9 of the *List*, which took place in the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada, and the solar eclipse in the date of No. 551 of the *List*, which took place in the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna.

Monday, the 13th July A.D. 660 (in Śaka-samvat 582) would thus be in every way a suitable equivalent of our date, that it is its true equivalent is rendered more than probable by the date of the Neir plates of the queen Vijayabhattachārīkā (No. 23 of my *Southern List*). That date corresponds to the 23rd September A.D. 659, and is of the 5th year of a reign of which hitherto it appeared doubtful whether it was the reign of Vikramāditya's eldest brother Chandrāditya or of Vikramāditya himself. Since we now have a date in A.D. 660 which would be a most proper equivalent for a date of the 6th year of the reign of Vikramāditya I, the date in A.D. 659 must surely be definitely assigned to the 5th year of the same reign, and the two dates in my opinion must be taken to prove that Vikramāditya I. commenced to reign between some time in September A.D. 654 and July A.D. 655.¹

¹ Dr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, p. 363, arrived at the conclusion that "we shall probably be very close to the mark, if we place the formal commencement of his reign somewhere in the autumn of . . . A.D. 655."

No 13.—MANDHATA PLATES OF DEVAPALA AND JAYAVARMAN II. OF MALAVA.

By PROFESSOR F. KILHORN, CIE ; GÖTTINGEN.

Of the Paramāra kings, who ruled over Mālava for more than three hundred years, there have been published hitherto the texts of twelve copper-plate and three stone inscriptions. Besides short notices of about half a dozen other stone inscriptions, generally of small importance. Of the copper-plate inscriptions, three were first edited by Colebrooke in 1806, two by L. Wilkinson in 1836 and 1838, one by Rajendralal Mitra in 1850, and three by FitzEdward Hall in 1860 and 1861. Of the stone inscriptions, the largest was first edited by Gangadhar Shastri in 1843, and another by FitzEdward Hall in 1859. And from these inscriptions the genealogy of the Paramāras of Mālava, with most of their dates, might have been drawn up, about fifty years ago, very nearly as I have given it above, Vol. VIII. pp. 14 and 15. Moreover, of so important a king as Udayāditya we even to-day hardly possess more than that 'wretched scrawl,' made known in 1840, of a person 'who knew nothing of Udayāditya's family.' I mention this to show how little that is really new we have learnt of Mālava, from its own records, for half a century, and to indicate what chances are open to officials of the Archaeological Survey of India to enrich our knowledge of the history of that country. For, in my opinion, a systematic search for inscriptions in the ancient Mālava country will be sure to bring to light numerous documents of importance. Even now such a search has been well inaugurated.

In 1903 there were discovered at Dhār the inscriptions published above, Vol. VIII. p. 96 ff. p. 241 ff., highly interesting from a literary point of view. And in 1904 and 1905 were found, at or near Māndhātā, the two copper-plate inscriptions now here edited. These plates of some value inasmuch as they show how Devapāla, one of the later kings of Mālava who was already known to us, was related to preceding rulers, and as they give us the names of two of his, Jaitugidēva and Jayavarman [II.], who, one after the other, succeeded him.

A.—MĀNDHĀTĀ PLATES OF DEVAPĀLA ; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1292.

These plates were found, in May 1905, near the temple of Siddhēśvara at Māndhātā, an island in the Narmadā (Narbada, Nerbudda) river attached to the Nimār district of the Central Provinces.¹ They were discovered enclosed in a chest made of two stones, 1' 8½" long by 1" broad. They are now in the Provincial Museum at Nagpur, to which they have been sent by Rao Jaswant Singh of Māndhātā. The first account of them was given by an old friend of mine, Mr. Lele, Director of Education in the Dhār State,² and a transcript of the inscription engraved on them, with a translation and notes, was afterwards furnished to the authorities by Mr. Pyari Lal Ganguli, pleader of Nimār. The text and a translation, with an introduction, have also been sent to the Government Epigraphist by Pandit Hiranand Shastri, Director of the Nagpur Museum. At Prof. Hultzsch's request, I edit the inscription which is on the plates from impressions kindly supplied by Mr. Cousens.

The inscription is on three plates, which are stated to measure about 1' 5½" broad by 1½" high, and of which the second is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third plates are

¹ See *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 257 ff.; *Constable's Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27, C d; and

² Vol. III p. 46. On the temple of Siddhēśvara see also *Archaeol. Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1903-04,

Mr. Lele at the time most kindly offered to send me impressions of the plates, but was somehow or other deterred from doing so. I take the opportunity of thanking him here also publicly for the generosity with which he made over to me his valuable impressions of the Dhār inscriptions published in Vol. VIII. of this Journal.

inscribed on one side only. The writing on the several sides covers a space between 1' 4" and 1' 4½" broad by between 10½" and 11½" high. In the lower proper right corner of the first side of the third plate a space about 2" broad by 3" high is marked off by double lines, which enclose an engraving of the mythical bird Garuda, the exact shape of which may be seen from the accompanying photo-lithograph.¹ The plates are held together by two rings for which there are two holes in each plate, these rings, I am informed, are open and were apparently never soldered together.

The three plates contain 80 lines of well-engraved writing, which is in so perfect a state of preservation that, with the exception of not more than three *aksharas*, every letter may be read with absolute certainty. In line 40 a vacant space is left for four *aksharas* which may have been illegible in the original from which the inscription was copied, and there is a similar vacant space for two *aksharas* in line 54. The size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{16}$ " and $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, and the language is Sanskrit. The forms of individual letters hardly call for any remarks. Attention may be drawn to the initial *s* and *t* (e.g. in *sva*, l. 4, and *Udaś*, l. 50), and to the initial *ś* (in *śha*, l. 17) and *au* (e.g. in *Audalya*, l. 27, and *Aurva*, l. 40), perhaps also to the forms of *th* (e.g. in *puruṣārtha*, l. 1), and *ksh* (e.g. in *sākshāt*, l. 1). It may also be stated that the signs for *t* and *bh*, and those for *dh* and *dv*, often are so much alike that it is very difficult to distinguish between them. As the 22 verses in lines 1-17 are all numbered, the inscription offers specimens of all numeral figures; and in lines 28, 34, 49 and 50, it gives the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$, denoted by two vertical lines, placed, as the case may be, after a numeral or the sign for nought.² In line 79, before the word *rachitam*, the text contains a peculiar symbol (perhaps a monogram), the meaning of which I am unable to explain. — As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *b* and *v*, the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal about 30 times, and the palatal instead of the dental about 25 times (even in such ordinary words as *śatah* for *satah*, l. 9, *Sūmatvāda* for *Sāmatvāda*, l. 29, etc.), *ṛ* is used for *r* in *Rush*, l. 60, and *ṛ* for *r* in *ṛṣ* for *ir* (e.g. *irvāda*), l. 29 and elsewhere, and in *Saktri* for *Saktri*, ll. 23 and 71; *j* is employed instead of *y* in *jaś* for *yāś*, l. 73, and in the names *Jaśōdhara*, l. 29, and *Jaśōdva* (for *Yāśōdva*), l. 64, and *ksh* for *khy* in *Saṁkshāyana*, l. 46. The occasional employment of *dy*, *dv* and *dhu* for *ddy*, *ddv* and *ddhu* need perhaps hardly be mentioned, but I may add that the word *tāmratām* is written *tāmratām* in line 2, and that the sign of *avagraha* is employed three times, in *sōśābhuta*, l. 15, *ādyaśyam*, l. 75, and *vudhōśmad*, l. 75. There are a few clerical errors not referred to in the above, that can all be easily corrected. — The inscription, in lines 1-17, has 22 verses which chiefly contain genealogical matter, and of which verses 1-19 were already known to us from the three grants of King Arjunavarman.³ In addition to them, we have in lines 20-22 the well-known verse commencing with *Vatīdhara-vubhramam-idaṁ vusadh-dāhapatyam* which, with a single exception,⁴ occurs in all Paramāra plates, and in lines 75-79 four benedictive and imprecatory verses, the last of which, commencing with *Iti kamaladāśubhacindur-lalāṁ*, is common to all Paramāra plates. The rest of the text is in prose. In the poetical portion we find in line 6 the (as far as I can see, perfectly correct) adjective *uddāman*,⁵ instead of *uddāma* which alone is given by the dictionaries. And in the prose part there occurs, in lines 72 and

¹ Similar representations of Garuda are found on all complete plates of the Paramāras of Mālava, of which facsimiles have been published, compare e.g. above, Vol. III. Plate opposite p. 50.

² Compare above, Vol. VII. p. 85.

³ Nos. 195, 197 and 198 of my *Northern List*.

⁴ *Vṛ* in the Ujjain plates of Vākpatirāja, published in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 160.

⁵ I know of no grammatical rule by which a compound formed of *ud* and *dāman* (in the sense of *dāma* *udgata*) would become *uddāma*, and most of the passages, which in the dictionaries are quoted under *uddāma*, might just as well be placed under *uddāman*. In his commentary on *Raghuvamśa* I. 78, Mallinatha actually explains *uddāma-diggajā* by *uddāmad dāma udgata diggajā yasmān*.

73, the strange revenue term *shamhalātama*[*ka*]-*samanvita*, which I have not met with elsewhere and am unable to explain.

The inscription records a grant of land by the Paramāra (or Pramāra) king — *Mahārāja*, as he is styled in line 80 — *Dēvapāla* of *Mālava*. A full translation of the introductory verses will be given below. As has been already stated, up to the end of verse 19 (in line 15) the text is identical with the introductory part of the three published grants of the Paramāra *Arjunavarman*, and so far contains little more than a list of kings who were ruling over *Mālava* *Bhōjadeva*, *Udayāditya*, his son *Naravarman*, his son *Yasōvarman*, his son *Ajayavarman*, his son *Vindhavarman*, his son *Subhatarman*, and his son *Arjuna* (*Arjunavarman*). *Vindhavarman* and *Subhatarman* were at war with the *Gūjjaras*, and the first of them recovered *Dharā*, which must have been taken possession of by the enemy¹. *Arjuna* in his youth put to flight *Jayasamba*, of whom it is elsewhere said that he was a king of *Gūjjaras* and belonged to the *Chaulukya* family (of *Apahlapātaka*)². To the nineteen verses of *Arjunavarman's* grants only three new verses (vv 20-22) are added here, which tell us that on *Arjuna's* death he was succeeded in the government of *Mālava* by *Dēvapāla* and record the name of this king's father. When I published the *Harsaudā* inscription of *Dēvapāla*, I had to point out³ that by certain epithets in that inscription *Dēvapāla* was clearly connected with the *Mahākumāras* *Lakshminaradēva*, his son *Harsachandradēva*, and his son *Udayanaradēva* of *Dhārā*. Verse 21 of our inscription now informs us that *Dēvapāla* actually was a son of *Harsachandra* (and therefore a brother of the *Mahākumāra* *Udayavarman*, whose plates are dated in A D 1200). In the *Harsaudā* inscription, which is dated in A D 1218, only three years after the date of the latest known grant of *Arjunavarman*, *Dēvapāla*, unlike his brother and his father and grandfather, is styled *Mahārājadittulāja*. Thus, together with the fact that he succeeded *Arjunavarman*, would indicate that in him the two branches of the Paramāra family which till then had separately held sway over *Mālava* became reunited, or that one of them ceased to exist⁴. Besides the *Harsaudā* stone and the present plates, the date of which will be considered below, we know of two inscriptions of *Dēvapāla's* reign, dated in about A.D. 1229 and probably 1232⁵.

In lines 17 ff *Dēvapāla* informs all king's officers, *Brāhmanas* and others, and the *Pattakila* and other people dwelling at the village of *Satājūnā* in the *Mahuada pratyāgaranaka*, that, while staying at *Māhishmatī*, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon⁶ on the full-moon *tithi* in the month *Bhādrapada* in the year 1282 (given in words), after bathing in the *Bēvā* (= *Narmadā*) and worshipping *Śiva* (at the temple) in the neighbourhood of (the temple of *Vishnu*) *Dairyaśūdana*, he granted the village of *Satājūnā*, (as stated in lines 72 and 73) well defined as to its four boundaries (*kañhaṭa*), etc., to certain *Brāhmaṇas* enumerated in lines 22-71, and (in line 74) he orders the resident *Pattakila* and others to give to these *Brāhmanas* the customary share of the produce and money-rent, etc., excepting what was already enjoyed

¹ The context would indicate that *Dhārā* had been taken by the *Gūjjaras*.

² See now above, Vol VIII p 99, compare also below, p 118, note 2. — In *Mērutunga's Prabandhaśaṅkṛantam*, p 240 f., we are told that the *Mālava* king *Sōhda* (= *Subhatarman*), when about to invade the *Gūjjaras* country, turned back from its frontier on hearing the verse. *Pratīpā rājamārtanda pūrvasyām-bha rājatā | sa bha evayam yātī paschimsāśvalambināḥ ||*, but that afterwards the *Gūjjaras* country was 'broken' by his son *Arjunadēva*.

³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol XX, p 311.

⁴ Nos 207 and 214 of my *Northern List*.

⁵ The text has *sōma-parvati* instead of the fuller and ordinary *sōmagrahāṇa-parvati*, similarly *śrīya-parvati* is used instead of *śrīyagrāhāṇa-parvati*, e.g. in the dates of No 356 of my *Northern List* and of Nos 389 and 380 of my *Southern List*. — I may add that, excepting the *Mandhātā* plates of *Jayasamba*, published above, Vol III p 48, the word *parvati* occurs in the dates of all fully preserved Paramāra plates that have been hitherto published. We have *pavitṛaka-parvati* in No 46 of my *Northern List*, *sōmagrahāṇa-parvati* in Nos 49 and 121, *udayagana-parvati* in No 57, *sainyāta-śrīyagrāhāṇa-parvati* in No 172, *Mahā-Vaiśākhyā parvati* in No 189, *abhiśhēka-parvati* in No 195, *śrīyagrāhāṇa-parvati* in No 197, and *chandrōpārādya-parvati* in No 198.

by gods (i.e. temples) and Brāhmanas. After the usual appeal to future kings to preserve this grant and the imprecatory verses, the date (in line 79) is repeated in figures, with the additional remark that the day was a Thursday.

I may state here at once that, so far as the week-day is concerned, the date is incorrect. The full-moon *tithi* of Bhādrapada ended—

in the current *Chaitrārdī* Vikrama year 1282 10 h 50 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 30th August A D 1224,

in the expired *Chaitrārdī* Vikrama year 1282 on Tuesday, the 19th August A D 1225, and

in the expired *Kārttikārdī* Vikrama year 1282 on Monday, the 7th September A.D. 1226.

None of the possible equivalents of the date therefore was a Thursday. On the other hand, there was an eclipse of the moon—a partial one—from 17 h 45 m. to 20 h 13 m after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India, on the second of the three possible days, and I have no doubt that that day, Tuesday, the 19th August A D. 1225, is really the day on which the grant was made, and that in line 79 'Thursday' has been erroneously put down instead of 'Tuesday'.

Of the localities mentioned above, Māhishmatī, from where the grant was made, is Maheswar, a town in the Indore State, Central India Agency, situated in Long 75° 37' and Lat 22° 11', on the northern bank of the Narmadā (Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27, B d). The village of Satājūnā exists still under the same name—the *Indian Atlas* has 'Satājana'—about 13 miles south-west of Māndhātā in Long 76° 3' and Lat 22° 8' (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 54). Mahuśa, after which the *pratyāgarānaka* or district was called, probably is the village of 'Mohod,' about 25 miles south of 'Satājana,' in Long 76° and Lat 21° 48'. Below, in line 23 of the inscription B., we have *Mahuśa-pathakē*, clearly equivalent to *Mahuśa-pratyāgarānakē*. Among other Paramāra grants, the word for 'district' is *pathaka* also in No. 57 of my *Northern List*, and *pratyāgarānaka* in Nos 172, 189, 195 and 198. The latter term long ago has been identified with the modern *parganā*, 'a district or tract of country including a number of villages'.

An abstract list of the donees will be given below, p. 115 f. From that list it will be seen that their number was 32, and that the proceeds of the village granted to them were divided into 32½ shares (*vanfaka*),¹ in such a manner that 26 donees received one share each, 3 half a share each, 2 one share and a half each, and 1 (the *mahārāja-paṇḍita* or 'king's Paṇḍit' Gōśa²) two shares. The original in each case gives the *gōtra* and *pravara*s of the donee, the names of his father and grandfather, and his place (or country) of origin, also, with two exceptions, the Vēdic *sākhā* or Vēda studied by him. The *gōtras*, *sākhās* and localities so mentioned may be seen from the list, the names of the donees' fathers and grandfathers are given in a separate, alphabetical list, below, p. 116 f. The two lists will show that, with a single exception, the people referred to in the preceding are distinguished by certain epithets which are prefixed to their names, and which generally refer to their religious occupation and are mostly given in abbreviated forms. In alphabetical order, these epithets are *agni*, i.e. *agnihōtrīn*; *deva*, i.e. *devasāhika*, *upā*, i.e. *upādhyāya*; *cha*, i.e. *chaturvēda*, *śha*, i.e. *śhakkura*, *tri* (for *tri*), i.e. *trivēda*, *di*, i.e. *dīkshita*, *devi*, i.e. *devavēda*, *paṇ* or *paṇḍit*, i.e. *paṇḍita*, *pāṇha*, i.e. *pāṇhaka*, *yājñ*, i.e. *yājñika*, *śu* or *śukla*, *brōtri*, i.e. *brōtriya*. In addition to these, we have *paṇḍita* in line 71, *rājan* in line 37, and *mahārājapaṇḍita* in line 39. About the meaning of *paṇḍita* I am somewhat doubtful. The meaning that first suggested itself to me was *paṇḍitakula*; but as most of the other epithets refer to religious occupations, I would rather

¹ The inscription B. (in lines 32, 34, 36 and 37) shows that the word *vanfaka* is synonymous with *paṇḍa*, 'a share.'

² He probably is the Gōśaka, mentioned in line 51 of the inscription B.

take *pañcha*^o to be equivalent to *pañchakalp* (*pañchôl*) which occurs as an epithet of two persons (father and son) in Prof Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin MSS, Vol II p 96. In the case of 20 donees the same epithet is borne by grandfather, father and son, in 7 cases the grandfather and father have the same epithet, and the son has a different one, and in one case the epithet of father and son is the same, while that of the grandfather differs. In the four remaining cases we have the sequences *dikshita*, *avasathika*, *śukla*, *upādhyāya*, *agnihōtrī*, *dikshita*, *agnihōtrī*, *dikshita*, *avasathika*, and *agnihōtrī*, *upādhyāya*, *avasathika*. Speaking from personal experience, I remember that many of my Indian pupils had one or the other of the above mentioned terms as surnames — Dikshit, Padhye, Pathak, Pandit, Shukle, etc — which they probably have handed down unchanged to their children and children's children.

Of the places with which the donees are connected, I take Mahāvāna-ssthāna to be Mahābān, a town in the Muttra district of the United Provinces (Constable's *Hand Atlas*, Plate 27, C b), Tripuri-ssthāna is Tewar, a village in the Jabalpur district of the Central Provinces, about six miles west of Jabalpur, Akōlā-ssthāna probably is Akola in Berar (*ibid* Plate 31, D a), and Mathurā-ssthāna is Muttra in the United Provinces (*ibid* Plate 27, C b). Pāndvānaka-ssthāna apparently is the Pāndvānaka, mentioned above, Vol V p. 210, now the town of Didwāna¹ in Jōdhpur, Rājputāna (*ibid* Plate 27, B b). Regarding the remaining places I cannot offer any definite suggestions. Mutāvasthū-ssthāna is the same place which is mentioned as Muktvasthū-ssthāna in the three grants of Arjunavarman,² and Hastināpura may be the village of Hathunāvāra (on the northern bank of the Narmadā in the Pagārā *pratyāgarānaka*), which was granted by Arjunavarman's grant published in *Journ Am Or Soc*, Vol VII p 27. With Takārī-ssthāna compare 'Takārī', above, Vol III p 350, and note 13. The names Āsrama-ssthāna and Sarasvatī-ssthāna I have not found elsewhere. On the other hand, Madhyadēśa is too well known to call for any remark here.

After the date in line 79, the text of our inscription has the three aksharas *dā śrī mu*, followed by the numeral 3 and a peculiar mark the exact shape of which may be seen from the photograph. The first akshara of course stands for *dātaka* or *dātā*, and should be followed by a name to which the word *śrī* would have been prefixed, but I do not know whether any or what name may be intended to be denoted by *mu* 3 and the following symbol. We find the same *mu* 3 (probably followed by the same mark which we have here) also in the two grants of Arjunavarman in *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII pp 29 and 33.

The inscription then has the statement that 'this was composed by the king's preceptor (*rāja guru*) Madana, with the approbation of the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* (or great minister of peace and war), the learned Bilhana' — a statement which occurs also in Arjunavarman's grant in *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII p 33, and (with *mahāpandita* instead of *mahāsāndhivigrahika* *pandita*) in the same king's grant in *Journ As Soc Beng* Vol V p 379. On Madana, who may reasonably be taken to have composed merely the introductory verses of the inscription, see now above, Vol VIII p 99. As regards Bilhana, in verse 7 of the *prastāvi* at the end of Āśādharā's *Dharmāmṛta*³ 'the learned Bilhana, the lord of poets,' is described as 'the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* of the glorious king Vindhya (*Vindhya-bhūpati*)'. Since this king Vindhya can be no other than Arjunavarman's grandfather Vindhyaavarman,⁴ it might seem as if his *mahāsāndhivigrahika* Bilhana could not be the Bilhana of Arjunavarman's grant and of the present inscription. But in my opinion there are not for the present any valid reasons why the

¹ In Prof Peterson's *Third Report*, App I p 335, the town is called *Dimādvānanagara*.

² See *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII pp 27 and 32, and *Journ As Soc Beng* Vol V p 379 (where the published text has *Muktāvasthū-ssthāna*).

³ See Dr Bhandarkar's *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS* during 1883-84, p 391.

⁴ *Vindhya bhūpati* has been taken to mean 'king of the Vindhyas or Mālava'; but as *Arjuna-bhūpati* in the same *prastāvi* denotes Arjunavarman, the former can only denote Vindhyaavarman.

two should not be considered to be identical. Of the length of the reign of Arjunavarman's father we know nothing, and all we know in this respect about Arjunavarman is, that he reigned during the five years from A. D. 1211 to A. D. 1215. Besides, it should be borne in mind that Āśādhara himself, from whose work the above statement is taken, was a contemporary of no less than five successive kings of Mālava, from Vinḍhyavarman to Dēvapāla's son Jastugidēva.¹

The inscription ends with the words 'this is the own hand (i.e. the sign-manual) of the Mahānāga, the glorious Dēvapāladēva,' followed by the usual *mangalāḥ mahā-srih*.

TEXT.²

First Plate

- 1 Om³ || Ōm namah puṇishārtha-chūdāmanayē dharmmāya || ⁴Prativimva-⁵nubhād=
- bhūmēh kṛtvā sākshāt=prastigraham | jagad=āhlādayan=disyā[d*]=dvijom-
- 2 drō man galāni vah | (||) 1 | (||) Jiyāt=Prasnu=mo=sau kshatrah kshuvam
- rau-ābatah | samdhyāśikka-vuvam=⁶v=orvvi-datui=asya=ē(ā)ti tamvātām⁷ | (||) 2 ||
- 3 Yēna Mamdōdai-vāshpa-vāribhūh sa(sa)mitō mridhē | prānēva(śva)ii-vi-yug-guṇh
- sa Rāmaḥ śrēyaśē=stu vah | (||) 3 | (||) Bhīmēn=āpi dhṛtā mū[1*]ddhni
- yat-pādāp
- 4 sa Yūdhishtirah | vams(ś)-ādyēn=ēmdunā jiyāt=su-tulya⁸ iva nirmutah | (||)
- 4 | (||) Paramārakul-ōttamsah Kamsajin-mahimā nripah | śi-Bhōjadēva ity=ā-
- 5 sin=nāśūjūmānta-bhūtalah | (||) 5 | (||) Yad-yasaschamdrīk ōdyōtō⁹ digutsanga-
- taramgitō | dvishannripa-yasāhpumjaramdārka[1*]=mmilitam | (||) 6 | (||) Tatō=
- bhū-
- 6 d=Udayādityō mityōtśh-akakautuki | asādhrāsa-vraśrīr=asrī-hētui=vnōdhmūn | (||)
- 7 | (||) Mahākālaha-kalpāmtō yasy=ōddāmabhu=āsu(śu)-
- 7 gaib | kata n=ōnmūlītās=tumgā bhūbhṛtāh katak-ōlvanaśh | (||) 8 | (||)
- Tasmāch=chhūna=dvishanmarmā Naravarmā narādhipah | dharmō(im-a)-
- bhyuddharapē dhīmān=abhūt=simā
- 8 mahibbujām | (||) 9 | (||) Prati-prabhātam viprēbhyō datat[r]=grāma-padaḥ svayam |
- anēkapadātām ninyē dharmmō yēn=aika-pād=api | (||) 10 | (||) Taty(śy)=ajam
- Yasōvarmmā
- 9 putrah kshatriya-sēkharah | tasmād=Ajayavarm=ābhūj=jayaśrī-viśrutah śu(sn)tah
- | (||) 11 | (||) Tat-sūtur=vvira-mūrdhanyō dhany-ōtpata(tu)=ajayata | Gūrjarō-
- chchhēda-
- 10 nirvvaṃdhi¹⁰ Vinḍhyavarmā mahā-bhujah | (||) 12 | (||) Dhāray=ōddhūnityā
- sārdham dadhāti sma tridhātātām | sāmuygnasya yasy=āns=trātum loka-
- trayim=iva | (||) 13 | (||)
- 11 Tasy=āmushyāyanah putrah Sutrāma-śrīr=ath=āśishat | bhūpah Subhatavarm=ēti
- dharmmē tishthan=mahi-talam | (||) 14 | (||) Yasya jvalati dig-jētuh pratapas=
- tapana-dyu-
- 12 tēh | dāvāgnī-chchhadman=ādy=āpi ¹¹garjād-Gūrjara-patānē | (||) 15 | (||) Dōva-
- bhūyam gatō tasmin=namdanō=rjuna-bhūpata(ti)h | dōshpā dhattē=di unā
- dhātri-valayam valayam

¹ See the inscription B, below² Denoted by a symbol³ Read *prastigraha-*⁴ Read *idmratāh*⁵ Read *ōdyōtō*⁶ Read *ōdyōtō*¹¹ The editions of the plates of Arjunavarman have *garjya*; but *garjād* is the reading also of B, below, p. 121, line 14.⁷ From an insertion supplied by Mr. Conson.⁸ Metre of verses 1-22; Śloka (Anuśtubh).⁹ Read *ōmōm*¹⁰ Read *sva-tulya*¹¹ Read *nirbhāṣāt*

- 13 yathā i(II) 16 i(II) Vā(bā)lāhī-āhavē yasya Jayasimhē palāyitē | dīkṣābhāsa-
vyājēna yasō dīkṣhu vijumbhitam i(II) 17 i(II) Kāvya-gāndhāriva-sarvasva-
nidhānā
- 14 yēna¹ sāmpratam | bhāī-āvataram² dēvyās=chakrē pustaka-vīnayōh i(II) 18
i(II) Yēna trivīdha-vīrēna tridhā pallavitam yaśaḥ | dhavalatvam dadhva-
trīni ja-
- 15 gamti katham=amya(nya)thā i(II) 19 i(II) Ath=Arthunām=apunyaēna puṇyēna
svaigga-subhruvām | sō sdbhutatyāgaśīlās=cha śrīmgārī cha divam gataḥ i(II)
20 i(II) Ta-
- 16 tath Pramāra-chamdrasya Hārīschamdrasya namdanah | raraksha Mālava-
kshōnīm Dēvapālah pratāpavān i(II) 21 i(II) Pavitra-karapadmaśya(sya)
dānavari-vijim-
- 17 bhatah | na vidmō Dēvapālasya dēvapālasya ch=āntaram i(II) 22 i(II) Sa
ēsha nara-nāyakah saivv-ābhyudayī ||³ Mahuāda-pratijāgarānakē Satā-
- 18 juṇā-grāmē samasta-rājapurushān=vṛā(brā)hman-ōttaiān=piatinivāsē(śrī)-pattakila-jana-
pad-ādīms=cha vō(bō)dhayaty=astu vaḥ samvidi-
- 19 tam yathā ||³ śrī-Māhishmati-sthitar=asmābhūhr=“dvyaśītyadhika-dvādaśasāta-
samvatsarē Bhādrapadē māse purnnamāsyām sō-

Second Plate, First Side

- 20 ma-parvvanī Rēvāyām snātṛā śrī Daityasūdana-sannidhau bhagavantam
Bhavanī-patim samabhyarchchya samsāisy=āsāratām dīshṭvā | tathā hī ||
Vā.⁵
- 1 tābhra-vibhramam=idam vaśu(su)dh-ādhipatyam=śpātāmātra-madburō viśhay-
ōpabhōgah | prānās=trīnāgrajalavimdu-samā nurōnām dha-
- 2 rmmah saḥā param=abō paralōka-yānē || ita saivvam vimrīsy=ādīrsha-
phalam=amgikṛtya ||⁷ Āśramasthāna-vimrggatāya Vājumādhyamānāsā-
- 3 kh-ādhyāyīnē Parāśa[ra*]-gōtrāya Parāśa-Śakti-Vasīsth-ēti⁸ tri-pravarāya śrōtri⁹
Dāmōdara-putrāya śrōtri⁹ Vra(bra)hma-putrāya śrōtri⁹ Gangādha-
- 4 rasa(śa)rmmānē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Mahāvanasthāna-
vimrggatāya Pavitra-gōtrāya Gārggya-Gaurivī-Āmgiras-ēti tri-pravarāya Āsva-
lāyanaśākh-ādhyāyīnē di¹⁰ Gangādharma-putrāya āvasa(sa)thuka-Mahāditya-putrāya
śukla-Bhadresva(śva)rasa(śa)rmmānē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ē-
kam 1 Mahāvanasthāna-vimrggatāya Pavitra-gōtrāya Gārggya-Gaurivī-Āmgiras-ēti
tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyīnē di¹⁰ Śim(śim)ha-
kamtha-putrāya śu¹¹ Madhukamtha-putrāya śu¹¹ Chandrakamthasa(śa)rmmānē
vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Mahāvanasthā[ra*]-vimrggatāya Andāya-
gōtrāya¹² Mā-
- dhyanāśākh-ādhyāyīnē di¹⁰ Padmasvāmī-putrāya di¹⁰ Trilōchana-putrāya di¹⁰
Nārāyanasa(śa)rmmānē vrā(brā)hmanāya sārḍham vamtakam=ēkam 1½ Mā-

Originally *yēma* was engraved

The edition of the grant of Arjuna-varman in *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII p 26, has *bhadravāidraṇam*

These signs of punctuation are superfluous

Read =asmdhīva

⁵ Metre Vasantatilakā

Instead of the *akshara dhā* originally *dha* seems to have been engraved

This sign of punctuation is superfluous Here and in other places below the rules of *saṃdhis* have not been

Originally *Parādī-Śa*⁶ was engraved Read *Parādīra-Śakti-Vasīsth-ēti*, where the name *Śakti*,

30 would stand for the more correct *Śakti* See below, line 71

31 here and below, *śrōtrīya*-

¹⁰ I e, here and below, *dīkṣita*-

1 here and below, *śukla*

¹² Here the *pravara*s are omitted

- 29 *hāvanasthāna-vinirggatāya* Kātyāyana-gōtrāya¹ Śā(sā)maṇḍ-ādhyāyine tr.²
Rāmēsva(śva)ra-pautrāya tri³ Jāsōdhara-³putrāya tri³ Śūrasarmanā⁴
 vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ē-
- 30 kam 1 Takāristhāna-vinirggatāya Bhāradvāja-⁵gōtrāya Bhāradvāj-Āmgrasa-
 Vā(bā)rhaspaty-ēti tri-pravarāya Kanthumāsākh-ādhyāyi-
- 31 nē tri³ Dālana-pautrāya tri³ Āśādhara-putrāya tri³ Visvēsvaraśarmanā⁴
 vra(bā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Takāristhāna-vinirggatāya Bhāradvā-
- 32 ja-gōtāya Bhāradvāj-Āmgrasa-Vā(bā)rhasya(spa)ty-ēti tri-pravarāya Mādhyamdina-
 sākḥ-ādhyāyine di⁶ Kōlhana-pautrāya di⁶ Madhu-putrāya di⁶ Rā-
- 33 masa(śa)rmmanē vrā(brā)hmanā[y]a vamtakam=ēkam 1 Tripuristhāna-
 vinirggatāya Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Bhāradvāj-Āmgrasa-Vā(bā)rhaspaty-ēti tri-
 prava-
- 34 rāya pam |⁷ Haridhara-pautrāya pam | Mahidhara-putrāya pam⁸ Bhṛgu-
 śarmanā⁸ vrā(brā)hmanāya sārddham vamtakam=ēkam 1½ Mutavathūsthāna⁹
 vinirggatāya
- 35 Kāśyapa-gōtāya Kāśyapa(p-Ā)vatsāra-Naidhrav-ēti tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanaśākḥ
 ādhyāyine cha¹⁰ Prthivīdhara-pautrāya cha¹⁰ Āśā(śā)dhara-pu-
- 36 trāya agni¹¹ Nārāyaṇaśarmanā¹¹ vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1
 Akōlāsthāna-vinirggatāya Parāvāsu(su)-gōtrāya Parāvāsu(su)-Kāmākāya-
- 37 na-Kaikaśēya¹² tri-pravarāya tha |¹³ Bharatapāla-pautrāya tha | Dālana-putrāya
 rāja-Gōśa(sa)śarmanā¹⁴ vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Mathurāsthā-
- 38 na-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākḥ-ādhyāyine Vasi(su)sthā-gōtāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra
 Vāsi(su)sthā-ēti tri-pravarāya chaturvēda-Janārdana-pautrā-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 39 ya chaturvēda-Dharaudhara-putrāya mahārājapamdiṭa-śrī-Gōśaśarmanā¹⁵
 vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtaka-dvayam 2 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Ā-
- 40 śvalāyanaśākḥ-ādhyāyine Bhārggava-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnuvā¹⁶
 Anuvva-Jāmadagny-ēti pamcha-pravarāya cha¹⁶ . . . ¹⁶-pautrāya cha¹⁶
- 41 Viśnu-putrāya cha¹⁶ Rāmēsva(śva)rasa(śa)rmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=
 ēkam 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalā[y]a*]nasākḥ-ādhyāyine Kāśyapa
 gōtrā-
- 42 ya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhrav-ēti tri-pravarāya cha¹⁶ Samuddhara-pautrāya cha¹⁶
 Dēvadhara-putrāya cha¹⁶ Gadādharaśa(śa)rmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=
 ēkam 1 Ma-
- 43 thurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākḥ-ādhyāyine Bhārggava-gōtrāya Bhārggava
 Vaitahavya-Sāvētas-ēti tri-pravarāya cha¹⁶ Pavitra-pautrā-
- 44 ya cha¹⁶ Dharaudhara-putrāya cha¹⁶ Garbhēsva(śva)raśarmanā¹⁶ vrā(brā)hmanāya
 vamtakam=ēkam 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākḥ-ādhyāyi-

¹ *Kātyāyana-gōtrāya* was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line Here, again, the *pravara* is omitted.

² Here and below for tri³, i.e. *trivēda*-

³ For *Yatōdhara*.

⁴ For *Śūrasarmanā*

⁵ In the place of the *akshara ra* originally *dea* was engraved

⁶ Read *Vivēdāra*⁶

⁷ This, or *pam*⁷, here and below, = *pamdiṭa*-

⁸ The *śākḥ* of this man is omitted

⁹ Below, in lines 47 and 49, the name is *Mutavathā*⁹

¹⁰ I.e., here and below, *chaturvēda*-

¹¹ I.e., here and below, *agnīśōtri*-

¹² Read *Kaikaśēya*

¹³ I.e., here and below, *thakkuva*-

¹⁴ The *śākḥ* of this man is omitted

¹⁵ Read *Apnavāna*, see below, lines 52 and 66

¹⁶ Here an open space is left for a name of four syllables which has been omitted.

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- 45 nē Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Samuddhara-
pautrāya cha° Dēvadhara-putrāya cha° Lōhataśarmanā viā(brā)hmanā-
46 ya vamtakam-ēkam l Dīmdvānakasthāna-vīruggatāya ¹Śāmkshāyanāśākh-
ādhyaīnē Gautama-gōtrāya Gautam-Āmgrasa-Autatthy-ēti² tri-piava-
47 rāya cha° Dhānādhāna-pautrāya cha° Vra(bra)hma-putrāya cha° Pūnshōttama-
śarmanā vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam l Mutāvathūsthāna-vīruggatāya
Mādhyam-
48 dmasakh-ādhyaīnē Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya
dvi³ Gōvīmda-pautrāya dvi° Vāsadhara-putrāya dvi° Gada-
49 dharaśarmanā vrā(bā)hmanāya vamtaka(k-ā)rdham $\frac{1}{2}$ Mutāvathūsthāna-
vīruggatāya Mādhyamdmasakh-ādhyaīnē Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-
Naidhru-
50 v-ēti tri-piavāya di° ⁴Gamgādhara-pautrāya di° Kēśava-putrāya Udaśar-
manā viā(bā)hmanāya vamtaka(k-ā)rdham $\frac{1}{2}$ Mahāvanasthā[nā*]-
vīruggatāya Kau-
51 thumaśakh-ādhyaīnē Gautama-gōtrāya Gautam-Āmgrasa-Autatthy-ēti tri-
pravarāya pam° Mādana-pautrāya pam° Kāhna(nha)da-putrāya pam°
Kuladharaśa(śa)manā
52 vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam l Takārīsthāna-vīruggatāya⁵ Kauthumaśākh-
ādhyaīnē Vatsa-gōtrāya Bhāggava-Chyavana-Āpnuvān⁶ Aurvya-Jāmadagny-ē
3 ti pamcha-piavāya tri° Janāiddana-pautrāya tri° Nalāśim(sim)ha-putrāya āva⁷
Abhinandāśarmanā viā(bā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam l Madhyadēśa-
vīruggatā-
54 ya Mādhyamdi[nā*]śākh-ādhyaīnē Mudgala-gōtrāya Āmgrasa(śa)-Bhara sa-⁸
Mudgal-ēti tri-pravarāya agni° Chchhitā-pautrāya agni° Dhānādhāna-putrā-
55 ya agni° Anantāśarmanā viā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam l Madhyadēśa-
vīruggatāya Mādhyamdmasakh-ādhyaīnē Sāmdilya-gōtrāya Sāmdilya-Āsi(n)ta-
56 Dēval-ēti tri-pravarāya yājñi⁹ Nāgadēva-pautrāya yājñi° Krīṣṇa-putrāya agni°
Sthānēśva(śva)raśarmanā vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam l Mathurāsthāna-
vīni-
57 ruggatāya Āśvālyānāśākh-ādhyaīnē Dhaumya-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-[Nai*]dhruv-
ēti¹⁰ tri-pravarāya cha° Vīshnu-pautrāya cha° Sādhārana-putrā-
58 ya cha° Ūdha[rā]śarmanā¹¹ vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam l Mathurāsthāna-
vīruggatāya ¹²Rāpāyīmīśākh-ādhyaīnē Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Āmgi-
59 rasa-Vā(bā)raspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti tri-pravarāya tri° Mādhyama-pautrāya¹³ tri°
Sōmēśva(śva)ra-putrāya tri° Kuladharaśarmanā vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-
ēkam l

Third Plate

- 60 Mathurāsthāna-vīruggatāya Rānāyīmīśākh-ādhyaīnē Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Āmgrasa-
Vā(bā)raspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti tri-pravarāya tri° Ru(rī)shi-pautrāya tri°

¹ Read *Śāmkshāyana*° or, more correctly, *Śāmkshāyana*°

² *Autatthy-* = *Auchatthy*, see below, B, line 33

³ *I e*, here and below, *dvi* *śāda*.

⁴ Originally *Gāmgā*° was engraved, but the first *g* has been struck out

⁵ Originally °*sthāna* vi° was engraved

⁶ Read -*Āpnavda*-

⁷ *I e*, here and below, *avasathika*-

⁸ In this name an open space is left for two syllables

The name which one would have expected is

Bhārmayata

⁹ *I e*, here and below, *yājñika*-

¹⁰ The *akshara* *ś* is engraved above the line

¹¹ Originally *Ūdhapa*° was engraved

¹² Read, here and below, *Rānāyīmīśākh*-

¹³ The *akshara* *dh* is engraved above the line

- 61 Mārkaṇḍa-putrāya tri° Madhusūdanaśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1
Sarasvatīsthāna-vinirggaṭāya Kathasākh-ādhyāyīnē [Har]ita-Kuta-
- 62 gōtrāya Āṅguraśa(sa)-¹ Amva(ba)riṣha-Yauvanāśv(sv)-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Vijayī-
pautraya cha° Ajayī-putrāya cha° Alīśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=
ēkam 1
- 63 Madhyadēsa-vinirggaṭāya Mādhyamdiśāsākh-ādhyāyīnē Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyap-
Āvatsara-Naidhrv-ēti tri-pravarāya upa°² Nārāyaṇa-pautrāya agni°³
- 64 Īśadādēva-putrāya di° Lāhadaśarmmanē⁴ vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1
Madhyadēsa-vinirggaṭāya Mādhyamdiśāsākh-ādhyāyīnē Śamḍilya-gōtrāya A-
- 65 śi(śi)ta-Dēvala-Sām(sām)dily-ēti tri-pravarāya agni° Katuka-pautraya di° Puru-
shōttama-putrāya āva° Narasiṃhaśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1
Ma-
- 66 dhyadēsa-vinirggaṭāya Mādhyamdiśāsākh-ādhyāyīnē Mārkamḍēya-gōtrāya
Bhārgava-Chjavana-Āpnuvān°⁵ Aurva-Jāmadagny-ēti paṃcha pravarāya agni°
Chchbitū-pau-
- 67 trāya upā°- Dāmōdara-putrāya āva° Mārkamḍēyaśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya
vamtakam=ēkam 1 Madhyadēsa-vinirggaṭāya Mādhyamdiśāsākh-ādhyāyīnē
Bhāradvāja-gō-
- 68 tūāya Āṅguraśa(sa)-⁷ Vā(bā)ḥaspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti tri-pravarāya dvi°⁸ Nārāyaṇa-
pautrāya dvi° Padmaśābha-putrāya pātha°⁸ Vāyudēvaśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya
vamtaka-
- 69 m=ēkam 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggaṭāya Āśvalāyanaśāsākh-ādhyāyīnē Kautsa-gōtrāya
Āṅguraśa(sa)-Amva(ba)riṣha-Yauvanāśv(sv)-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Hari-pau-
- 70 trāya cha° Jānārdana-putrāya cha° Rājēśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=
arḍdham ½ Hastinēpura-vinirggaṭāya Kanthumaśāsākh-ādhyāyīnē Pārāsa(sa)ra-gōtrā-
- 71 ya Pārāsa(sa)ra-Śākti-⁹ Vasi(śi)sth-ēti tri-pravarāya paṃcha°¹⁰ Kāhna(nha)da-
pautrāya paṃcha° Kumāra-putrāya paṃdi°¹¹ Kusumapālaśarmmanē¹²
vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1
- 72 samastō=pi grāmaś=chatuḥkāmka¹³ vīsu(su)ddhah sa-vrikshamālākulah sa-
hiranyabhāgabhōgah s-ōparikarah saivvādāya-samētah sa-mḍhinikshēpah sha-
- 73 mhalatama[kā]-¹⁴ samanvitō mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha punyajasō-¹⁴ bhivridḍhayō
chamdrārkaḥ nnavakshiti-samakālam yāvat=paraya(yā) bhaktyā śśāś(sa)nēn=ōdaka-
pūrvvam pradattah [I*] tan=ma-
- 74 tvā tanuvāśi(śi)-pa[ttā]kilajanaḥ padan=yathādīyamāna-bhāgabhōgakaḥ hiraṇyādīkath
dēvavrā(brā)hmanabhukta-vaijṇam=ājñā-vidhēyair=bhātvyā saivvam=ēbhyaō vrā(brā)-
hmanēbhyaō dātavyam [I*]
- 75 śāmānyam ch=aitat=punya-phalam vudhvā¹⁵ śmadvamśajair=anyair=apī bhāvi-
bhōktrbhīr=asmatpradatta-dhāmmādyō¹⁶ syam=anumantavyah pālāniyaś=cha¹⁷ ||
Uktam cha || ¹⁸ Va(ba)huhir=vaśu(su)dhā

¹ Originally *Āṅguraśa* was engraved² *I e*, here and below, *upādhyāya*-³ This sign of abbreviation is engraved at the commencement of the next line⁴ For *Yāśādēva*⁵ Originally *Lāhada*° was engraved⁶ Read *Apnavāna*-⁷ Originally *Āṅguraśa* was engraved⁸ *I e pāthaka*-⁹ Read *Śākti*-, and see above, p. 109, note 8¹⁰ *I e*, here and below, *pañchakalpi*-(P)¹¹ *I e paṃdi*-¹² Read *chatuḥkāmka*¹³ The *akshara* in brackets might possibly be read *chha* As will be seen from the facsimile, the space between *lā* and *ta* at the commencement of line 73 is larger than it generally is between two *aksharas*¹⁴ Read *punyaajasō*-¹⁵ Read *budhvā*¹⁶ One would have expected *dharmaadyō*; but *dharmaadyō* is the reading of most of the *Paramāra* copper-plates¹⁷ Originally *śi=chath* was engraved.¹⁸ Metre of this verse and the next *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh)

(V 20) Then, through the want of merit of suppliants and through the merit of the lovely-browed damsels of paradise, he who was both marvellously bountiful and amorous went to heaven

(V 21) Then Dēvapāla, full of prowess—the son of Harīśchandra, the moon of the Pramāras—came to rule the Mālava country

(V 22) Because of the pouring out of the water of donations by him who holds *kusa* grass in his lotus-hand, we know no difference between Dēvapāla and the guardian of the gods [whom the exploits of the enemy of the Dānavas caused to take the *argha* in his lotus-hand (to make a respectful offering)]¹

LIST OF THE DONEES IN LINES 22-71

Number	Name of donee	Description	Gōtra	Śākha or Vēda	Place of origin	Shāses
1	Gangādhara ²	śrōtriya	Parāśa[ra]	Vāpamādhyamdina	Āśrama ³	1
2	Bhadraśvara	śukla	Pavitra	Āśvalāyana	Mahāvana	1
3	Chandrasaṅgtha	"	"	"	"	1
4	Nārāyana	dikshita	Audalya	Mādhyamdina	"	1†
5	Śura	trivēda	Kātyāyana	Sāmavēda	"	1
6	Vīśvēśvara	"	Bhāradvāja	Kaushuma	Takārī	1
7	Rāma	dikshita	"	Mādhyamdina	"	1
8	Bhrigu	pañcīta	"	omitted	Triपुरī	1†
9	Nārāyana	agnihōtrin	Kāśyapa	Āśvalāyana	Mutāvathā	1
					Carried over	10

¹ The king Dēvapāla and the guardian of the gods (*dēvapāla*, i.e. the god Indra) are alike because either of them is *dānavāra vyjñāhītaḥ pavitrakarapadmah*. About the exact meanings of the first of these two words there can be no doubt, it means both 'the pouring forth of the water of donations' (*dāna-rāra*), and 'the exploits of the enemy of the Dānavas' (*Dānava-ari*, i.e. the god Vishnu Krishna). I am not so sure about the two meanings of the second word. Referred to the king, it means 'holding *pavitra* (i.e. *kusa* or *darbha* grass, which is taken up by the person who is about to make a donation) in his lotus hand'. Applied to Indra, I take it to mean that Indra, pleased with the exploits of the conqueror of the Dānavas, took up the *pavitra* (i.e. the *argha* vessel) to make a respectful offering to Vishnu. In support of this explanation I would quote *Ep Ind* Vol I, p. 124, v 2, where Brahman offers to Vishnu the *argha-talita*, when he sees how the latter has cheated Bali. But I am myself not quite satisfied with this explanation, because I suspect the word *padma* to have been used in two different senses in the compound. From inscriptions we may compare with our verse especially the verse in *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p. 218, ll 19 and 20 *Śrīyam bahāra vidhivad-dānavadrātītīkṣitah | Mahādravad-dvayairāhītha-varggas-tat saṅgam-dgataḥ* ||, where *dānavadrātītīkṣitah* means both 'excessively pleased by the water of donations' and 'pleased by the enemy of the Dānavas'. *Dānavāra* also has a third meaning, 'the rutting juice of elephants' (*mada-jaia*), and in that sense as well as in the sense of 'the enemy of the Dānavas' the word is used in the *Nāśadhātvyacharita*, XIII vv 3 and 23, the first of which, in so far as it is applicable to Indra, seems to have suggested the *śrīyam bahāra dānavadrātītīkṣitah* *Mahāndra*[A] of the verse quoted above from an inscription. (Incidentally I may mention that *Pañchanalitya* is not 'the title of a work,' but a name of the 18th *sarga* of the *Nāśadhātvyacharita*). In *Āśvalai*, p. 20, the hand of a king is compared with the ocean, because both hold the *dānavāra*.

² All these names have the word *śarman* attached to them.

³ With the exception of *Mādhyamdina* and *Qastindrapura*, these names have the word *śikṣa* attached to them.

LIST OF THE DONEES IN LINES 22-71—*contd*

Number	Name of donee	Description	Gotra	Sākha or Vēda	Place or origin	Shares
					Brought forward	10
10	Gōsala	rājan	Parāvasu	<i>omitted</i>	Akōlā	1
11	Gōsā	mahārājapandita	Vasultha	Āivalāyana	Mathurā	2
12	Rāmēśvara	chaturvēda	Bhargava	"	"	1
13	Gadādihara	"	Kāśyapa	"	"	1
14	Garbhēśvara	"	Bhārgava	"	"	1
15	Lōhata	"	Kāśyapa	"	"	1
16	Purushōttama	"	Gautama	Śāṅkhāyana	Dṛḍvānaka	1
17	Gadādihara	divēda	Kāśyapa	Mādhyamīna	Mutāvathū	†
18	Udai (Uday)	<i>omitted</i>	"	"	"	†
19	Kuladhara	paṇḍita	Gautama	Kaṭhuma	Mahāvana	1
20	Abhinanda	śrāsathika	Vatsa	"	Takāri	1
21	Ananta	agnihōtrīn	Mudgala	Mādhyamīna	Madhyadēśa	1
22	Sthanēśvara	"	Śāṇḍilya	"	"	1
23	Ōlha[ra]	chaturvēda	Dharmya	Āivalāyana	Mathurā	1
24	Kuladhara	trivēda	Bhāradvāja	Rāṇyuni	"	1
25	Madhusūdana	"	"	"	"	1
26	Alli	chaturvēda	Harta-Kutsa	Kaṭha	Sarasvatī	1
27	Lālaḍa	dikṣhita	Kāśyapa	Mādhyamīna	Madhyadēśa	1
28	Narasimha	śrāsathika	Śāṇḍilya	"	"	1
29	Mākaṇḍēya	"	Mākaṇḍēya	"	"	1
30	Vāyudeva	pāṭhaka	Bhāradvāja	"	"	1
31	Rājē	chaturvēda	Kautsa	Āivalāyana	Mathurā	†
32	Kusumapāla	paṇḍita	Pārāsara	Kaṭhuma	Hastanipura	1
TOTAL						82†

NAMES OF THE FATHERS AND GRANDFATHERS OF THE DONEES.

Ajaji, chaturvēda, l 62
 Āśādihara, trivēda, l. 31, chaturvēda, l. 35.
 Bharatapāla, thakkura, l. 37
 Brahman, śrōtrīya, l. 23, chaturvēda, l. 47
 Chhittā, agnihōtrīn, ll 54, 66
 Dālaḍa, trivēda, l 31

Dālaḍa, thakkura, l. 37.
 Dāmōdara, śrōtrīya, l. 23; upādhyāya,
 l. 67.
 Dēvadihara, chaturvēda, ll 42, 45.
 Dharaṇḍihara, chaturvēda, ll. 39, 44, 47,
 agnihōtrīn, l. 54.

Gangādhara, dikṣita, II 25, 50
 Gōvinda, dvivēda, I 48,
 Hari, chaturvēda, I 69
 Haridhara, pandita, I 34
 Janārdana, chatuṣvēda, II 38, 70, trivēda,
 I 53
 Jasādēva, agnihōtrīn, I 64
 Jasōdhara, trivēda, I 29
 Kānhada, pandita, I 51, pañchakalpin(?),
 I 71
 Katuka, agnihōtrīn, I 65
 Kēlhana, dikṣita, I 32.
 Kēsava, dikṣita, I 50
 Kṛishna, yājñika, I 56
 Kumara, pañchakalpin(?), I 71
 Madana, pandita, I 51
 Mādhava, trivēda, I 59
 Madhu, dikṣita, I 32
 Madhukantha, śūka, I 27
 Mahāditya, āvasathika, I 25

Mahādhara, paṇḍita, I, 34
 Markanda, trivēda, I 61
 Nāgādēva, yājñika, I 56
 Narasimha, trivēda, I 53.
 Nārāyaṇa, upādhyāya, I 63, dvivēda, I 68
 Padmanābha, dvivēda, I 68
 Padmasvāmin, dikṣita, I 28
 Pavitra, chaturvēda, I 43
 Prithvīdhara, chaturvēda, I 35
 Purushōttama, dikṣita, I 65
 Ramésvara, trivēda, I 29
 Rishi, trivēda, I 60.
 Sādhātana, chaturvēda, I 57,
 Samuddhara, chaturvēda, II 42, 45
 Simhakantha, dikṣita, I 26.
 Sōmésvara, trivēda, I 59
 Trilōchana, dikṣita, I 28
 Vāsadhara, dvivēda, I 48
 Vijayi, chaturvēda, I 62
 Vishnu, chaturvēda, II. 41, 57

B—MĀNDHĀTĀ PLATES OF JAYAVARMA II, [VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1317

These are two plates which were found by Mr Lele,¹ some time in 1904, at the village of Godaipa opposite the island of Māndhātā, on the southern bank of the Narmadā in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces. They were sent by the Deputy Commissioner of Nimār to the Provincial Museum at Nāgpur, where they are now deposited. They measure about 1' 5½" broad by 10½" high, and are held together by two rings, now cut, for which there are two holes in either plate. I edit the inscription which they contain from impressions sent to me by the Government Epigraphist.

The first plate is inscribed on one side, and the second on both sides. The writing both on the first plate and on the first side of the second plate covers a space about 1' 4" broad by between 9½" and 10" high, that on the second side of the second plate 1' 4½" broad by 8" high. The three sides together contain 53 lines of well engraved writing which throughout is in a perfect state of preservation. On the proper right of the second side of the second plate, between lines 42 and 50, a vertical line marks off a space 3" broad by 4" high, which contains an engraving of Garuḍa, with, below it, the words *sva-hastō-yam mahārājasya* ||, in smaller characters than those in the body of the inscription. The bird is represented in human form, kneeling towards the left, but with the head turned towards the right, and with four hands, the two inner ones of which are joined over the breast, while the two others are lifted up on either side, the one on the left holding a snake, the head of which looks like a bird's head. The size of the letters is about ⅜". The characters are Nāgarī, closely resembling those of the inscription A, and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription is so carefully written that in respect of orthography only few remarks are necessary. The sign for *v* denotes both *b* and *v*, the dental sibilant is used for the palatal only in *sata*, I 25, as is often the case elsewhere, *dy*, *dv* and *dhv* are employed instead of *ddy*, *dāv* and *dāhv*, *Janārādana* is written *Janārjyana* in line 34, and *śaḍbhīr* as *śaḍbhīr* in line 37. The sign of *avagraha* is employed seven times, and, excepting in *sāmpratam*, I 16, *m* at the end of a verse or half-verse

¹ The plates were first mentioned by Mr Lele in a Report of his on the progress of Archaeological work in the Dhār State, dated the 24th August 1904.

is denoted by the sign for *m*, not by that of *anusvāra* — In lines 1-23 the inscription has 23 verses, chiefly containing genealogical matter, 21 of which are already known to us from the inscription A, and in lines 25-27 we again find the verse commencing with *Vātābhra-vibhramam=īdam vasulh-ādhipatyam*, and in lines 42-48 five benedictive and imprecatory verses, the last of which here too is the verse commencing with *ī kamaladalāmbuvandū-lōlām*. There are besides two verses in lines 50-52, which record the names of persons who had to do with the writing of the grant. In the prose part of the text, attention may be drawn to the peculiar construction in lines 25-28, *asmābhīh . . . Gāṅgādēva-pārsvāt . . . grāmō=yam trābhīyō brāhmanābhīyō dāpitah*, 'we have caused Gāṅgādēva to give this village to three Brāhmins' ¹

The inscription records an order by the Paramāra *Mahārājādhirāja Jayavarman* [II] of *Mālava*, dated, as will be shown below, in A D 1260 and 1261. Of the 23 verses with which it opens, verses 1-21 are identical (except for two various readings²) with the same verses of the inscription A, and contain therefore the same list of kings from *Bhōjadēva* to *Dēvapāla*. The two new verses, 22 and 23, may be rendered thus —

"When ³ that king, the glorious *Dēvapāla*, had joyfully resorted to Indra's abode, his son, a death-dealing god to enemies (*while*) ever pleasing the people by his good qualities, the wise king *Jatugidēva*, the glorious *Mālava* chief, ruled this land, by his noble exploits a young *Nārāyaṇa* "⁴

"Now that he, after enjoying the delights of royalty, has gone to the habitation of the gods, his younger brother, king *Jayavarman*, rules the land "

Dēvapāla, therefore, was succeeded by his son *Jatugidēva*, and he by his younger brother *Jayavarman* [II] — *Jatugidēva* was known already from the *prafasti* in *Āśādharā's Dharmāmṛta*, referred to above,⁵ according to which the commentary on that work was completed during the reign of the Paramāra *Dēvapāla's* son *Jatugidēva*, on a date which corresponds to Monday, the 19th October A D 1243. In my *Northern List*, No 223, I have assumed that *Jatugidēva* is identical with a king who is mentioned in a *Rāhatgaḍh* inscription of the 28th August A D 1256, noticed by me in *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 84, where I have given the king's name as *Jaya[simha]dēva*. But with what we now know from the present inscription, I am not sure whether Sir A. Cunningham⁶ was not right in reading the same name as *Jaya[varma]dēva*, and would therefore suspend my judgment on the matter till we possess proper impressions of an inscription at *Udaypur* in *Gwālior*,⁷ which seems to be of the reign of a king *Jayasinghadēva* and to be dated in the [*Vikrama*] year 1311 (in Jan-

¹ Exactly the same construction occurs in my *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS.*, Bombay, 1881, p 11 *tēna lēkhaka śhāda-pārsvāt-lēkhātā*, 'he caused the writer Śhāda to write (a certain MS)'. With the use of *pārsvāt* we may compare that of *hastāt* in Prof. Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p 29: *Udayachandragana Jnabhadralēkhaka-hastāt=Vimalachandragana-hastāch=cha Ghanavayuktisādrām lēkhitam*.

² In verse 17 this inscription has *Jastrasimh* instead of *Jayasimh*, and in verse 21 *prafasti* instead of *paraksha* — For the reading *Jastrasimh* see above, Vol VIII p 203, where a certain person is called both *Jayan* *tasimha* and *Jastrasimha*. If any importance could be attached to the new reading, it would in my opinion show that the *Jayasimha*, who was defeated by *Arjunavarman*, undoubtedly was the *Chaulukya Jayantatimha* (*Jayasimha*) *Abhinavāsiddharāja*.

³ The text actually has "Now that *Dēvapāla* has resorted to Indra's abode, his son *Jatugidēva* rules this land". The verse undoubtedly was taken over unchanged from an inscription of *Jatugidēva* himself.

⁴ '*Bāla-Nārāyaṇa*' most probably was an epithet of the king. Compare *Kumdra-Nārāyaṇa*, as an epithet of the Paramāra *Sindhurāja*, in the *Navaśahāsānukacharita*, I 59.

⁵ See above, p 107.

⁶ See *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol X p 31. Judging from Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing of the inscription which I have again examined, the two *aksharas* between *Jaya* and *dēva* are almost completely broken away.

⁷ I am writing this with Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing of the inscription before me.

uary 1255) For the present, what is certain is, that Jaitugidēva¹ was reigning in A D 1243 and his younger brother Jayavarman in A D 1260-61

In lines 23 ff of our inscription Jayavarman informs all king's officers, Brāhmanas and others, and the *Pañchakla* and other people dwelling at the village of Vadauda in the Mahuāda pathaka, that, while staying at Mandapadurga, in the year 1317 (given in words), he caused the *Pratikhāra*² Gāngadēva to give the village of Vadauda to three Brāhmanas

And, according to lines 28 ff, the *Pratikhāra* Gāngadēva, on Sunday, the third *tithi* of the bright half of Āgrahāyana (Mārgasīrsha) of the year 1317, while the *nakshatra* was Pūrvāshādhā and the *yōga* Śūla, at Amarēśvara-kshētra on the southern bank of the Rēvā (Narmadā), after bathing at the confluence of the Rēvā and Kapilā and worshipping the holy Amarēśvaradēva (Śiva) with the five offerings,³ gave the village of Vadauda, divided into six shares (*vanṭaka*) so that—

four shares (*pada*) were assigned to the *agnihōtrīn*⁴ Mādhyaśarman—a son of the *pāṭhaka* Harīśarman and grandson of the *divēda* Vēda—a Brāhman of the Bhārgava *gōtṛa*⁵ and student of the Mādhyaśardina Śikhā, who had come from Navagāṃva,⁶

one share (*pada*) to the *chaturvēda* Janārdana—a son of the *divēda* Lāmadēva and grandson of the *divēda* Lāshū—a Brāhman of the Gautama *gōtṛa* and student of the Āśvalāyana Śikhā, who had come from Takāri, and

one share (*pada*) to the *divēda* Dhāmadēvaśarman—a son of the *dīkshita* Divākara and grandson of the *dīkshita* Kēkū—a Brāhman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtṛa* and student of the Mādhyaśardina Śikhā, who had come from Ghatāushari

From line 37 to line 48 the text contains so well-known phrases that it may be passed over here. The remaining part of the inscription yields the following information—

On Thursday, the 11th of the bright half of Jyēsthā of the year 1317, this king's order (*rija śāsana*) was written 'here, at Mandapadurga,' by Harshadēva, a son of the learned Haviśa, with the approbation of the *sāndhivigrahika* (or minister of peace and war), the *paṇḍita* Māladhara, an official of the *Mahārājādūharīya*, the glorious Jayavarma-dēva, and the king's document was corrected by the grammarian (*sābdhika*) Āmadēva, a disciple of the learned Jōśeka (Jōse)⁷ 'who knew the boundless essence of legal science' The grant was engraved by the *rūpālāra* Kānhaḍa. The *dāta* was the great minister (*mahāpradhāna*), Rājā Ajayadēva

The words 'this is the own hand (i.e. the sign-manual) of the *Mahārāja*' are engraved, as has been already stated, under the engraving of Garuda on the second side of the second plate

The dates contained in this inscription are both correct. The first date, in lines 28 and 29, for the expired (*Chātrādī* or *Kārttikādī*) Vikrama year 1317 corresponds to Sunday, the 7th November A D 1260. On this day the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h 13 m, the *nakshatra* was Pūrvāshādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h 4 m, according

¹ In the first half of the 13th century A D we find the name *Jaitugi* twice in the family of the Yadavas of Devagiri, and there was a [Śilāra] *Konkanachakravartin Jaitugidēva*, an unpublished inscription (below, in the Bombay As Soc) of whom apparently is dated in A D 1207

² Given in the abbreviated form *pratī*. The word *pratikhāra* means 'a door keeper', but denotes a royal official

³ Compare *pañchōpachāra pūjā*, e.g. in *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p 347, l 10, and above, Vol III p 215, l 5, and p 300, l 42. The five articles presented are *gandha*, *pushpa*, *dhūpa*, *dāpa* and *navidāya*; compare *Sūdra amaldāra*, p 140 f, where *pañchōpachāra*, *dāśōpachāra* and similar terms are explained

⁴ These epithets here too are given in the abbreviated forms *agni*, *pa*, *div*, *cha*, and *dī*

⁵ In the original the *pravaras* also are given

⁶ The names of the places of origin here also have the word *sthāna* attached to them

⁷ See above, p 106.

to Garga for 22 h 20 m, and by the equal space system from 10 h 30 m, and the *yōga* was Śūla for 20 h 46 m, after mean sunrise. And the second date, in lines 48 and 49, for the expired *Kārttikādī* Vikrama year 1317 corresponds to Thursday, the 12th May A.D. 1381, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h 46 m after mean sunrise. The dates show that the year 1317 of the inscription was a *Kārttikādī* year.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Mandapadurga, from where the king's order was issued, is Mandogari (Māndū), a deserted town in the Dhâr State, in Long 75° 23' and Lat 22° 21' (Constable's *Hand Atlas*, Plate 27, B d). From the same place was issued the order in the Piplîanagar plates of king Arjunavarman¹. On Mahuada, see above, p. 106. Vadauda perhaps is the village of 'Burud' which according to the *Indian Atlas* is about three miles north-east of 'Satajana,' the village granted by the inscription A. I have already pointed out that *Mahuada-pathakā* of this inscription is equivalent to *Mahuada-pratyāgarānakā* of the inscription A, and I may state that a (or the ?) village of Vadauda is mentioned also in the plate of the Paramâras Yaśôvarman and Lakshmîvarman, in *Ind Ant* Vol. XIX. p. 352, ll. 5 and 13. Amarêśvara-kshêtra is the Amarêśvara-îrîtha from which the grant of Arjunavarman in *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol. VII p. 27 was issued, and the Amarêśvara mentioned in the plates of Jayasîmha, above, Vol. III p. 47, is near the island of Māndhātā, on the southern bank of the river Narmadâ. The grant in *Journ Am Or Soc* quoted just now also mentions the confluence of the Rêvâ and Kapilâ, which is now called 'Kapila Sangam, where a small stream joins the Narmadâ'.² Of the places of origin of the donees, Takâri-sthâna is one of the places mentioned in A, Navagâmvasthâna may be the town of Nawegâon in the Chândâ district, mentioned in the *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 370, but there is at least one other place of the same name in the Central Provinces, Ghatâushari-sthâna I am unable to identify.

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 || Ōm namah puruṣârtha-chûdâmanayê dharmâyâ ||⁴ Prativimva-⁵nibhâd=bhûmêḥ
krityâ sâkṣhî-pratigraham | jagad-â-
- 2 hlâdayan-diśyâ[d*]=divyêmdrô⁶ mangalâni vah || 1 ||[*] Jiyât=Paraśurâmô=san
kshatrah kshannam ran-âhatah |⁷ samdhyâkka-vimvam=⁸â-
- 3 v=ôrvvi-dâtur=yasy=auti tāmratām || 2 ||[*] Yēna Mamôdarivashpa-vārbhuh
samtô mridhê [*] piânêsvari-viyôgâgnih sa
- 4 Râmah sîryasê sstu vah || 3 ||[*] Bhimên=âpi dhritâ mârddhni
yat-pâdâh sa Yudhishthirah | vams-âdyên=êmdunâ jiyât=sva-tulya 1-
- 5 va nirmamta || 4 ||[*] Paramârakul-ôttamsah Kamsajun-mahimâ nripah |
ât-Bhôjadêva ity=âstn=nâsîrakrânta-bhûtalah⁹
- 6 || 5 ||[*] Yad-yasâśchamdrak-ôdyô¹⁰ dhutsamga-taramgitê | dvishamripa-
yasahpunjapumdarîkair-nunmîltam || 6 ||[*] Tatô sbbûd=U-
- 7 dayâdityô nityôtsâh-âikakantukî | asâdhârana-vîrâsîr=asrî-hêtur=vvirôdhinâm ||
7 ||[*] Mahâkâla=kalpâ-

¹ See *Journ As Soc Beng* Vol. V p. 379 — The town is called *Mandapapura* in line 16 of the *Dêgah* inscription published *ibid* Vol. LII P. I p. 70.

² See *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 258.

³ Metre of verses 1-21. Ślôka (Anushtubh).

⁴ After *drô* another vertical stroke was engraved, but has been struck out.

⁵ Thus sign of punctuation was originally omitted.

⁶ Read *prativimva*.

⁷ In the place of *ta* originally *la* was engraved.

⁸ Read *vimdram*.

⁹ Read *ôdyô* — Between the *aksharas ta* and *śham* a vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out.

10. **8** ntē yasy-ōddāmbhīr-āśugaiḥ | kati n-ōnmūlitās-tuṃgā bhūbhritah katak-ōlvanāḥ
 [(11) 8 [11*] Tasmāch=chhūna-dvishanmarmmā Narava-
9 rmmā narādhīpaḥ | dharm-ābhyuddharanē dhīmān=abhūt-simā mahābhujām ||
 9 [11*] Prati-prabhātām viprēbhyō dattair-grāma-padaḥ svaya-
10 m | anēkapadatām ninyē dharmmō yēn=aika-pād=apī || 10 [11*] Tasy-ājanī
 Yaśōvarmmā putrah kshatriya-sēkharah | tasmād=Ajaya-
1 rmm-ābhūj=jayaśrī-vīrutah sūtah || 11 [11*] Tat-sūnur=vvīra-mūrdhanyō
 dhany-ōtpatir-ajāyata | Gūrjjarōchōhēda-nrvvamdhī¹ Vimdhayavarmmā
 mah[ā]-
2 bhujah || 12 [11*] Dhāray-ōddhritayā sārddham dadhātu sma tridhātām |
 sāmyuginasya yasy-āsīs-trātum lōka-trayīm=iva || 13 [11*] Tasy-ā-
3 mshyāyanah putrah Sutrāma-śrīr=ath-āśīshat | bhūpah Subhāṭavarm-ēti
 dharmmē tishthan-mahī-talam || 14 [11*] Yasya jvalati da(di)g-jē-
4 tuh pratāpas=tapana-dyutēh | dāvāgnī-chchhadmā(dma)n-ādy-āpī | garjjad-
 Gūrjjarā-pattanē || 15 [11*] Dēva-bhūyam gatē tasmin-namdanō-rjuna-
 bhūpati[h*]
5 | dōshnā dhattē sḍhunā dhātrī-²valayam valayam yathā || 16 [11*]
 Vā(bā)lālī-āhavē yasya Jaitrasimhē³ palāyitē | dīkpalāhā-
6 sa-vyājēna yaśō dīkshu vjrimbhitam || 17 [11*] Kāvya-gāmdharvva-sarvvasva-
 midhmā yēna sāmpratam | bhār-āvataranam dēvyāś=chakrē
7 pustaka-vīnāyōh⁴ || 18 [11*] Yēna trividha-vīrēna tridhā pallavitam yaśah |
 dhavalatvam dadhūs-trim jagamū katham-anyathā ||
8 19 [11*] Ath-ārthunam=apunyēna punyēna svarga-subhruvām | sō sḍbhuta-
 tyāgasilās=cha śrīmgārī cha divam gatah
9 || 20 [11*] Tatah Pramāra-chamdrasya Harīschamdrasya namdanah ||(1)
 prasāst⁵ Mālava-kshōṇīm Dēvapālāh pratāpavā-

Second Plate, First Side

- 20** n || 21 [11*] ⁶Tasmūn=Amdra-padam mud-āśritavati śrī-Dēvapālē⁷ nripē
 tat-sūnur=dvishad-amtakō nija-gunair-lōkā-
21 n=sadā ramyaan | dhīmān(ū)=Jaitugidēva ēsha nripatih śrī-Mālav-ākhamdalāḥ
 śāsti kshōṇīm=imām-udāra-cha-
22 ritaiḥ svair-Vā(bā)lanāśāyanah || 22 [11*] Bhuktvā⁸ rājya-sukham tasmin=
 prāptē tridāsa-mamdrām | śāsti tasy-ānujah kshōṇīm Jaya-
23 varmmā janādhīpaḥ || 23 [11*] Sa ēsha nara-nāyakah sarv-ābhyudayī ||⁹
 Mahuāda-pathakē Vadauda-grāmē samasta-rājapurushān-vrā(brā)-
24 hman-ōttarān-pratimvās-pattakila-janapad-ādīm=cha vō(bō)dhayaty=astu vah
 samviditam yathā ||¹⁰ śrīman-Māndapadurgga-sthitair=a-
25 smābhīh septadaśādika-trayōdaśasa(śa)ta-sainvatsarē ||¹¹ samsārasy-āśaratām
 dīshṭvā || tathā hu || ¹²Vātābhra-vibhramam=idam vasu-
26 dh-ādhipatyam-āpātāmātra-madhurō viśhay-ōpabhōgaḥ | prānās=trīnāgrajalavimdu-samā
 narānām dharmmah sakhā param=ahō

¹ Read *nirbhāmadī*² Originally *dhātrī* was engraved.³ In A and in the three grants of Arjunavarman the name is *Jayasimhā*⁴ In the place of *et* originally *et* was engraved.⁵ Instead of this word A has *ravaksha*⁶ Metre Śārdūlavikrīṭa⁷ The *akshara* *pa* of this word seems to be corrected out of *id* which was originally engraved.⁸ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh).⁹ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.¹⁰ Metre Vasanttilakā.

- 27 paralōka-yānē [||*] ita sarvvaṃ vimrśya dāpan-ādmṣṭaphalam=amgikṛitya¹
 prati² śrī-Gāṃgadēva-pārśvat³ Vadauda-grāmō-yam
 28 tribhṃ vrā(brā)hmanēbhṃ dāpitaḥ | Tēna cha prati² śrī-Gāṃgadēvēna
 sammat⁴ 1317 Āgrahana-śukla-tritīyāyām tithau
 29 Ravi-vāsarē Pūrvvāśādhā-nakṣatrē Śīla-nāmnī yōgē śrīmad-Amarēśvara-
 kṣhētrē Rēvāyā dakṣhinē kūlā Rēvā-Kapilā-
 30 sangamē snātā bhagavāntam chaśāhara-gurum śrīmad-Amarēśvara⁵
 dēvam pañch-opachārah samabhyarchya ||¹ jīvitam vidyuch-chaṃchalam
 jīātā
 31 Navagāmvasthāna-vinrgatāya Bhārgava-sagōthāya Bhārgava-Chyāvana-⁷ Āpnāna
 Aurva-Jāmadagny-ēti pañcha-pravarāya Mādhyam-
 32 dīnāśākh-ādhyāyīnē dvī⁸ Veda-pautṛāyā⁹ pā¹⁰ Harisarmma-putrāya agnī¹¹
 Mādhasarmmanan vrā(brā)hmanāya padāni chatvāri
 33 4 Takāristhāna-vinrgatāya Gautama-sagōtrāya Gautam-Āngirasa-Añchatthy ēti
 tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanāśākh-ādhyā-
 34 yīnē dvī⁸ Lāshū-pautṛāya dvī⁸ Līmadēva-putrāya cha¹² Janārjanasarmma¹³
 vrā(brā)hmanāya padam-ēkam 1 Ghatāusharisthā-
 35 na-vinrgatāya Bhīradvāja-sagōtrāya Āngirasa-Vā(bā)raspatya-Bhāradvāj ēti
 tri-pravarāya Mādhyamdināśākh-ādhyāyīnē
 36 dvī¹⁴ Kēkū-pautṛāya dvī⁸ Divakara-putrāya dvī⁸ Dhāmadēvasarmmanan
 vrā(brā)hmanāya padam-ēkam 1 ēvam-ēbhyaḥ-¹⁵ tribhṃ
 37 vrā(brā)hmanēbhyaḥ shatbhīr-¹⁶ vāmtakair-Vadauda-grāmō-yam samastō-pi
 chatuhkankata-¹⁷ viśuddhāh sa-vrikṣamālākulāh sa-hiraṇyabhā-
 38 gchbhōgaḥ s-ōparīkaraḥ sarvvdāya-samētāh sa-nidhē(dh)ukṣhēpō mātāpitṛ-
 ātmanas=cha pūnyayasōsbhividdhāyē
 39 chaṃdrārkkārṇava[kṣh]it-samakālam yāvat-parayā bhaktiā dēvavrā(brā)hmaṇa
 bhukta-varjyam śāsanēn-ōdaka-pū-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 40 rva[m] pradattāḥ || tan=matvā tannivāsa-pattakūjanapadair-yathādīyamāna
 bhāgabhōgakarahiraṇyādīkam-ājñā-vīdhē-
 41 yair-bhūtvā sarvva-ētēbhyaḥ samupanātavyam¹⁸ | sāmānyam ch=atad=dharm-
 phalam vu(bu)ddhy-āsmadvamśajair-anvair=api bhāḥ-¹⁹ bhīr-²⁰
 42 smatpiadāpita-dharmm idāyō¹⁹ syam=anvantaavyah pālāniya=cha || Uktam
²⁰Va(ba)hubhīr=vasudhā bhuktā rājabbhī Sugar-ādī-
 43 bhīh | yasā yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam [||*] Sva-dattām
 para-dattām vā yō hareta vasumdharām

¹ These signs of punctuation are superfluous

² I.e., here and below, *prathidra*.

³ Read -*pārśvat*-

⁴ Originally *sammāt* seems to have been engraved. Read *samvat*

⁵ Read *Āgrahayana*

⁶ The *ākṣhara* *rē* of this word in the engraving is really *rara*

⁷ Read *Chyavana*-, this correction may have been made already in the original.—Here and in some places below the rules of *samāh* have not been observed.

⁸ I.e., here and below, *dvīdēda*

¹⁰ I.e. *pāthaka*-

¹¹ I.e. *chaturvēda*-

I.e., here and below, *dīkṣhita*-

¹⁴ Read *śādhīr*-

¹⁵ Originally *śāntavyam* was engraved.

²⁰ Metro of this and the next two verses *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh)

⁹ Originally *-śaṇtrāya* was engraved.

¹¹ I.e. *agnīśtrē*-

¹² Read *Jandardana*°.

¹³ Read *-śhīya*-

¹⁴ Read *chatuṣkṣhāṇḍa*-

¹⁵ Compare above, p. 112, note 16.

The inscription is an eulogy of the *Nāyaka* *Vāsudēva*, the minister of king *Bhānudēva* of *Kākāira*.¹ It states that he constructed two temples of *Mahādēva*, and another in honour of the local deity of the fields, besides a building with a gateway, and excavated two tanks. It is dated in the [Śaka] year 1242 bearing the name *Haudra*, on the 5th *trīth* of the dark fortnight of *Jyāishṭha*, corresponding to (Tuesday), the 27th May A.D. 1320. Unfortunately the week-day is not mentioned, and hence the date does not admit of verification. It is also possible that it may have been Wednesday, the 28th May, as there was a repetition of the Hindū date *pañchamī* in that fortnight and month. The record gives the genealogy of the minister for four generations, and that of his sovereign for seven generations. It is stated that *Vāsudēva*'s ancestors were elephant-catchers (P). Though in the *Kanker State* wild elephants are not now found, they are still to be met with in the division in which it is included.² The most important part of the inscription is that which gives the genealogy of the *Kākāira* chiefs, mentioning in order the following — *Simharāj*, *Vyāghra*, *Vōpadēva*, *Kṛishṇa*, *Jaitarāja*, *Sōmachandra* and *Bhānudēva*. The dynasty is stated to be lunar, and the want of any epithet indicating paramount sovereignty postulates a subordination to another power. The epithets applied to them — *avanīśa* (l. 1), *nṛpa* (ll 2 and 5), *dharanīdhara* (l. 6), *bhūpāla* (l. 7) and *nṛpati* (ll 10 and 13), are all synonyms of the word 'king'. In two copper-plate grants of *Pamparājādēva* found in the *Kanker State*³ the king is styled *Sōmavamānāvayaprasūta-mahāmanḍalika* (feudatory chief of the lunar race), which supports the above statement. The present *Rāj* family of *Kanker* is doubtless connected with these kings. It belongs to the lunar race and has always claimed to be a very ancient family.⁴ According to its own traditions it claims to have come from *Orissa*. Its original ancestor was ruling at *Jagannātha-purī*, but, on suddenly becoming a leper, in which state he could no longer occupy the throne, left the place and went out in search of a cure. At *Siḥāwā*, close to *Kanker* and now in the *Dhamtarī tahsil* of the *Raipur district*, a spring was found, by bathing in which he got rid of the loathsome disease. The local people⁵ persuaded him to stay on at *Siḥāwā* and installed him king, and he and his descendants continued to rule there. There can be little doubt that *Siḥāwā* was once the capital of this dynasty, as its ruins and temples testify. There is still an inscription there, which is dated in the Śaka year 1114. The capital was finally removed to *Kanker*. This must have been done prior to *Bhānudēva*'s times. For in line 12 we read *Kākāirē nṛpa-Bhānudēva nagarē* (in *Kākāira*, the town or capital of king *Bhānudēva*), and in lines 3 to 5 *Kākāirē . . . śrī-Jaitarājō-bhavat* (there was the illustrious *Jaitarāja* in *Kākāira*). Thus *Jaitarāja* was the grandfather of *Bhānudēva*. Thus *Kākāira* has been the capital of the State for over 600 years. *Kanker* once included the rich *Dhamtarī tahsil* of the *Raipur*

¹ This is really the correct name of the town and State, but it is now officially written as *Kanker*. In General Cunningham's *Report* for 1873-74 it is spelt as *Kākēr*, showing that the nasal had not been till then inserted. The local people at present still call it *Kākār*.

² The Central Provinces, called *Gondwānā* by the *Musalmanā*, were so infested by these animals that even revenue was levied in elephants. Even places like *Jabalpur*, which were and are far less jungly than *Kanker*, had their quota of wild elephants. See *Jarrett's Ain-i-Akḥars*, Vol II p. 196, where the following occurs — "Garha (2 miles from *Jabalpur*) is a separate State abounding with forests in which are numerous wild elephants. The cultivators pay the revenue in muburs and elephants." About a dozen years ago 40 elephants were captured in *Barrākhōl*, a State now transferred to *Bengal*, and I had once an occasion of riding one of them.

³ These have not yet been published and are at present in my possession.

⁴ *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1870, p. 236.

⁵ It is said that the installation of the *Kanker* chief is up to this day confirmed by the *Halbās* by anointing the *Rājā* before the shrine of *Maulidēvī*. The *Halbās* are an aboriginal tribe mostly living in that State and the adjoining tracts. These *Halbās* claim to have come from *Orissa* along with the leper king and are still the chief domestics of the *Kanker* chief. They speak a dialect which is a curious mixture of *Oriyā*, *Chhattisgarhī* (a form of Eastern Hindi) and *Marāṭhī*, see Dr *Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VII p. 381.

district, but is now limited to an area of 1,429 square miles lying between 20° 6' and 20° 34' N and 80° 41' and 81° 40' E

As regards the buildings and tanks mentioned in the inscription, there can be no doubt that the two tanks are identical with the present Diwān and Śitalā talāos, between which the ruins of the temples may still be seen. It is very probable that the Śitalā talāo—a name which gained currency since a hut dedicated to the goddess Śitalā was constructed on its bank—is the Kaudika-bandha of the inscription, the unnamed tank being called Diwān talāo or 'minister's tank,' thus keeping up the memory of its original constructor, who by calling it a *taḍāga* apparently distinguished it from the *bandha*, i.e. the tank formed by merely damming up a stream. The very name Kandika-bandha indicates its secondary importance. In the first place it was merely a *bandha* (dam), and secondly it was probably constructed by the payment of *kaudikas*,¹ a Sanskritised form of *kaudīs* (cowries) or shells, a currency of the lowest value.

The temples and buildings have all fallen or been pulled down, and from the materials a fresh temple was constructed by the predecessor of the present chief. The old temples were seen by Mr Fisher, who was Deputy Commissioner of the Raipur district (to which Kanker was formerly attached) about 1873 A.D., and he alludes to them in his private Journal² thus:—"Saw some very curious old temples to the west of the village, one has a *bijak* giving, as I was told, some particulars of its history. They are very old and utterly neglected now." This *bijak* was seen on the gate of the Mahādēva temple about the year 1825 as recorded in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV p. 505, where its date is also stated, which is the same as that of our inscription in all details. A noteworthy point in our inscription is the mention of the construction of a *puratōbbhadra* with a *pratōli*, about which latter Dr Vogel has written an article in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, July 1906, p. 539. He has proved that *pratōli* really meant a gate-way, evidently strongly built and of considerable height. It was sometimes provided with a flight of steps³. I have not been able to find *puratōbbhadra* in the *Kōṭas* to which I have access, but *sarvatōbbhadra* is described as a kind of house with 4 doors facing the 4 quarters⁴. From this I infer that a *puratōbbhadra* was a building with only one door in front. And the Kākara *puratōbbhadra* was actually furnished with a gate-way (*pratōli*).

¹ In this part of the country a good deal of transactions were done in cowries (shells, Sanskrit *kapaḍikā*), which are still used as currency by the poor people. It must not however be supposed that there were no coins here. In the copper-plates of Pamparajadēva alluded to before, the coin *tanka* of local mint finds a mention. It is still a practice in some places to get work done, chiefly digging and throwing of earth, by what is called *kaudhas*, a mode of piecework payment, 2 or 4 cowries or more according to the labour involved being paid for each basket of earth thrown out. A man with cowries stands at a place where the earth is to be thrown, and as each labourer turns up and throws down the earth, he receives immediately the fixed number of cowries each time. This mode of labour automatically punishes the idlers and saves a good deal of supervision and account-keeping where a large number of labourers are engaged simultaneously on such a work.

² Quoted in Cunningham's *Archaeological Reports*, Vol. VII p. 147.

³ Dr Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 43.

⁴ The idea seems to have been taken from a *sarvatōbbhadra* village, which is described in the *Mānasastra*, a book of the highest authority on Hindu architecture, as "a town or village of quadrangular form, containing in the middle a temple dedicated to one of the triad, Brahmā, Vishnu or Mahādeva. It has 4 streets of equal length on the 4 sides at right angles, and 2 more crossing each other in the middle. Between these may be formed 3, 4, 5, or as many more streets as the extent of the village will admit, on each side, parallel to the middlemost street. Without the walls should be placed the shrines of the deities who preside over and defend the several quarters of the village, at the angular points should be erected halls, poricoes, colleges and other public edifices, and towards the quarter of Agni (south east) a watershed for the accommodation of travellers and passengers. The whole village should be secured by a quadrangular wall and a ditch around it, with 4 large and as many small gates in the middle of the sides and at the angular points. Without the northern gate should be erected a temple for the worship of Mahākālī, and the huts of Chandālas or outcasts should be a *krōṣa* distant from the village. A tank or reservoir should be constructed either on the south or north side or near either of these 2 points for ablutionary and culinary purposes"—See Ram Raz's *Architecture of the Hindus*, 1834, p. 43.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री सिद्धिः ॥ आशीहंश¹ हिमांसोर्महितगुणगणस्त्रिंहराडैरिंसिंहस्तस्माद्द्वारात्रा
नीशोभव-
- 2 दतुलयशा तेजसापास्तशूर्यः² ॥ जज्ञे सोपि स्ववीर्योचितनृपतिस्तत्र³ बोपदे
स चैवं कथ्या-⁴
- 3 ख्यं वैरिराजव्रजदलनपर विक्रमाक्रांतविस्⁵ ॥१॥ काकैरेवनिपालमौलिसुनु
प्रोद्धा-
- 4 'सिहीराङ्गुरज्योतिद्योतितपादपंकजनखज्योतिस्त्रकाशा' भुवि ॥ संयामांगणवी-
विक्र-
- 5 मगुणः श्रीजैतराजोभवत्तस्मादङ्गुतसप्रतापमहसः श्रीसीमचन्द्री नृपः ॥१॥
तस्मात्स्त्री-⁶
- 6 गुणसागरादभिनवस्सर्वांगवेधोज्ज्वलः⁷ श्रीभानुर्हरणीधरः क्षितितले⁸ लब्धप्रतिष्ठो-
दयः[. ॥*]
- 7 जागेर्त्ति¹¹ प्रतिपक्षपक्षदलनो भूपालचूडामणिर्यस्मिन्शाश्रति¹² लोक एष सुकतो
जागर्त्ति श-¹³
- 8 हासनः ॥३॥ देशः¹⁴ पुण्यनिरीतिशास्त्रतधनस्यलक्ष्मीनिष्ठा द्विजाः खेष्टापूर्-
पराः प्रजाष्कि-¹⁵
- 9 मपरं पौराः पर धार्मिकाः [॥*] सभ्याः¹⁶ शास्त्रविचारघौतमनसो धर्मात्-
तारे कलौ राख्यं शास-
- 10 ति भागुदेवनृपतौ किं किं न लोकीत्तरं ॥४॥ वंश नागदलीपजीव-
जनस्तीतेभयना-
- 11 यकः श्रीदामोदरसुनुवृज्वलयशा¹⁷ पौ[लू]प्रजानायकः ॥ ख्यातस्तत्तनय-
स्वभावसर-
- 12 लो भोमाभिधस्तत्सुतो काकैरे नृपभागुदेवनगरे¹⁸ श्रीबासुदेवोभवत् ॥५॥
स्वभोयं [न]-
- 13 गरस्य जातिजनतान्धप्रभानायको¹⁹ विख्यातष्कि²⁰ भानुदेवनृपतेः²¹ पादांशुना-
राधकः [॥*]

¹ Read आशीहंशे हिमांशो² Read कथाप्य³ Read 'ज्योतिःप्रकाशी⁴ Read लब्ध⁵ Read सरासनः⁶ The original has *idra*.⁷ Read 'नय'.⁸ Read 'शूर्य'.⁹ Read 'स्नानविद्वत्'.¹⁰ Read तस्माच्छ्री¹¹ Read जागर्त्ति¹² Read 'शाश्रत'¹³ Read 'वृज्वल'¹⁴ Read विख्यातः किञ्च भानुदेव¹⁵ Read बोप¹⁶ Read 'ज्योतिर्घोषित'¹⁷ Read 'वीज्वल'¹⁸ Read 'किञ्च शासति¹⁹ Read प्रजाः किं²⁰ Read श्रीबासु²¹ Read पादांशुना

- 14 स्यामांगणसादिवर्गपुरतः ख्यातप्रभावो 'महाजगत्पद्मविक्रमो धृतिधरः
श्रीवा-³
- 15 सुदेवो भुवि ॥६॥ देवशीशसिभूषणस्य⁴ कतिना देवालयं कारितं युगं
मंडपशोभितं च
- 16 पुरतोमद्रं प्रतोत्वा सह । क्षेत्रेशस्य तथा सुखलयवरं स्मीतं [त*]-
डागं तथा बधं कौडिकसंज्ञकं
- 17 बहुजलं दीर्घं तथा खानितं ॥७॥ 'हृष्टापूर्तपरस्याशीश्वलीत्तिशसि-
चट्टिका⁵ [†*] वासुदे-
- 18 वस्य विस्फारा स्थिताचन्द्रार्कतारकं ॥८॥ संवत् १२४२ रौद्रसंवत्सरे ।
ज्येष्ठ⁶ वदि
- 19 पंचम्यां । 'प्रसस्तिस्मारोपिता नायकवासुदेवेन ॥ लिखिता 'सत्तिकुमा-
रेण ॥ शिव ॥ [†*]

TRANSLATION.

Oh Success! (Verse 1) In the race of the Moon there was (born) *Simbarāḥ*, a (very) lion to enemies, (and) praised as possessing numerous virtues From him was born king *Vyāghra*, of unequalled fame, who outshone the sun by his splendour He also begot an ornament of kings befitting his own manliness *Vōpadēva*; and the latter, likewise, (had a son) named *Kṛ[ishna]*, who was given to destroying crowds of hostile kings, (and) who dominated the universe by (his) valour

(V 2) (Then) there was in *Kākaira* the illustrious *Jaitarāja*, the lustre of the nails of whose lotus-feet was rendered (still more) brilliant by the light emanating from the shining diamonds in the diadems on the heads of kings (prostrating themselves before him) to the ground, (and) who had the merit of conquering heroes on the battle-field From him who owned the glory of wonderful great valour (was born) the illustrious king *Sōmachandra*.

(V 3) From him, the glorious ocean of virtues, (was born) a young king the illustrious *Bhānu*, who was brilliant by (his) whole body and apparel, who acquired honour and prosperity, the destroyer of the party of opponents, a crest-jewel of kings (He) is (now) protecting the earth. While he is ruling, the people are (all) virtuous (and) well-intentioned

(V 4) The country is replete with permanent wealth and virtue and is devoid of (all) calamities, the twice-born are devoted to good actions, the subjects are intent on performing sacrifices and doing charitable acts What more? The citizens are very virtuous (and) refined, (and) their minds are purified by the study of the *Śāstras* What wonder does not (happen) in (this) iron age, while king *Bhānudeva*, the incarnation of virtue, is ruling the kingdom?

(V 5.) In a family which abounded in men subsisting on (catching?) groups of elephants there was the *Nāyaka Pō[ṭu]*, of brilliant fame, a leader of men, the son of the illustrious *Dāmōdara*. His famous, straightforward son was called *Bhīma*. His son was the illustrious *Vāsudeva*, (who resided) in *Kākaira*, the town of king *Bhānudeva*.

¹ Read महाशक्ति°.⁴ Read हृष्टा°.⁶ Read ज्येष्ठ.² Read श्रीवा°.⁵ °खासील° and °शक्ति°.⁷ Read प्रशक्ति°.³ Read °शक्ति°.⁸ Read शक्ति°.

(V 6) This illustrious **Vāsudēva**, the pillar of the city, the chief gem (*śhring*) with priceless splendour amongst (*his*) caste fellows, famous, devoted to the lotus-feet of king **Bhānudēva**, known to be very valorous before the array of knights on the battle-field, great, of wonderful power (*and*) patience, is (*now*) administering the country.

(V 7) (*This*) clever (*minister*) caused to be built two temples of the god whose ornament is the moon (*viz* **Mahādēva**), together with halls, a *puratōbhadrā* with a gate-way, and an excellent temple (*dedicated*) to the guardian deity of the fields. Moreover (*he*) caused to be dug a large pond (*taḍāga*) and a long tank (*bandha*) called **Kauḍika**, which contained a great quantity of water.

(V 8) The moon-light of the true fame of **Vāsudēva**, devoted to sacrifices and charitable works, has expanded (*and*) become established so long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure.

(Line 18.) **Samvat 1242**, in the **Raudra** year, on the 5th (*tiṭha*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of **Jyāishtha**, (*this*) *prastā* was erected by the *Nāyaka* **Vāsudēva**. Written by Śākhi kumāra. Hail!

POSTSCRIPT.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C I E, GÖTTINGEN

Prof Hultzsch has asked me to express an opinion on the date of the stone inscription published above, of which he has sent me an impression. He also, at the instance of Mr Hira Lal, has requested me to give my readings of, and, if possible, to verify, the dates of two copper-plate inscriptions of the **Kākāira (Kanker)** chief **Pamparājadēva**, which are about to be published by Mr Hira Lal, and of which impressions have been forwarded by him.

The date of the stone inscription clearly is, as given by Mr Hira Lal *Samvat 1242 Raudra samvatsarē | Jyēṣṭha-vadī pañchamyaām |*. It does not admit of exact verification, and the only question concerning it is, to which era the year 1242 should be referred so that the date may fall in a *Raudra-samvatsara*. A priori the expression *samvat 1242* would be taken here to denote the **Vikrama** year 1242; but there is no **Vikrama** year 1242 that could be called a **Raudra** year. Nearest to V 1242, **Raudra**, by the southern system, would be the expired *Chaitraś* **Vikrama** year 1257, and by the northern mean-sign system it would indicate the time from the 13th November A.D. 1195 to the 8th November A.D. 1196, in the expired *Chaitraś*, or *Kārttikāś* **Vikrama** years 1252 and 1253. If the year of the date were 1252 instead of 1242, it might be taken to be the expired *Kārttikāś* **Vikrama** year 1252, in which case the 5th of the dark half of **Jyāishtha** would undoubtedly fall in a **Raudra** year, but there is nothing to prove that the writer erroneously put 1242 instead of 1252.

Assuming, then, the figures for the year and the Jupiter's year to have been correctly given, it would only remain to take the expression *samvat 1242*, as has been done by Mr Hira Lal, to denote the expired **Śaka** year 1242, which by the southern system was a **Raudra** year. But here we are at once met by a difficulty. In my paper on the dates of the **Śaka** era in inscriptions I have shown¹ that among 400 **Śaka** dates of inscriptions only five do not contain the word **Śaka** or *Śāka*, and that of even these five dates three are spurious or suspicious, while the two others are in verse. There is therefore every reason to assume that the writer of the inscription would have denoted the **Śaka** year 1242 by some such expression as *Śakē* 1242, not by *samvat* 1242. And there might be the further objection that in the Central Provinces, where the date comes from, the system of Jupiter's years ordinarily followed seems to have been the northern system, not the southern system by which alone the **Śaka** year 1242 can be described as a **Raudra** year.

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol XXVI p 149.

As the date cannot be verified, it would be useless to indulge in further speculations¹. To the wording of it seems certainly to be suspicious. And I can only say that, assuming the figures for the year to be correct and the date to be really a Śaka date, it would correspond to the *pūrnimānta* Jyāishtha, to Monday, the 28th April A.D. 1320, and for the *amānta* Jyāishtha, as stated by Mr. Hua Lal, to Tuesday, the 27th, or Wednesday, the 28th May,² A.D. 1320.

Of the two copper-plate inscriptions of Pamparāja, one is clearly dated as follows —

[L 7] Īśvara-

[L 8] samvatsarē Kārtika-misē Chitrā-rikshē Ravi-dinē suryōparāgē

[L 10] samvat 966 .

i.e. "in the Īśvara year, at an eclipse of the sun on a Sunday, in the *nakshatra* Chitrā in the month Kārttika, . . . in the year 966"

I have no doubt that the year 966 of this date must be referred to the Kalachuri era.

In *Festgruss an Roit*, p. 53 ff, I have tried to prove from the 12 dates between the years 958 and 958, which hitherto have been available, that the Kalachuri (Chēdi) era commenced on the 5th September A.D. 248, that the years were *Asvini* years and the months *pūrnimānta* months, and that therefore, to convert an expired Kalachuri year into an expired year of the Kalyuga, we must add 3349 when the date falls in the bright half of Āśvina or in any month from Kārttika to Phālguna, and 3350 in all other cases. Applying this here, we find that date, for the *pūrnimānta* Kārttika of the expired Kalachuri year 966 = Kalyuga expired 66 + 3349 = 4315, regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, when the 15th of the dark half ended 3 h. 33 m., and when the *nakshatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Gaiga for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise. On the same day there was a total eclipse of the sun, the greatest phase of which at Kanker (in about Long 82° and Lat 0°) was four digits³.

It will, I think, be generally admitted that Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, undoubtedly is the proper equivalent of our date, but, in connection with this date, the writer apparently has wrongly quoted the year Īśvara instead of the immediately following year Bahudhānya. By the northern mean-sun system Īśvara lasted from the 2nd September A.D. 212 to the 29th August A.D. 1213. By the northern luni-solar system therefore Īśvara was the proper name of Kalyuga 4314 expired, and not of the year of our date, viz. Kalyuga 4315 expired, which according to the northern luni-solar system, as already intimated, would have received the name Bahudhānya. For the present, I can ascribe the error only to the writer's carelessness, but the error is of such a nature that it confirms rather than invalidates our general result⁴.

The date of the other copper plate of Pamparāja I read thus —

[L 9] | samvata | 965 Bhādiapadē vadī 1[0]

[L 10] Mriga-rikshē Sō[ma]-dinē |

Here everything is perfectly clear and certain in the impression excepting the number of the *va* and the second *nakshatra* of the name of the weekday. As regards the latter, it appears to

¹ If the year were 1244 (instead of 1242), it might be taken to be a Kalachuri year, in which case the date would have fallen in a Raudra year. I do not mean to suggest hereby that the inscription could be as early as a period (A.D. 1492-93).

² The 5th *tithi* commenced 1 h. 4 m. before mean sunrise of the Tuesday and ended 0 h. 30 m. after noon of the Wednesday.

³ Between A.D. 1201 and 1250 this is the only solar eclipse in the month Kārttika that could have been visible at Kanker.

⁴ Mr. Hira Lal quite lately has sent me for calculation a date from the Central Provinces, which undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A.D. 1005. According to the original date, this day should fall in the *Parabhava*, but by the northern luni-solar system it would fall in the year *Plavaṅga* which follows immediately upon *Parabhava*, and by the southern system in the year *Viśvānu* which immediately precedes *Parabhava*.

me evident that the engraver after the *akshara sô* in the first instance by mistake engraved the letter *d* (of *dina*), and that he then altered this *d* to *ma*. Under any circumstances there could be no doubt that the intended weekday is *Sôma-dina* or 'Monday'. Nor can there be any real doubt about the number of the *tithi*. The date clearly gives us the dark half of the month Bhâdrapada and during it the *nakshatra* Mriga (Mrigaśirsha). Now in the dark half the *nakshatra* will ordinarily be Mriga about the 8th *tithi* of the *amānta* and the 10th *tithi* of the *pûrnamānta* Bhâdrapada, and a careful examination of the impression shows that the word *vadi* is actually followed by 10, the 0 of which is engraved quite on the margin of the plate. I therefore take it that the date gives us for calculation "the year 965, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of (the *pûrnamānta*) Bhâdrapada, with the *nakshatra* Mriga and a Monday." And treating the year again as a Kalachuri year, I find the following equivalents. —

For the expired Kalachuri year 965 = Kalyuga expired 965 + 3350 = 4315 Saturday, the 2nd August A.D. 1214, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrnamānta* Bhâdrapada ended 18 h 25 m, and the *nakshatra* was Mriga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h 40 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 20 h 21 m, after mean sunrise

For the current Kalachuri year 965 = Kalyuga 4315 current Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrnamānta* Bhâdrapada commenced 7 h, and when the *nakshatra* was Mriga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h 46 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h 27 m, after mean sunrise

Of the two, I do not hesitate to accept Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, as the true equivalent of our date. That the *tithi* of the date was a current *tithi* can cause no difficulty. And the fact that Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years is proved by another date, in an inscription of which Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar some time ago has been good enough to send me a photograph. The inscription referred to is one at Seorinârāyan which the late Sir A. Cunningham had stated to be dated —

Kalachuri-samvatsarē || 898 || *Āsvina-sudi* 2 *Sôma-dinē*

According to the photograph the date really is —

Kalachuri-samvatsarē || 898 || *Āsvina-sudi* 7¹ *Sôma-dinē*, and with this reading the date regularly corresponds, for the current Kalachuri year 898, to Monday, the 24th September A.D. 1145, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Āsvina ended 20 h 57 m after mean sunrise

NO. 15 — NOTE ON THE TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

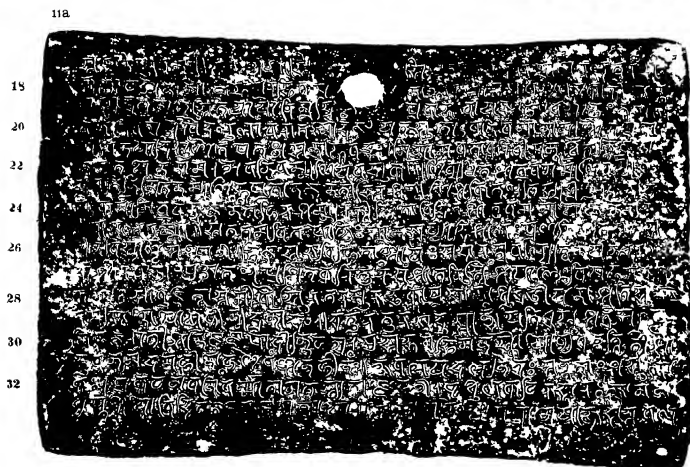
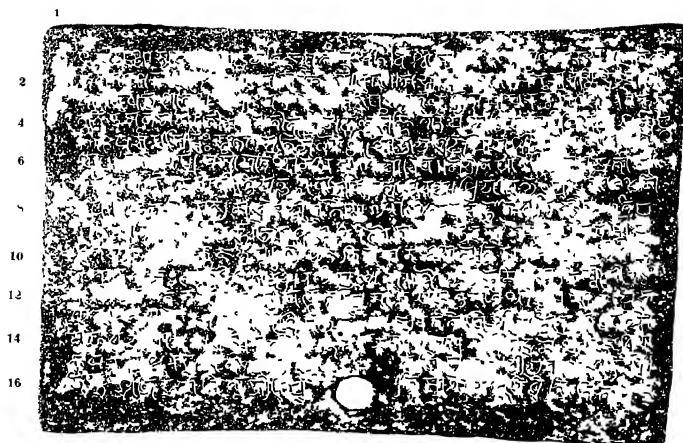
BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, CIE, GÖTTINGEN

While I was reading the final proof of my paper on the two copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj, published above p. 1 ff., I received from Prof. Hultsch excellent ink-impressions of the two inscriptions which had been supplied to him by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya. The impressions enabled me to make one or two slight corrections in my texts, but it was impossible to insert in my article Mr. Venkayya's description of the original plates, and to get ready in time the collotype facsimile of the second of the two inscriptions, the plates of Avanivarman II Yōga, which Prof. Hultsch had at once ordered to be prepared and which is now published herewith.

On the plates A., those of Balavarman, Mr. Venkayya writes as follows —

"The two plates are about 13" broad and about 9¹/₂" high, somewhat less in the middle. They are strung on an almost circular ring, 2³/₄" in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured below

¹ So the *tithi* was already given, correctly, in *As. Res.* Vol. XV p. 505



Scale 45

E Hultsch

Collotype by Gebr Plettner, Halle Saale

a circular seal, which is slightly damaged and measures nearly $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. It is about $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick, and bears in relief a squatting figure, perhaps representing a god, the right hand of which seems to be raised, as if to indicate the *abhaya-hasta*. Either plate near the top has a ring-hole which is about $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter."

On the plates B, those of Avaniyaman II Yōga, Mr Venkayya writes —

"The three plates are between $12\frac{1}{8}$ " and $12\frac{1}{2}$ " broad and between $8\frac{3}{4}$ " and 9" high. They are strung on an oval ring which measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". The ends of the ring are secured below a circular seal, which is slightly mutilated and measures nearly 2" in diameter. The seal bears in relief a squatting figure, similar to the one on the seal of the other plates. Each plate contains a ring-hole which is about $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter."

On the excellent facsimile published herewith I have to say only a few words. It will show that the inscription in some places is not very easy to read. As regards individual signs I would merely draw attention to the forms of the initial *v* and *ḍ*, *eg* in *iva*, l. 33, and *ḍam*-, l. 45, to the sign for *ry*, *e g* in *avayasya*, l. 11, to the final *t*, *eg* in *=bhāt*, l. 32, and to the numeral figures, especially that for '9', in line 68.

In my text of the inscription the word *śi-* has by an oversight been omitted before *Ta[ru]ṇḍ*, above, p. 10, l. 57.

No 16—VANDRAM PLATES OF AMMARAJA II

By PROFESSOR E. HULTSCH, PH.D., HALLE (SAALE)

These plates were found in the backyard of Buddharaju Venkataraju of Vandram, a village in the Bhimavaram taluka of the Kistna district, and were forwarded by the Head Assistant Collector of Narsapur through the Collector of Kistna to Rai Bahadur Venkayya, who sent me two sets of ink-impressions of them, with the following remarks —

"These are five copper-plates, measuring $7\frac{1}{4}$ " in length and $3\frac{3}{8}$ " in height. They have high rims more than $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The ring on which the plates are strung was cut by me for the first time and soldered subsequently. It is oval, measures $3\frac{3}{8}$ " by $3\frac{1}{8}$ ", and is nearly $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The ends of the ring are secured in an expanded eight-petalled lotus at the bottom of a circular seal, which measures $2\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. The seal is much damaged, but bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvāṇakūṣa*, with a boar facing the proper left over it and a floral device below. The other symbols cut in the seal are not quite distinct. Traces of the sun over the boar, of the crescent of the moon behind his tail, and of an elephant goad in front of him are visible."

The first and last plates bear writing only on one side, and the three remaining plates on both sides. The plates are in a bad state of preservation. Of plate *a* a small portion is missing. Plate *u b* is a palimpsest, and part of its writing is effaced. The two first lines of plate *u b* and some letters of the two last lines of plate *iv a* are damaged by corrosion. Of plate *iv b* the two first lines and part of the third are in a still worse condition. On the last plate (*v*) some letters are more or less doubtful.

After the MS. of this article had gone to the press, I received from Mr Venkayya the original copper-plates, with the help of which I was able to improve my readings of several indistinct words.

The alphabet is ancient Telugu of the usual type. I would only draw attention to the peculiar form of the secondary *ḍ* in *-mūrttar*-, l. 18, and *samāhāya*, l. 36 f. The language is Sanskrit, but the four first lines of the last plate contain some Telugu words. The Sanskrit portion consists of both prose and verses.

The inscription opens with the genealogy of Ammarāja (II) of the (Eastern) Chālukya (1 5) dynasty ll 1-17 are practically identical with ll 1-23 of the Elavaru grant of the same king¹ But Vikramāditya (I) receives the title *Yuvarāja* (1 13), and the name *Kollabiganda* is twice (1 14 and 17) spelt with *b*, not with *bh*

Ammarāja II is then praised in seven verses, all of which occur in his Padaṅkalūru grant,² where they are however differently arranged³ The two verses (5 and 6) recording the date of his coronation are also found in the Malyapūṇḍi grant⁴ It is a curious fact that the major portion of plate u b (consisting of verses 3-5 and nearly the whole of verse 6) of the Vandram plates is engraved over another grant of Ammarāja II, which seems to have been partially effaced by the writer, but of which distinct traces are still visible⁵ I subjoin a transcript of those lines of the original inscription on plate u, b which can still be made out

- 20 स समस्तभुवनत्रयश्रीविजयादित्यम्-
 21 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः परममहारकः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानुध्या-
 22 यो वेंगिसहस्राङ्कूटप्रसुखान् कुटुंबिनस्समाह्वयेयमात्ता-
 23 पयति [I*] विदितम् स वंशे वशिष्ठगोत्रो विद्वान् आ-

The poetical description of Amma's reign is followed by a prose passage (ll 30-37) which is worded in nearly the same manner as ll 30-36 of the Elavaru grant⁶ Ammarāja II, who is here styled '*Samastabhuvanāśraya*, the glorious *Vijayāditya* (VI) *Mahārājādhanāja-Paramāśraya Paramabhūṭāraka*, the very pious one, who meditates at the feet of (his) mother and father, thus commands, having called (them) together, the ryots, headed by the *Rāshtrakūṭas*, inhabiting the twelve villages (the chief one of which is) Prāṇḍoru in the Pāvunavāra district (*vishaya*)'

So far the text can be easily transcribed and understood But the remainder of the inscription cannot be deciphered in full, as a number of words in the damaged portions are doubtful or quite illegible Besides, the author of the long metrical passage describing the donee (ll 37-61) knew so little Sanskrit, or got his draft copied in such an imperfect way, that I am unable to propose satisfactory corrections even of some of the well-preserved portions of it The whole of this passage seems to be in verse Making allowance for the damaged and lost lines I number the verses as 8-23 Verse 8 praises the family (*gōtra*) named Mitrāyū. A descendant of it was Tūrkkaya-Peddiya⁷ (v 9), who lived in the large village Rāviparru (v 10), his son Vijayāditya (v 11) and his grandson Tūrkkaya Yajvan (v 12) The last had by Kandanāmbā a son named Kuppānāyya (v 14), who seems to have enjoyed the titles of minister (*amātya*, v. 15) and vassal (*śimanta*, v 16) He had the surname Vipānārā[yaṇa] (v 21) and founded a shrine of Śiva at Drākshārāma⁸

"To this Kuppān[ā]mātya, who is devoted to Me, the village named Tāṇḍeru has been given by Us, having made (it) an *Agrahāra*, to whom (the village) named [Beti]pūṇḍi (in the neighbourhood) of Prāṇḍoru⁹ in your district¹⁰ (*vishaya*), together with the share of gold,

¹ *Ind Ant* Vol. XII p 91 ff

² *Ibid* Vol VII p 15 ff

³ The verses of the Padaṅkalūru grant (ll 23-37) correspond to the following verses of the Vandram plates 1, 4, 3, 5, 6, 7, 2, and an additional verse is inserted between 1 and 4

⁴ Above, p 47 ff

⁵ Both sides of plate v. also exhibit traces of obliterated writing A grant of Bhūma I is a similar palimpsest, see Prof Kielhorn's remarks, above, Vol V p 127

⁶ In the latter the epithet *mātipitṛpāddanūdhyaṭa* (l. 35) is however missing

⁷ With Tūrkkaya compare the names Tūrkkaserman (above, Vol V p. 120, note 14) and Tūrkkama (*Ind Ant* Vol. XIII p 214, text l 49)

⁸ *Drākshārāmē kṛta-Śiva-nayabō*; v. 22 (l 58)

⁹ *Prāṇḍoru* is the Telugu genitive of *Prāṇḍoru* (l. 35)

¹⁰ *I.e.* in the Pāvunavāra *vishaya* of l. 35.

as given with exemption from all taxes, having made (it) an *Agrahāra*." I subjoin my reading of this passage, which is so peculiarly worded, that it remains doubtful whether the present grant refers to Tānderu or to Bēripūndi, or to both, and whether only the second or both of them belonged to the Pāṇḍava-vishaya.

61 तस्मै कुप्यन[¹*]म[¹]त्या[¹य]

62 मङ्गत्ताय¹ तान्²नासजासरायहारिखत्योन्नाभिदत्त³ । य[¹]स्य भव[¹]द्वि-

63 षये प्राप्नो⁴ति [विटि]पुण्डिनास मङ्ग[¹]टकभागसयद्वा[¹री*]खत्य सर्व[¹]कर-

64 पर⁵ दत्त इति विदितस्तु व[¹] ॥ अस्य (स) ग्रामस्यावधय[¹*] ॥

Of the subsequent description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll 64-67) I am unable to furnish a satisfactory manuscript. The remainder of the inscription (ll 67-72) is nearly identical with ll 57-60 of the Elavaru grant.¹ The last line (72) seems to read —

य(त) ते कृमिः ॥ [२५¹] आञ्जलिः कटकराजः [1*] मङ्गा[¹]काभट्टक[¹*]ज्य [1*]
जीन्ताचार्येण लिखितं ॥

Accordingly the *Ājñapti* was the *Katkarāja*⁶ the poet⁷ Mahā[kā?]bhatta, and the writer *antācharya*⁸

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, Drākshārāma is well-known,⁹ and the *Yunavāra vishaya* is probably the same as *Pāṇavara-vishaya* in a grant of Bhīma II.¹⁰ As villages Prāndoru, Bēripūndi, Tānderu and Rāvipāṇu I am unable to identify.

FIRST HALF OF THE TEXT 11

First Plate

- 1 ॐ खस्ति श्रीमतां सकलधुवनसख्यमानमानव्यमगोत्राणां हा-
- 2 रीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानां मातृगणपरिपालीतानां¹² स्वा-
- 3 मिमहासेनपादानुध्यायीनां¹³ भगवन्मारायप्रसादसमासादित-
- 4 वरवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षेत्रवशीकृतारतिमण्डलानाम-
- 5 ¹⁴यमेधावभूतस्नानपवित्रीकृतवपुषा चालुक्वानां कुलम-
- 6 लकरिणीः सत्य[¹*]ययवत्तमेन्द्र[¹*] भ्राता कुजविष्णुवर्धनोष्टाद-
- 7 श वर्ष[¹]णि वेगिदेशमपालयत् ॥ तत्पुत्री जयसिंहख्यस्त्रिशतं । त-
- 8 दनुजेन्द्रा[जनन्दनो] विष्णुवर्धनो नव । तत्पुत्रमर्गियुवराजः पञ्चवि-¹⁵
- 9 शति । तत्पुत्री जयसिंहख्योदश । तदवरजः कोकिलिः षष्मासान् ॥

¹ Read सङ्गताय

² Read °हारीकृत्याम्भिदत्त

³ Read परिहारिष

⁴ Instead of *tath-uktam Vyasaena*, ¹ 69 reads *tatha ch-uktam Vyasa-bhatti[ā*] akṣha(na)*

⁵ Read कटक

⁶ See above, p 49 f

⁷ I.e. the author of the verses describing the donee. In other grants of Ammarāja II Pōtanabhatta and dhavanabhatta are mentioned as 'poets'

⁸ The same person was the writer of the Elavaru and Padmakalūru grants

⁹ See e.g. above, Vol IV p 37, note 3

¹⁰ *Ind Ant* Vol. XIII p 213

¹¹ From two sets of ink impressions and the original copper plates

¹² Read °पालितानां.

°आयिनां

¹⁴ Read °सुध°.

¹⁵ The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line

Second Plate, First Side.

- 10 तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्धनस्तमुच्चाय सप्तत्रिंशत् । तत्पुत्रो विजया-
दित्यभट्टार-
- 11 कोष्ठादश । तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्धनः षट्त्रिंशत् । तत्पुत्रो विजयादित्यनरेन्द्र-
सुगराज-
- 12 षाष्टाचत्वारिंशत् । तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्धनोऽष्टादशवर्ष । तत्पुत्रो गुणगां-
कविजया-
- 13 दित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशत् । तदनुजयुवराजविक्रमादित्यभूतेः सप्तुच्चाय-
- 14 'क्यभिमम्पालस्त्रिंशत् । तत्पुत्रः कोलविगण्डविजयादित्यः षण्मासान् ।
तत्पुत्र-
- 15 म्भराजः सप्त वर्षाणि^१ । तत्पुत्रविजयादित्यं बालसुच्चाय तालपी मासमेकं [1*]
- 16 त जित्वा चालुक्यभोमतनयो विक्रमादित्य एकादश मासान् । ततस्ता-
लपराजस्य सुतो युद्ध-
- 17 * मल्लः सप्त वर्षाणि । तं जित्वा कोलविगण्डविजयादित्यसुतो भोमराजो
द्वादश वर्षाणि । तस्य म-
- 18 हे[त्र्य]रमूर्त्तैश्मासमानाकृतेः कुमारामः [1*] लोकमहादेव्याः सप्त यक्षम-
भवदम्भराज-

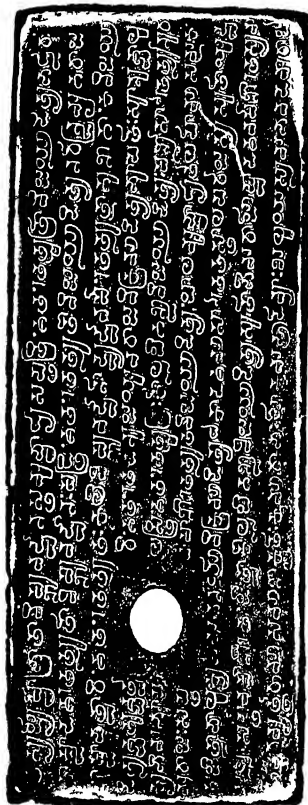
Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 ख्यः ॥ [१*] यो रूपेण मनोजं विभवेन महिन्द्रमहिम्नकरसुखमहसा
[1*] हरमरिपुरद-
- 20 हनेन न्यकुर्व(1)भाति विदितदिगवनिर्गतिः^२ ॥ [२*] कविशयककल्पतव-
हिसुनि-^३
- 21 दीनाश्वव्यजनसु(न)रभिः । याचकजनपित्तामणिरवनिश्चम-^४
- 22 निर्महोयमहसा युमणि[1*] ॥ [३*] विदितधराधिपविद्यो हि-
- 23 विधायुधकोविदो [विलीनारिक्तलः] । करितुरगागमकुम्भ-
- 24 लो हरचर मधुपः^५ श्रीमान् ॥ [४*] गिरिर-
- 25 खवसुसंख्यावे^६ सक[च] [श्री]र्वमासिन् [1*] कल्प-
चयो-
- 26 दशदिने भृगुवारे मैत्रनक्ष[त्रे] ॥ [५*] धनुषि रवौ सप्तमि श्राद-
- 27 [श]र्वे तु [जन्मनः] पष्ट । योधादुदयगिरिन्द्रो^७ कलि-
कोका-

^१ Read 'क्यभोम'.^२ Read 'वर्षाणि'.^३ Read 'कोर्ति' . From here to the end (1 27) this side of the plate is a palimpsest.^४ Read 'तत्रविज'.^५ Read 'रवनीशमणि'.^६ Read 'हरचर'.^७ Read 'यथा' शक्यमये मार्गशीर्षे.^८ Read 'कोका'.



11 a



E. Hultsch

Scale 8

Colotype by Gehr Platner, H. Hille-Saale

20
22
24
26

28
30
32
34
36

Third Plate, First Side

- 28 नृरागाय ॥ [६*] यस्मिन्¹ सासति नृपतौ परिपक्वानिकसस्यसं-²
 29 पञ्चालिः । सततपयोधेनुरभिर्णिरीतिरपरग्निरस्तचोरी
 30 देशः ॥ [७*] स सकलरिपुनृपतिमकुटतटघटितमणिगण-
 31 मधुकरनिकरपरिचुवितचरणसरसिरुहयुग-
 32 लोयु[ग*]लोचनपदकमलविलसद्विरफायमानो⁴ मा-
 33 नोन्नतोद्धतः⁵ समस्तलोकः समस्तभुवनाश्रयश्रीविज-
 34 यादित्वमहाराजाधिराजप[र*]मेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः परमब्र-
 35 ह्मण्यः मातापितृपादानुध्यातः पावनवारविषये प्रान्दोऽ-
 36 द्वाद[श]यामननिवासिनो राष्ट्रकूटप्रसुखान्कुर्विनस्तमाज्ञ-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 37 येल्यमाज्ञापयति ॥

No. 17.—THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MATHURA LION-CAPITAL.

By F W THOMAS, M.A., LONDON

The Mathurā lion-capital was discovered by the late Dr Bhagvanlal Indraji under circumstances detailed in his article on *The Northern Kshatrapas* edited and published by Professor E J Rapson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol XXVI 1894, pp. 541-554, see in particular pp 542-4. It was found embedded in the steps of an altar voted to Sitalā on a site belonging to some low-caste Hindūs at Mathurā, but not more definitely located. Having been with difficulty secured by Dr Bhagvanlal, the capital was conveyed to Bombay, subsequently, on his death, it was despatched to England, and it can now be seen in the Buddhist Room at the British Museum.

The inscriptions incised on the capital were transcribed and translated by the discoverer himself, but owing to his death the task of publishing the MS was entrusted by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society to the late Professor Bühler, who was able to compare the readings with the stone itself and with paper impressions presented to him in 1889 by Dr James Burgess. At the commencement of the published account, which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol XXVI 1894, pp 525-540, Prof Bühler observes that the collation has made necessary some alterations in the transcript and in the translation, among which the more important ones have been pointed out in the notes. But I may confidently assert that all really essential points have been fully settled and explained by Dr Bhagvanlal, whose great acumen and scholarship are as conspicuous in his interpretation of these inscriptions as in his other epigraphic publications. For convenience's sake I have prefixed an introduction, summarising the chief results deducible from the inscriptions."

¹ Read यस्मिन्हासति

² The *anuvada* stands at the beginning of the next line.

³ Read °रजीव्रीति°

⁴ Read °माषी.

⁵ The *Elavaru* grant (I 32 f) supplies the correct reading मानीव्रीती नदीव्रीतसमस्तलोकः.

While endorsing in the main these statements of so great an authority, from all points of view, as the late Prof. Bühler I have endeavoured, in re-editing the inscriptions with Plates, which before were wanting, to give an unbiased reading based upon new impressions supplied by the kindness of the Department in the Museum (at the instance of Dr. J. F. Fleet, who originated the suggestion of this article), and upon frequent inspections of the stone itself. The present versions will therefore be found to differ in some particulars from those of Dr. Bhagvanlal and Prof. Bühler.

The shape and dimensions of the capital will be best realized from the accompanying Plates, but some particulars demand a verbal description. In the first place, the circular hole in the upper square surface, corresponding to a similar hole in the under surface, proves that the capital was surmounted by a shaft or some other continuation. Prof. Bühler remarks that various representations on slabs from the Amarāvati Stūpa prove this shaft to have supported a *Dharmachakra*, referring to the Archaeological Survey Plates published by Dr. Burgess (Plate xxxviii figs 1 and 6, and Plate xl figs 3 and 4). But it has already been pointed out by me in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906, pp. 216 and 464, that the use of lion-capitals of actual pillars was a common feature in Indian architecture, derived from Persian models. Examples may be seen in the Archaeological Survey publications relating to Bharhut (Cunningham, Plates vi, viii, x), Sāñchi (Maisey, Plates xix, xxiii), Mathurā (V. A. Smith, Plates xlii-xlvi and xlix-l), Amarāvati (Burgess p. 93, Plates xlix-liv, lv, lv and Burgess, 1882, Plate xiv), and elsewhere. The presumption, therefore, is that the lion-capital formed the crown of a real pillar.

Secondly, the state of the stone has been somewhat impaired by time and accident. In some cases, e.g. in the loss of the horn-like projections of the two heads, this has involved no curtailment of the text. The chippings at the two bottom corners have been, no doubt, equally harmless. But the front, which would be the most exposed portion of the stone, has in part so peeled away as to render some characters illegible. In the second line of the large inscription carved on the body of the lion to the spectator's left (J 1 1) the large *ria* is followed by traces of two or three *alsharas* of equal size leading to a partly visible *su* ('), after which intervene three doubtful characters before we come to firm ground again in *puli*.¹

In size the *alsharas* vary considerably. We may distinguish five groups: (1) the inscriptions B E F I J M on the front and back of the stone (among which I perhaps exceed, the others slightly in size), having characters about 2-2½ in in height; (2) G N P E'', on the back and under surface of the stone, circa 2-1½ in; (3) A (on the unpolished top and back of the stone), K L (on the breast of the left lion), O Q R (underneath), J' (front, on the leg of the left lion), circa 1½ in; (4) C D E' (which may be estimated from E', slightly the largest, visible among the characters of E), circa 1 in; (5) H H', slightly incised in small characters, of about ¾ in, at the places indicated on the front. In the same inscription the *alsharas* generally maintain a fair average size, but sometimes they become a little cramped by limitations of space. It is clear that the inscriptions in the larger characters (1), (2) and (3) were carved first, and those of a smaller size were afterwards crammed in wherever space offered.

In type, on the other hand, the characters present an uniformity which, like the subject matter of the records, forbids any supposition of additions during the subsequent history of the stone. They have been compared by Prof. Bühler to those of the Shāhbāzgarhī and Manselras versions of the Edicts of Aśoka. But the degree of similarity and dissimilarity may now be more exactly estimated from Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*, where the columns viii and ix

¹ In quoting Khārōṣṭhī records, length of vowels is noted except where the intention is to insist upon the exact reading supplied by the original as a question.

Front of the capital



SCALE ABOUT 25

No 1 are based chiefly upon these inscriptions. The type may be described as intermediate between the Aśoka forms and the cursive derivatives of the Dhammapada MS and discovered by Dr Stein, to which approximate the vase scratchings from Mānikāla and places and the inscription of Sui-Yih'i (see the Plate given by Dr Hoernle in the *Antiquary*, Vol X facing p 325). It does not, however, appear to be quite identical with that exhibited in any of these or in the Taxila plate (see the facsimile above, Vol IV p 56), where on account of the historical contiguity we should expect to find, and do find, congenial. The inscriptions edited by M Senart in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér IX Vol (1899), p 526 ff and Vol IV (1894), p 504 ff (No 35), are also in similar characters (see the Plates).

The forms of the individual letters may be seen from Plate IV. Those of *pha*, *sa*, *mu*, *spa*, position of medial *e* and the looped form of *u* have been described by Buhler. Attention may be called to the *rda* in Q 1, the *spa* in A 7, the *rna* (?) in I 1, the curious form in J 1 interpreted by Buhler as *shis*, the archaic *ma* with the original angle beneath in A 2. A few points for further consideration. The form of *ta*, which occurs many times, has in other records the *o* of *tra* (see the Plate). Although we have certainly one case (J 2, in *hīrita*), and appears two others (E'' in *krakārita*?, and R 1 in *Tachhīlāsa* or *Rachhīlāsa*?), where the bottom *o* is wanting, the character occurs so often that there can be no doubt as to what it denotes supposing it to be a *da* Buhler, who in his articles in the *Z D M G* Vol XLIII pp 133 and 16 has read a similar character as *ti* (so also Johansson, *Der Dialekt der Shāhāśgarhī-ahīron*, I p 126), was influenced by finding it in *pratśō* (M 2) and similar cases. But the similar form of *da* is several times instanced, and the *t* for *d* in *pratśō* and elsewhere is a notational, not an orthographical, feature, found in other Kharōṣṭhī records.

The only question remaining, as concerns *ta*, is part of a larger matter. How do we represent the conjunct *r*? In a number of cases the addition is made by a stroke inclined to the left attached to the lower curve. This occurs in A 1 (*chhatra*°), A 6 (*mātrā*), A 7 (*rat*°). In these examples there was some slight danger of confusion with *tō*, which shows the Plate) a similar stroke attached to the upper curve. Perhaps for this reason another *ice* is more frequently adopted, namely a dot in place of the stroke, see B 1 and 3 (*chhatra*°), 2 (*putra*), M 1 (*chhatra*°), Q. 2 (*chhatra*°). There remain A 3 (where *te* is written), A 5 where I can detect no clear indication of the *r*-stroke or dot), G 1 (where there is nothing added to the *ta*, though the reading may be *chhratava*, if not *chchhatava*), G 2 (*chhatava*), J (where we seem to have *atraurēna* for *atō*°). In A 1 we have two strokes, both of which seem to be intentional, one of them, which resembles the downward stroke of the Aramaic Pahlavi *t*, I have conjectured to denote a doubled *t* before the *r*. Of a cerebral (*ṣa*) I can find no trace, unless indeed it is contained in the mysterious third sign of A 13.

With other consonants than *t* the *r* is regularly inserted where required. We may quote *a* in A 7 (where it takes the form of a detached stroke), *gra* in A 2 and N 2, *pa* in A 10 (*adhavipra*°), A 11 (*prati*°), M 3 (*pratśō*), N 3, *dhra* in A 10 and M 2, *chhra* (*chchha*°) G 2 and I 1 (*chhratava*° and *chhratrava*). In the last example, as also in *praghravi* G 10, *paghravi* in I 2, it would seem to be even repeated, but this may be a feature of enunciation rather than of writing. A really oblique *r*-stroke is found in *mahēshvra*, A 2, and probably in *Puspasri*, A 7.

The case of *kra* is peculiar. If we disregard the doubtful inscription E'', it is found four times, in *bhakravatō* (A 12), *nākraruasa* (F 1 and N 1), and *sakrastānasa* (P 1), *re* in places where we expect a simple *ga*. This can hardly be accidental, it would seem probable that in these cases the combination *kra* represents a spirantic pronunciation of *ga*, analogous to the Russian *g*, more especially as in the name of Senstān (Pahlavi *Sayhastān*) this sound no doubt prevailed at the time.

A few further points remain to be noticed. (1) In *ateurena* and *hōrakāparvūrēna* (A 9 and 10) we find a perhaps intentional stroke diverging from the tail of the *na*, though not in both cases on the same side. Have we here *na*? The rather noticeable variations in the form of the nasal may be observed in Plate iv.

(2) *Sa* varies between the forms with and without the small adjunct near the centre (see Plate iv). In N 3 the addition of the *r*-stroke makes *sam*. In E 4 a slight curve at the foot may also indicate *sam*, anticipating as in the Stein documents, the following nasal. A writing *sa* is certainly to be seen in G. 1 and probably also in B 2.

(3) The two occurrences of *kharaḥṣṭa* (A. 4 and E 1) seem both to show a small diverging mark in the place where *h* is usually appended, a circumstance which, together with the probable derivation of the word, suggests a reading *rha*=*hra*.

(4) In A 2 *a* has a small stroke added as a sort of head.

(5) In A 13 we have the distinguishing mark of *ṣ* vertical and at the top, elsewhere it is horizontal and at the centre.

(6) The *ś* of A 11 has two small (head and foot) strokes differentiating it from the *ś* of the previous line,— apparently without reason.

(7) The complicated *jo* of C. 2 recalls the varieties on the coins (see Gardner, *The Coins of Bactria*, pp. 55, 83).

(8) Lastly we may mention that the stone presents a number of dots and other small marks which must apparently be ascribed to accident or wear. In some cases we might be tempted to trace the *anusvāra*, *eg* in J, where we should thus arrive at a reading *Sarvāstivātammān*.

The Prākṛit in which the inscriptions are composed has been described by Bühler and perhaps need not be discussed at length. It is distinguished by closeness to Sanskrit. Elision of medial consonants occurs, if we neglect the suffixal *k* (*nagaraa*, *kusūlaa*, *māhādāngḥa*), only in *ateurena* (for **vūrēna* ?), *saṣpa*[*t*]*ṣ*. In *ayava* and *puya* (= *āchārya* and *phṛā*) we have a weakening of *ch* to *y*. I have suggested (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1906, p. 205) that the sound denoted by this *y* was that of the French *j*, and the matter will arise again in connection with the proper names. The changes apparent in the word *chhatra* are not necessarily Indian. The hardening of *g* and *d* to *kr* and *t* has been already dealt with; on the other hand *p* appears in *thūva* and *pratiḥāvāt* as *v*, never *b* as *p*. Conjunct *s* is, except in foreign and technical names (*kharaḥṣṭa*, *sakastāna*, *sarvāstivāda*), assimilated ([*t*]*thūva*, *kadhavāra*, *prati*[*t*]*thāna*, *bhi*[*k*]*khu*), *r*, on the other hand, remains both as prior (*surva*, *khārdaa*), and as posterior, member of a conjunction. The forms of the *a* and *ā* declensions are very well preserved. The nominative singular masculine appears both as *a* (in *thūva*, etc.) and as *o* (*kharaḥṣṭo*, etc.), the neuter is in *a*[*m*] (*śarīra*[*m*]), the genitive singular in [*s*]*sa*, twice written *ya*. In *munna* the *i* declension shows the Prākṛit form, of the *i* inflexion we have several forms (instrumental *-āḍ*, etc.). The *r*-stems seem to be regular (*dhāte* in A 3 being a miswriting for *dhātā*), while in *yuvārāṇa* [*h*] in A 4 we have an ultra-Sanskrit use of the consonant paradigm. We may note the employment of *sarvāstivāda* in place of **vādan*. The only pronouns occurring are *imā*, nominative masculine, and *utā*, a locative, and the only finite verb *bhuvā* (certainly not *bhūvaḥ*, as Bühler read) presents a problem; see the note to A 13. The false concord *śarīra pratiḥāvāt* is found elsewhere (see the note *ad loc*).

We now come to the historical matter, which has been discussed both by Bühler, pp. 529-33, and by Professor Rapson (p. 541 ff. of the same volume). The object of the chief inscription (A.) is to record a religious donation on the part of the Chief Queen of the Satrap Hāyula, with whom are associated various members of her family and her whole court. In the other inscriptions we find honourable mention of (1) certain other members of the Satrap family at Mathurā, (2) other Satraps, and (3) a Buddhist teacher, or two Buddhist teachers, bearing the

names Buddhila (or Budhila) and Bu[d]dhadēva. The last named, who is termed an *acharya* and represented as a champion of the Sarvāstivādin school against the rival Māhāsāṅghikas, bears a name which cannot have been rare, one teacher of this name is mentioned by Tārānātha as a leader of the Vaibhāshikas (see Schiefner's translation, pp 4 and 67, and the references in the St Petersburg Dictionary), and we have therefore no sufficient means of identification. It is different with some of the other names.

In the first place, the Great Satrap Rājūla himself and his son, the Satrap Śudāsa, have both been identified with rulers named on coins and in other inscriptions from Mathurā (see Buhler, pp 531-2, *Ep Ind* Vol I pp 195-6, 199, Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol III p 30, and Vol XX pp 48-9, V A. Smith, *Mathurā*, p 21, Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p 9, § 33). These identifications were made by Cunningham, who also proposed to identify the *Yuvārāja* Kharaōsta with the Kharamōsta, son of Artas, known from coins, a suggestion which is scarcely tenable (Buhler, *op cit* p 532). The further identification of the Great Satrap Kusūlaka Pādika with Pātika, son of the Satrap Lakṣa Kusūlaka, named in the Taxila plate, is important not only as supplying a date, though in an unknown era,—for the Taxila Plate is dated in the year 78, (in the time) of the Great King Mōga,—but also as implying that the other Satraps mentioned may also have ruled in distant places. It appears therefore that the inscriptions make a point of naming with respect the chief representatives of the Kshatrapa dominion in Northern India, and this is a strong argument for retaining the evident interpretation of inscription P as 'in honour of the whole Saka realm' (*Sakastāna*). It is therefore important to ascertain what other indications of nationality the inscriptions supply.

In an article published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906 (pp 181-216, see also pp 460-4) I have endeavoured to prove (1) that Sakas inhabited the region now known as Seistan as early as the time of Darius and Alexander, (2) that the inscriptions of the lion-capital exhibit a mixture of Persian and Saka nomenclature, and I have inferred that the Kshatrapas of Northern India were the representatives of a mixed Parthian and Saka domination. I think that all these propositions must be adhered to. Upon the first of them we need not dwell here. The second is strongly supported *a priori* by the fact that Pātika of Taxila, who bears himself a distinctively Persian name, mentions as his overlord the Great King Mōga, whose name is with equal distinctiveness Saka.

I may here refer to a small point in the Taxila inscription which is not without interest. The form of the phrase *chhatrapasa Inakō Kusūlakō nama tasa* (for *chhatrapasa Inakasa Kusūlakasa*), which recurs in a second phrase, has been by Buhler compared with passages in two of the Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā. We may perhaps find something of the kind in later Sanskrit inscriptions and in the style of the *Pūṇchatantra* and *Hstōpadeśa*. But the turn of the phrase is so conspicuous a feature of the edicts of the Achæmenids that we are strongly tempted to regard it as, like the earliest Indian architecture, derived through the Satraps from a Persian model.

This is not the place for resuming at length the discussion of the etymology of all the names occurring in the inscriptions. A few points may be mentioned—

1. The name *Kharaōsta* or *Kharha(hra)ōsta*, as = *khshathra*, 'sovereignty,' + *ōsta*, 'blessing,' is practically certain. The initial *kha*, which reappears in *khaharāta* with variant *kshaharāta*, presents no difficulty, it recurs in the *kha apallāna* (no doubt = *khshathrapahlāna*, 'defence of sovereignty,') of the new Sārṇāth inscription (above, Vol VIII p 173 ff). The variation in the initial consonant group, of which we find a third form in *chhatrapa*, is of the same nature as that in *cavalier* and *chivalry*, that is to say, it is due to historical and dialectical differences.¹

¹ On a coin given by Prof. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl in No 1, we have *Kehahardāta* in Brāhmī together with *Chhahardāta* in Kharoṣṭhī, some of the Nāka inscriptions have *Khahardāta*, etc.

The *hra*, from *thra*, arose (with other forms) on Iranian soil, *Mihra* (Skt *Mihra*) being a variant of *Mithra*,¹ of which a still more simplified form is found in *Muraboyana* of the Takht-i-Bahā inscription (see M. Boyer's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. X Vol. III. (1904) pp. 463-4), the old Persian dialect had also *s*, concerning which it may be sufficient to refer to the grammars.

2. *Mévah* is no doubt a variant of the Scythian name *Manakes Mévaks*, which we find attached to the king Maues and Mōga (= *Mauaka*).

3. The two names *Kālūt*, *Kāmūt* show a Pahlavi suffix *ūt*, in the second case with addition of an Indian termination.

4. *Nauludo* is no doubt for *Naurūdō*, 'New Growth,' with a Pahlavi or Afghan *l* for *r*.

5. The element *Khala-* appears in *Khalama* and *Khalasamušo*.

6. The termination *-ās* in *Kōmūsā* and *śamūtō* seems to be Scythic.

7. The element *-s-* in *Āyas*, *Kōmūsā*, *Nandaskasa*, *Pispas* is certainly not the Sanskrit *ś*, which would have been so written in these inscriptions. It is a derivative element, perhaps identical with the *-ci*, *-zi* (Pahlavi *-cōk*) which appears in many Iranian names.

8. The *y* in *Āyas*, *Hayuarana*, *Āyimsa*, found also on the coins as an alternative for *s* in *Āyalsā*, etc. (see Gardner, *op cit* pp. 93, 173), most probably represents a *j* sound resembling the French *j*, for which reasons it must also remain undetermined whether the *ayana* (= *āchārya*) and *puya* (= *pūjā*) of our inscriptions were intended or not to represent a pronunciation with a *y*.

9. The name *Abūhōlā* doubtless consists of two members, *Abū* (of uncertain meaning) to be traced in *Αβουλινης* (see Justi's *Iransches Namenbuch*, s. v.) + *hōla*, a variant of the *hōra* in *Spālahōra* and the *hōrakā* of our inscriptions. That *spāla* is a Pahlavi form of O. Pers. *spāda* = Zend *spāda* = Neo-Pers. *spāh* is plain from its occurrence in *Spālapati*, which corresponds to the Persian *Ispahbad*, Pahlavi *Spāhpat* (see Justi, *op cit* and Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, No. 699). As the Zend-Persian *ahura* is used in the sense of 'prince' and as the form *hōra* is to be traced in the common (Sassanian) name *Hormisdas*, there can be no reason to doubt that this is the meaning of the second part of the name of *Abūhōlā* and that her *hōrakāparvāra* was a 'retinue of princesses (or ladies)'.²

10. As regards the term *Kusūlā* (= *Kusūlaka* of the Taxila Plate), it seems to me extremely unlikely that the word is unrelated to the *Kuyūla*, *Kujūla*, *Koçovla* applied to Kadphises and Kanishka, more especially now that the Sārnāth inscriptions have brought Kanishka into relation with the northern Satraps. The word seems to me to have been probably a title of the order of *Śāhū*, *Bahādur*, and the like.

It will now be sufficient to enumerate the persons occurring in the inscriptions. These are —

(1) The family of Rājūla —

(a) Rājūla himself with his sons Kharaōsta (*Yuvārāja*,³ son of the Chief Queen Abūhōlā), Sudāsa (entitled Satrap), *Khalama* (entitled *Kumārā*), and *Maja* (entitled *Kanishka*),—the two last also being possibly children of the Chief Queen Abūhōlā— and his daughter Hana.

(2) Five other, probably princely, persons *Kālūt*, *Naulūdō*, *Kāmūt*, *Āyimsa* and *Khalasamušo*. These were perhaps relatives of Rājūla.

(3) Friendly satraps, namely *Kusūlā*, *Pādika*, *Movak*, *Miyika*,⁴ *K(r)ōnina*, *Khardun* and *Tachūla* (*Rachūla*).

(4) A Buddhist *āchārya*, named *Buddhila* (*Budhila*), and a second (perhaps identical with the former), named *Buddhadēva*.

¹ Cf. Huang in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXXVI p. 242 ff., s. 1. *Zeig*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 482 ff.

² On this and other similar titles see M. Boyer's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. IX Vol. XIX p. 95 ff.

³ The name of a satrap *Mevaks* is traced by Prof. E. Bournonville in *Zeitschrift f. d. A. u. N.* 1894, p. 648.

The inscriptions supply in themselves no means of dating. But the style of the monument of which they celebrate the foundation seems to have been strongly Persian. This is in favour of an early date, but for a definite determination of it we must continue to rely upon the more or less contemporary Taxila plate belonging to the year 78 (in the reign) of the Great King Mōga, who is usually placed (see Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 29) as early as 120 B. C.

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES.

A. I.

- 1 Mahachhatra(ttra)vasa rajulasa [Mahāchhatravassa Rājūlassa]
- 2 agra(ggia)maheshmajasā(o ?) [āgramahēshi-Āyasā]
- 3 komusaa dhite [Kômûsââ dhite]
- 4 khara(rha ?)ostasa yuvaraṇa [Kharaṇstassa yuvarāṇah]
- 5 mata nadadi(ṣi ?)akasa . [mâtâ Namdadi(ṣi ?)akasa]

A. II.

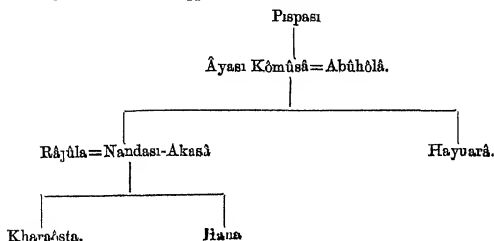
- 6 sadha mata(tra) abuholaa(e ?) [sadha mâtâ Abūhōlâ]
- 7 pitramahi pispasria bhra [pitāmahi-Pispasâ bhrâ-]
- 8 tia hayuarana sadha hanadhitra(?) [-trâ Hayuarânâ sadha Hana-dhitrâ]
- 9 atra(te)ūena horakapa [amteurena hōrakāpa-]
- 10 rivarena iṣe piadhraviprate [-rivārena iṣe pradhraVIPratē-]
- 11 ſe(ṣre ?) nissime śarira pratithavito [-sē nissimē śarira[m] pratithāvitō]
- 12 bhakravato śakamunisa budhasa [bhakravatō Śakamunissa Buddhasa]
- 13 ma(mia ?)kite(hi ?)ra(?)ya saspae bhusaveti(?) [. . rāya saspāe bhūṣā-v-iti]
- 14 thuva cha sagbarama cha chatu [thūva cha samghārāma cha chatu-]
- 15 diśesa saghasa saiva [-dīśassa samghassa Sarvā-]
- 16 stavatana parigrahe [-stivātānam parigrahē]

TRANSLATION.

By the Chief Queen of the Great Satrap Rājūla, daughter of Āyasī Kômûsâ, mother of the Heir Apparent Kharaṇsta, Nandasī-Akasâ (by name), together with her mother Abūhōlâ, her paternal grandmother Pispasī, her brother Hayuarâ (?), her daughter Hana, her household and court of *hōrakās* (ladies), a relic was deposited in this piece of land in a *stūpa* with the thought. 'May it be for the eternal . . . of the Holy Śākya sage Buddha' And the *stūpa* and the monastery are for the acceptance of the universal *Sangha* of the Sarvāstivādins.

NOTES.

Genealogy —The scheme appears to be as follows —



Readings—L 1 The additional stroke in the *tra*, if not accidental, may denote a doubling. At least I learn from Prof. Rapson that a (cross) stroke is used in the Stein documents for that purpose.

L 2, *agga* with a cross stroke, *ma* in *mahāśhi* has the original form with a subscribed angle, *shri* has the close *r*-stroke found elsewhere.

L 3, *te* in *dhite* is quite clear, it must be due to an error, as the regular form of *tra* occurs several times in the inscription.

L 4 Is the side stroke in the *r* of *kharāśtiāsa* accidental, or does it possibly represent *h*? See p. 138 above. It occurs in the place, though not with the shape, of aspiration in other consonants.

L 5 No doubt *namdasi* should be read, on the analogy of the other names. But the lower stroke of the *akshara* is curtailed (being at the edge of the stone) in such a way as to produce the appearance of the curve *da* in Buhler's Table, col. viii. After *sa* nothing can be clearly seen on the stone. The analogy of the other names would lead us to expect *sā*. On the *ta* in *mātd* see p. 137 above.

L 8 From what nominative form the instrumental *Hayuarānā* is to be derived is not obvious.

L 9, *a[n]teurēna* presents a case, rare in these inscriptions, of disappearance of a medial consonant. The only other cases are: (1) *satpā* for *śatvātā*, l. 13 (if that is the correct reading), (2) *h* in *nākranaassa* and *māhāsamghāna*, and (3) *kharaassa*. As in general the medial consonants are sharpened rather than weakened, this seems to show a mixture of dialects. On the word *hōrakā* see p. 140 above.

L 11, *nirime* Buhler takes this as denoting a *stūpa*, and he quotes Professor Pischel's view that it is a Prākṛit form of *nirhama*, used in the sense of 'high', hence = *stūpa*. The word is certainly a substantive and the name of a manufactured object, as appears from the phrase *nirimā kārita* *niyātātā* in inscription J, but in point of etymology it may perhaps be related to the *nissimamālaka* of the *Mahāvamsa*, c. xxxi. *rannō śarīram jhāpēsum yasmin nissimamālaka*.

L 13 The last *akshara* is doubtful, and it is indeed possible to question whether any sign is intended after *vi*. Buhler's reading *bhāsati* is out of the question. We must apparently take *bhāśā* as a strange optative form.

L 12 The sign for *tā* is, owing to misplacement of the vowel stroke, that usually in these inscriptions denoting *tiā*. I do not detect a sign for *r*.

L 6 Whether *mātd* or *mātrā* is inscribed I cannot determine.

L 7, *tra* is clear in *pitra*, and *tri* in *Pispaṇi*.

L 9. The second *akshara* resembles *tiā* more than anything else, if it is really *tā* (which in any case must be meant), the sign for *tā* is added to the earlier form of *tiā*.

L 13 Buhler's reading *mukhātāya*. The first *akshara* is certainly not *mu*, but might be *mra*, unless it is simply *ma*, and the third is far from being an ordinary *ra*, the expression *Buddhasya mukhātāya* does not present an orthodox appearance.

L 15, *śā* seems clear, compare *śā* in l. 10.

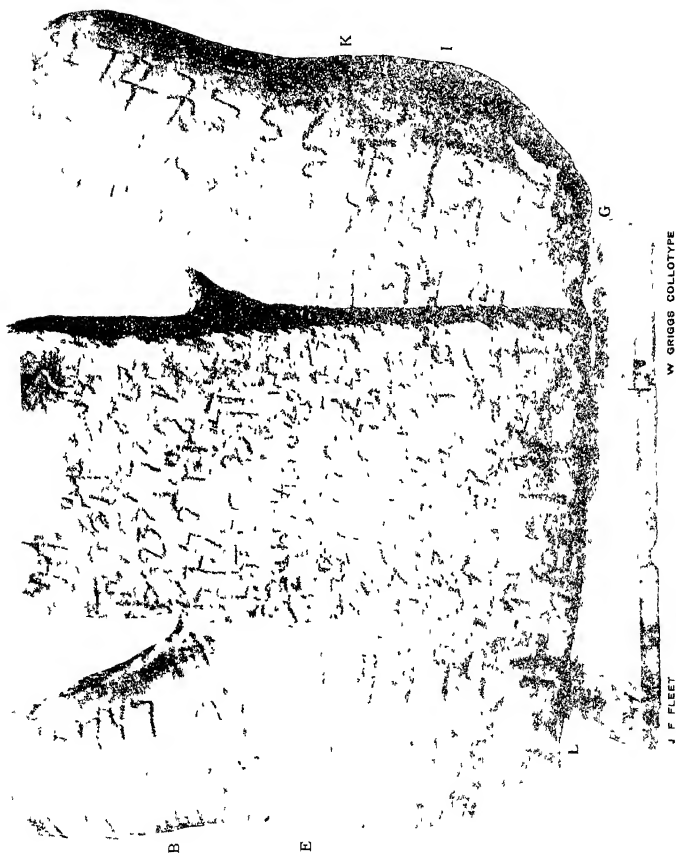
Grammar and interpretation—L 1, 4 in *Rājūla* is supported by the *Ranubala*, etc., of the coins.

L 2 It is doubtful whether *mahāśhi Āyasa* or *mahāśhi Yasi* is to be read. In the former case we have an omission (or postponement) of the sign of declension, as in *pīṭamāhi*, l. 7. It would however not be entirely out of the question to take *pratiśhāvitā* as an active participle with the subject *mātd* in the nominative and a false concord. Buhler observes (p. 535) that '*pratiśhāvitā* is the neuter, as frequently in the Shāhābāgarhi version of the Rock-Edicts.' We may quote *emāh laṭavā* in Edict XI. Generally however in cases parallel to the present (e.g. in

Inscriptions on the Mathura lion-capital
in the British Museum

Plate II

Back of the capital



SCALE ABOUT 22

W. GRIGGS COLLOTYPE

FROM GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER GUNNINGHAM'S PHOTOGRAPHS

J. F. FLEET

10 Māpikāla, Taxila, and Wardak inscriptions) the active construction (*pratiṣṭhānīya*) is preferred

B¹

- 1 Mahachha(chchha?)travasa [mahāchhatravassa]
- 2 vajulasya putra [Rājūlasya putra]
- 3 śudasa chatrave [Śudāsā chhatravā]

TRANSLATION.

Śudāsa, son of the Great Satrap Rājūla, being Satrap

NOTES.

L 1. A cross stroke, apparently intentional, on the *chha* may indicate duplication, as in the cases already noted¹

L 2, *va* (*sic*)

L 3. As these inscriptions seem to present no other nominatives in -s, *Śudāsā* may best be regarded as a locative, in M it is plainly so

C²

- 1 Kālū a [Kālūi a-]
- 2 varajo(jho?) [-varajō]

TRANSLATION

Kālūi, younger brother.

D.³

Naulūdo [Naulūdō].

E.⁴

- 1 Khara(rha?)osto yuvaraya [Kharāstō yuvarāyā]
- 2 khalamasa kumāa [Khalamasa kumāra]
- 3 maja kanittha [Maja kanittha]
- 4 sa(sam?)manamota.

TRANSLATION

Kharāsta, Heir Apparent, Khalamasa, *kumāra*, Maja; youngest, . . .

NOTES.

Bühler read *Jalamā*^o in l 2, but the *akshara* seems to be a *kha*. He also regarded *kumārā(t)maja* as a single word. The last line is uncertain, but I may perhaps suggest that the cross stroke in *mō* is accidental, in which case we may understand the words *samānā mātā* as indicating that the three sons named were *uterine* brothers. Bühler's reading *chha* is by no means borne out by inspection

E'⁵

Kamūo [Kāmūtō?]

NOTE.

Apparently a proper name, like Kālūi

E''.⁶

kra ka(rva?)rita (yu?) [-kra kārta?]

¹ See Plate II

² In small letters at the place indicated in Plate III

³ In smaller letters within E; see Plate II

⁴ On the right cheek of the right lion; not shown in the photographs

⁵ See Plate III

⁶ See Plate II.

NOTE.

The *ta*, if it is so to be read, has the earlier form

F.¹

- 1 Budhulasa nakraraasa [Buddhulassa Nākraraassa]
- 2 bhikkusa sarvastavataa [bhikkhussa Sarvāstivātassa]

G.²

- 1 Mahachhatarasya kusulaasa padikasa meva(na)kisa [mahāchhatarasya Kusūlaassa Pādikassa Mēvakissa]
- 2 miyikasa chhatarasa puyae [Miyikassa chhatarassa pūyāē]

J (3) ³

Sarvastvatana padī[ri²]grahē [Sarvāstivātāna padī(ri²)grahē]

TRANSLATION.

F.—Of the Nāgara *bhikkhu* Buddha, a Sarvāstivādin.

G.—For the honour of the Great Satrap, the Kusūlaka Pādika, and the Satrap Mēvaki Miyika.

J.— For the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins.

NOTES.

These three inscriptions, written in *akṣaras* of about the same size, adjoin each other, and may form a single whole

Readings.—G 1.—The *va* or *na* of *mēva(na)kisa* is a single straight stroke. *Mēvaki* is however more probable than *mēnaki* (*maṇḍaki*), see above

J. (3).—The *di* in *padīgrahē* (= *pratīgrahē*) is identical with that in *Pādika*; nevertheless *parīgrahē* is on the whole more probable in view of A 1 16 The *bhikkhu* Buddha may be, but need not be, identical with the Buddhādēva of the inscription K. He belongs to Nāgara, no doubt the famous city of Nāgarahāra (but see Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I. p. 184 ff., 201 and reff.) Concerning the remaining persons see the introductory remarks. There seems to be no ground for joining the inscription J. (3), as Bühler does, to the lines J (1 and 2), on the opposite face (the front) of the stone

M.⁴

- 1 Chha(chohha)trave śudise [chhataravē Śudisē]
- 2 imo padhravi [imō paḍhravī]
- 3 prateśo [pratēśō]

I.⁵

- 1 veyā aṁ (u[?]) dīrna (dīnam[?]) kadhavaro busapa
- 2 ro kadha
- 3 varo
- 4 viyua

¹ See Plate II.

² See Plate I.

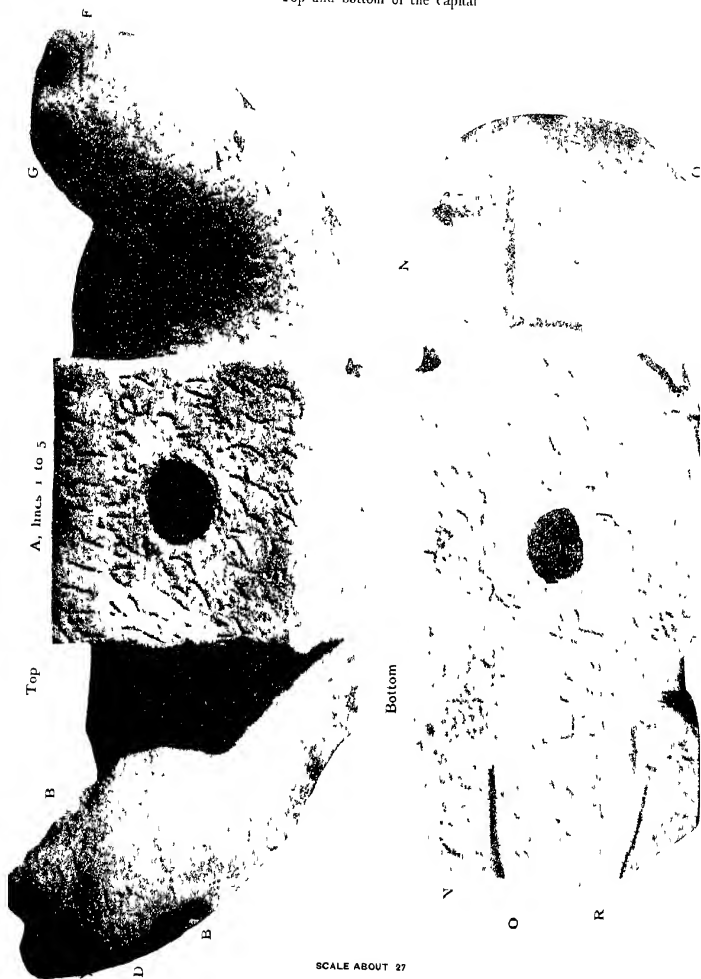
³ *Idēd*

⁴ *Idēd*

⁵ *Idēd*

Inscriptions on the Mathura lion capital
in the British Museum

Top and bottom of the capital



SCALE ABOUT 27

J. (1 and 2)¹

- 1 *vya rva* *pahshte* (??) *na*
 2 *nisimo karita nyatito* [*nissimo kārta myātītō*]

These three inscriptions present the most difficult problems of all those inscribed on the capital. They are written in *aksharas* of approximately the same size. As M has no verb (unless we here make use of the *krakāritu* (P) of E²), we should naturally expect it to be in connection with one of the others. It certainly seems to join the *vēya*³ of I 1. But here we enter upon a very obscure passage. Buhler with great ingenuity has elicited the reading *vēya-udino kadhavaro busaparo kadhavaro=vēgōdīrno skandhāvārō busaparō skandhāvārō*, which he renders 'the army has had in haste, the army is intent on wealth'. But to this there are, apart from the inappropriateness of the sense, the following objections — (1) *skandhāvārā* does not mean 'an army,' but 'an encampment,' (2) the meaning 'riches' attached to *busa* is attested only by Wilson's Dictionary, (3) it is doubtful whether the third *akshara* is really *u*, it is unlike the other *u*'s of these inscriptions and rather resembles *am*, while the bottom curve may even be a part of the accidental indentation in the stone (see the Plate), (4) a weakening of *g* to *y* in *vēya* is contrary to the tendencies of the languages employed in these inscriptions. On the other hand, the *ro* of I 2 plainly follows the *pa* of I 1, and a reading *vēyaashdnam kadhavaro=vayajantīnām skandhāvārō* appears but little promising. The *vya* which precedes the large *rvā* in J 1 is in small characters and no doubt an independent addition. Can it possibly be an insertion to show that the large *rva*, which apparently joins on to nothing, is an error for *vya*=*mya*? The sign which Buhler renders by *shīś* (reproduced in his *Indian Palaeography*, Plate I col xii), is quite clearly inscribed, but its meaning is anything but clear. It is more like *rd*, which seems very unlikely. With the preceding *pāl* (Buhler *pul*) it composes no doubt a proper name. What came before *pāl*, occupying a space sufficient for 7 or 8 *aksharas*, is quite obscure owing to the stone having peeled away. We seem to have the remains of a *sa*, but what is to be done with the large *rva* commencing the line? Even adopting the suggestion that it is an error for *vya* we have no ground for proceeding further. The words *nissimō kārta myātītō*, 'a *stūpa* was caused to be made and presented,' are quite satisfactory. We have already noted the older form of *ta* in *kārta*. With these remarks I must be content so far as these inscriptions are concerned.

J'²

- 1 *Khalasamu-*
 2 *śo*

The *aksharas* are perfectly clear, though Buhler read *khalasāna śo*. We seem to have here a proper name.

K. & L.³

- 1 *Āyama* [Āyāriassa]
 2 *budhatevasa* [Buddhatēvassa]
 3 *utaena ayimisa* [utāēna Āyimisa].

TRANSLATION.

Through the elevation of the *āchārya* *Buddhadēva*, *Āyimisa*.

The exact meaning is not clear. We might take *Āyimisa* as a genitive with *dāna* understood. But what then was the *dāna*? The last *akshara* of *Āyimisa*, which lacks the tail of the *sa*, was read by Buhler as *ta*.

¹ See Plate I.

² On the leg of the left lion, under his tail.

³ Not shown in the Plates. Incised in very clear characters on the breast of the left lion between J and K (see Plate II) plainly a single independent record.

H.¹

Gubavihara [Guhāvihārā]

TRANSLATION

In the cave *vihāra*.

Bühler would translate 'In the Guha-monastery,' and the matter cannot be considered certain, as we have a Hamsasānghārāma near Gaya (*Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. I p. 18) and a (Jaina) *Mihuravihāra* mentioned in an inscription published by him in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II p. 212

H'.²

Dhamada(?)na(?) [dhammadānam]

TRANSLATION

Religious donation

N.³

- 1 Ayariasa budhulasa nakraraasa bhikkhu [āyariassa Buddhulassa Nākraraassa bhikkhu-]
- 2 sa sarvastivatasa pagra [-ssa Sarvastivatassa pāgrā-]
- 3 na mahāsāghiana pra [-nam Māhāsānghīanam prā-]
- 4 ma(?)ñāvitave khalulasa [-māñāvittavē khalūlassa]

TRANSLATION.

To the Sarvastivādin *ācārya* Buddhula, a *bhikkhu* of Nāgara, an exercise-ground in the knowledge of the nature of proof to the vanguard of the Māhāsānghikas.

L 1 Buddhula is, of course, the *bhikkhu* already mentioned in the inscription F. The rendering 'of Nāgara' (Bühler) seems to be the most satisfactory among the meanings of *Nāgaraka*, for which see the St Petersburg Dictionary. Concerning the place probably denoted see Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I pp. 184 ff., 201 and *reft*.

Ll 2-3 Of the *sa* which Bühler inserts after *gra*, in order to get the word *prakāsamā* I can see no trace.

L 4 The reading seems certain; the only difficulty is the word *khalula*. Halāyudha gives *khadūrkā* in the sense of 'a military exercise-ground,' and the Atharva-Vēda has *khadūra* with indeterminate sense. If the rendering given above does not seem quite acceptable, we may at least find in *khalula* some form from the root *khaṇ*, so common still in titles of controversial works. That the Māhāsānghikas were opposed to the Sarvastivādins Bühler has already observed. I conjecture that *pramāñāvitave=pramāñāvittavē*

O.³

- 1 Sarvabudhana puya dhamasa [sarvabuddhānam pūyā dhamassa]
- 2 puya saḡhasa puya [pūyā saṃghassa pūyā]

TRANSLATION

Honour to all the Buddhas, Honour to the *Dharma*, Honour to the *Saṃgha*.

P.³

- 1 Sarvassa sakrasta [sarvassa Sakrastā-]
- 2 nasa puyae [-nassa pūyāe].

¹ In small characters below the letter H in Plate I.

² In small characters, as H, below the letter H' in Plate I.

³ See Plate III.

TRANSLATION.

For the honour of all Sakastāna.

The objections raised by Dr Fleet (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1904, pp 703-9, 1905, pp 154-6) to this rendering of Bühler seem to me ineffective. As regards the presence of Sakas at Mathurā, see the introductory remarks, where it is also shown that the form of the word exactly represents the name of Sakastāna. Nor is there any difficulty in the expression of honour to the 'whole realm of the Sakas,' since we find in the Wardak inscription (and elsewhere, e.g. in the inscriptions of Sue Vihār, Anyor, and various Mathurā inscriptions, which have regard to the 'good and happiness of all living creatures,' *sarvasattvānām*) even more comprehensive expressions, nor again is there any difficulty in the use of *sarva* (uncompounded) with the meaning 'whole' (see the St Petersburg Dictionary). As regards *svaka*, 'one's own,' (a common word), and the Pāli *sakatthāna*, 'one's own place (home, etc),' it may be remarked that, while it is natural to say, as in the passages cited by Dr Fleet, 'he went to his own home,' etc., it seems less natural to inscribe on the stone 'honour to (somebody's) own home,' etc. [This inscription has been recently discussed by M Barth, *Comptes Rendues de l'Académie*, 1907, pp 384 ff, with his accustomed perspicacity. I am, however, unable to admit that the name of a donor is required here any more than in the inscriptions G and O. A *pūjā* addressed to a country is certainly unusual, but inscription G. contains a similar *pūjā* addressed to the chief representatives of the Saka dominion.]

Q.¹

1 Khadaasa [Khadaassa]

2 chhatravasa [chhatravassa].

TRANSLATION

Of the Satrap Khadaa.

R.²1 Ra(ta²)chhilasa [Ra²Ta², ih .s .j]

2 kromi ak i n a ' .

TRANSLATION.

Of Ra²chhilasa (Ta²chhila²) Kaundinya (?)

Kaundinya is a suggestion of Bühler, who also regards *Tachhilasa* as = *Takshasilasa*

Additional Notes

1 A number of questions relating to, or connected with, the inscriptions on the Lion Capital—for instance the forms of the names Moga, Rājāla, and Kharaosta, and the date of Moga—have been discussed by Dr J F Fleet in an article entitled 'Moga, Maues, and Vonones,' published in the *J R A S.* for October 1907, pp 1013-40.

2 P 137, l 9 Insert after 'pp 526 ff' the words '(where *sapana* is perhaps = *sappana* = *sattvānām*, see Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen* §300)'

3 P 137, l 38 Insert after 'detached stroke' the words 'to the left together with the same curve to the right that in *śe* denotes *e*, see below'

4 P 139, l 44 Insert after the words 'defence of sovereignty' the words 'see the Iranian *Grundriss* II p 97'

¹ See Plate III and Plate I where R has been printed in error. The word *chhatravasa* is inverted on the stone

² See Plate III.

No 18 — MOUNT ABU VIMALA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION
OF [VIKRAMA-] SÂMVAT 1378

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

In 1828 H. H. Wilson, in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI p. 284 ff., published an account of the inscriptions on the mountain Arbuda, the modern Mount Abū in the Sirohi State of Rājputāna, from copies presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Captain Speers, Political Agent at Sirohi. In that account Prof. Wilson gave full translations of one of the two large inscriptions at the temple of Nāminātha, the texts of which were first published in 1883 by Mr. A. V. Kāthavate, and which have now been edited, with facsimiles, by Prof. Lüders, above, Vol. VIII p. 200 ff., of the Guhila inscription in the neighbourhood of the temple of Achalēśvara, edited by myself in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI p. 347 ff.,¹ and of the Achalēśvara temple inscription of which I have treated above, p. 79 ff.² Of other inscriptions only short abstracts of the contents were given, apparently based on an account in Hindi that had been drawn up by a native scholar.

For many years afterwards little³ was done for the study of the Mount Abū inscriptions. But in the cold season of 1900-01 Mr. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, while staying at Abū, had impressions (or, in a few cases, eye-copies) prepared of all inscriptions which are now found on the mountain, and by sending them to the Government Epigraphist he for the first time has placed at our disposal trustworthy materials for a critical examination of these records. Most of these inscriptions are very short, none of them go back beyond the middle of the 11th century A. D., and considering their great number, the data furnished by them for the political history of the country are disappointingly few. In other respects, some are of considerable interest and well deserve to be made more generally accessible, while a good many contain some name, or expression, or date, or perhaps only some mark or letter, which, unimportant as it may seem at first sight, may prove of use on a future occasion.

The number of the inscriptions in Mr. Cousens' collection, which has been sent to me by Prof. Hultzsch, is 298, of which 270 are ink-impressions and 28 eye-copies only. Of the total number, 148 are from the temple of Rishabha (Ādinātha) which was founded by Vimala,⁴ 97 from the temple of Nāminātha, founded by Tejapāla,⁵ 30 from the temple of Achalēśvara, and 13 from other localities. Of the Vimala temple inscriptions 126 are dated, the earliest date being of the [Vikrama] year 1119 (about A. D. 1062), in a short inscription (No. 1780 of Mr. Cousens' list) of a minister of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I., and the latest (in No. 1874) of the [Vikrama] year 1785 (about A. D. 1728), between the two, the years which most

¹ A kind of facsimile of the inscription may be seen in *Bhāvnagar Insor.* Plate xxxvi.

² Prof. Wilson also gave a translation of the inscription of the Vikrama year 1265, published by Dr. Cartellieri in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 221 ff., the original of which is now at the town of Sirohi; see *Progress Report of the Archaeol. Survey of India, W. Circle*, for 1905-1906, p. 47.

³ For inscriptions that have been edited (in addition to those translated by Prof. Wilson) see my *Northern Ind.*, Nos. 261 and 265.

⁴ In inscriptions the temple is called *Vimala-vasahikā*, *Vimalasya vasahikā*, *Vimala-vasahī*, and *Vimala-vasahikā-ārtha*, in literary works also *Vimala-vasatī*. Above, p. 81, I have already stated that the names 'Vimala Sāh' or 'Vimala Shihā,' recently written 'Vimala Śā,' in my opinion owe their origin to a misunderstanding of the term *Vimala-vasahikā*, 'Vimala's temple'. Similarly, *Lānga vasahikā* has given rise to the name (for Tejapāla's brother) 'Luniga Sahikā,' in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI p. 309.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII p. 200, Prof. Lüders has shown that the ordinary name of the temple is *Lānasthā* (or *Lānasthā*)-*vasahikā* or *Lāpā vasahikā*. In inscriptions I also find *Lānga-vasahikā*, *Tējapāla-vasahikā* and *Tējāla-vasahī*, and in literary works *Lānga-vasatī*.

frequently occur are the Vikrama years 1245 (22 times) and 1378 (25 times). Of the inscriptions at Tējahpāla's temple 77 are dated, and here the earliest dates are of the Vikrama year 1287 (about A.D. 1230), the very year in which the temple was founded, while the latest date (in No. 1748) is one of the [Vikrama] year 1911 (about A.D. 1854), no less than 47 inscriptions are dated between the Vikrama years 1287 and 1297, and 9 between 1346 and 1389. Of the 30 inscriptions at the temple of Achaḷēśvara 22 are dated. Here the earliest inscription appears to be one (No. 1950), unfortunately almost entirely effaced, of the [Vikrama] year 1186 (about A.D. 1129), and another (No. 1941) seems to contain a date in the [Vikrama] year 1191. What I consider to be certain is, that No. 1951 of Mr. Cousens' *List* is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1207 (about A.D. 1150), in the reign of the [Paramāra] *Mahāmandalēśvara Yaśōdhavaladēva* (a feudatory of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla, an inscription of whom is dated in the same year).¹ Two other inscriptions (Nos. 1945 and 1946) are dated in the [Vikrama] years 122[5] and 122[8], the rest in 1377 and later years. Regarding the 13 remaining inscriptions, it will suffice to say that the Guhila inscription mentioned above (No. 1953 of the *List*) is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1342, and that the dates which occur in others are of later years.

Of the inscriptions at the temple of Nēminātha, the two largest and most important, together with 30 shorter ones, have been edited from Mr. Cousens' materials by Prof. Luders, above, Vol. VIII p. 200 ff. I now give the text of an inscription of the [Vikrama] year 1378, which is at the temple of Rishabhā, and the chief point of interest in which is the statement that that temple was founded in the Vikrama year 1088 (about A.D. 1031) by a certain Vimala, who had been appointed *daṇḍapati* at Arbuda by [the Chaulukya] Bhīmadēva [I].

Before I proceed to describe the inscription, I may state that the date here given for the foundation of the temple is known to us also from other sources. In *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 243, the late Dr. Klatt gave an extract from a *Paṭtāvalī* of the Kharatara-gachchha, according to which the minister Vimala, who belonged to the Pōravāda (Prāgvāta) family, and who broke the parasols of thirteen Sultāns and established the town of Chandrāvati, caused a temple of Rishabhādēva to be built on the mountain Arbuda — a temple which even now is known by the name *Vimala-vasahtī*,² and which, it is added, was consecrated by Vardhamānasūri in the year 1088. The same story, with the same date, is more fully given in the extracts in Prof. Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin MSS.*, Vol. II pp. 1036 and 1037, where we are moreover told that, to obtain from the Brāhmins the ground on which he intended to build the temple, Vimala had to cover it with gold coins, and that he expended 18 crores and 53 lacs (185,300,000) in the building of the temple. And the date also occurs in an interesting extract from Jinaprabhasūri's *Tīrthakalpa*, in Prof. Peterson's *Fourth Report*, p. 92 f. There, again, the Vikrama year 1088 is given³ for the foundation of the *Vimala-vasati*, and 1288 for that of the *Lāṅga-vasati*,⁴ and it is also stated that, when the two temples had been demolished or damaged (*bhagna*) by the Mlēcchhas, they were repaired in the Śaka year 1243 (i.e. the Vikrama year 1378), the first by Lalla, the son of Mahanāsīmha, and the other by Pithāda, the son of the merchant Chandasīmha. We shall see below that our inscription actually records the restoration, in 1378, of Vimala's temple by Lalla (Lāṅga), the son of Mahanāsīmha, and

¹ No. 129 of my *Northern List*.

² So far as I can see, there is something wrong in the verses 39 and 40, as given by Prof. Peterson, but regarding the date of the construction of the *Vimala-vasati* there can be no doubt.

³ According to the extracts, the *sūtradhāra*, who built the *Lāṅga-vasati*, was Śōbhanadēva, who is mentioned in the same way (as *pradāḍakāraka sūtradhāra*) in Mātunga's *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, p. 269. This builder's name actually occurs in No. 1874 of Mr. Cousens' *List*, an inscription of the Vikrama year 1288 — Jinaprabhasūri's account of the mountain Arbuda, from which the extracts are taken, seems to be based on inscriptions and to be quite trustworthy.

Vijada, the son of Dhanasimha, and the name of the person who repaired the temple of Tejapāśa (the *Lūnya-vasati*) is given as Pēthada in an inscription¹ at that temple, the full text of which is —

L 1 Ōm² || ²Ā-chamdrārkam namdatād-ēsha samghā-¹dhisah srima-
2 n Pēthadah samgha-yuktah | jīrnōddhāiam Vastupāśa
3 sya chaityē |⁴ tēnē yēn-ēhāśrbudādāraū sva-sārah ||

The inscription with which we are more immediately concerned here⁵ is on a black slab, built into the side wall of a shrine in the corridor of Vimala's temple. It contains 30 lines of writing which cover a space between 1' 7½" and 1' 8" broad by 1' 1½" high, but of which only the first 22 lines extend over the full breadth of this space, lines 23-29 are only 1' 5½" long and line 30 (which contains merely a date) only 3¾". The greater part of the writing is well preserved, but in line 16 about 10 *akṣaras* and in line 17 about 4 *akṣaras* are effaced, and in some places the writing is difficult to read, mainly, as it seems to me, because the letters have been formed carelessly and are so close to one another that they have not come out clearly in the ink-impression at my disposal.⁶ The size of the letters is between ¼" and ⅜". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the words *om* || *śrī-Arṇavatīrīha-prasāstīr-likhyate* || at the commencement, the words *atha rājavalī* || in line 9, and the date in line 30, the text is in verse, the number of verses being 42. In respect of orthography only few remarks are necessary. There are separate signs for the letters *b* and *v*, and the sign for the former has been wrongly employed also for *v* in *sarabagā*, l 16, and *sa nḥabāh*, l 21. The palatal sibilant is used instead of the dental in *manasē*, l 4, *sīmha-* (for *simha-*), l 6, and *sahasrē*, l 8, and the dental instead of the palatal in *nvēstam*, l 8, *psala-*, l 18, and *sase-*, l 29. Instead of the vowel *ri* we have the syllable *ri* in *Rishabha* ll 26 and 29, and in line 24 the author himself has written *śhaḍ-aritavah* instead of *śhaḍ-ritavah*, which would not have suited the metre.⁷ What is more interesting is, that in line 4 we find *nripasa* for *nripasya*, and in line 21 *vādāyā* instead of *vādānyā*. The latter reminds us of the name *Nyānasakti* (instead of *Jānasakti*) in *Ind Ant* Vol XIII, p 93, l 26, and shows that in Rājputāna as well as in the Kanarese country there could have been hardly any difference in pronunciation between *jña* and *nya*, and *nripasa* recalls *tata* and similar genitive cases of far more ancient inscriptions,⁸ without, of course, proving more than that the pronunciation of *s* must have been similar to that of the conjunct *sy*. In respect of grammar I need draw attention only to the word *vidadhāna*, in line 3, the reading of which is certain, and which the author undoubtedly has used as a 3rd person singular of the Perfect of *vi-dhā* (instead of *vidadhē*), probably misled by the participle *vidadhāna* which was more familiar to him than the proper verbal form.¹⁰ Though the writer or engraver in some places has done his work carelessly, I believe that, with the exception of what has been entirely effaced

¹ No 1743 of Mr Cousens' List, "on pilaster near shrine doorway of the principal temple in Vastupāśa temple"

² Denoted by a symbol

³ Metre Sālinī

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous

⁵ No 1790 of Mr Cousens' List

⁶ When my text was finished, I was able to compare impressions kindly sent to me by Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha and by the Government Epigraphist, which in one or two places where there had been some doubt confirmed the correctness of my readings

⁷ For curiosity's sake it may be stated that the Sanskrit *tasa*, German 'hase,' English 'hare,' seems to go back to an original *sasa*, compare Prof Wackernagel's *Altind Gramm* Vol I p 225

⁸ Compare *ghadricha* and *shadarcha* in the St. Petersburg Dictionary

⁹ See Prof Rapson in *Journ Roy Asi Soc* 1900, p 104 f, and Prof Franke's *Pāli and Sanskrit*, p 97 f, and compare the genitive cases *terasa*, *sagata*, etc, in *Ep Zeylanica*, Vol I p 18 ff

¹⁰ Proper Perfect forms which occur in the text are *bādhāva*, *bādhāvuh*, *chakāra*, *didāa*, *prapīd* and *kārayām-dātuh*

and of perhaps the last words of verse 21, the original text may everywhere be restored with confidence

The object of the inscription is, to record that in the [Vikrama] year 1378 two persons, Lalla (Lāḷiga) and Vijāda, for the spiritual welfare of their parents repaired the temple of Rishabha (Ādinātha) on the mountain Arbuda. And the inscription is divided into three parts. The first part (verses 1-13) is a *prasasta* or eulogy of the sacred Arbuda, but besides glorifying that locality and some mythical or divine beings (Ambikā and Śrīmātā) residing there, it also gives a few historical details connected with it, and especially records the foundation, in the Vikrama year 1088, of the temple of Ādinātha by Vimala. The second part (vv 14-23) contains a *rājavalī* of the chiefs who at the time of the restoration of the temple were in possession of the mountain. And the third part (vv 24-38) gives an account of the family of the men by whom the temple was repaired. The concluding verses (39-42) record the name and spiritual lineage of the priest or teacher who consecrated the restored building, and the exact date when he did so.

To omit what is of no historical interest, the first part begins with the well-known story how on the mountain Arbuda there sprang from the fire-pit (*anala-kunda*, *agni-kunḍa*) of the sage Vasishtha the hero Paramāra. In his lineage appeared the hero Kāṇhadādeva, and in his family there was a chief named Dhandhu (Dhandhurāja), who was lord of the town of Chandravatī and who, averse from rendering homage to the [Chaulukya] king Bhīmadēva [I] and to escape that king's anger, took refuge with king Bhōja, the lord of Dhārā. The author then, rather abruptly, tells us that in the Prāgvāta family there was a distinguished personage named Vimala in whom religion, immersed in darkness through the wickedness of the times, suddenly shone forth again in its splendour. He was appointed by king Bhīma *dandapati* (commander of the forces or governor) at Arbuda, and there one night was enjoined by the divine Ambikā to build on the mountain a beautiful dwelling for the Yūgādibhartrī (Yūgādijna, Ādinātha). That Vimala obeyed the request the author intimates in the verse "I adore the holy Ādinātha who was placed on the top of Arbuda by the glorious Vimala, when one thousand and eighty-eight years had passed since (the time of) the glorious king Vikramāditya."

The chief Dhandhu or Dhandhurāja, spoken of in the preceding paragraph, apparently is the Pramāra (or Paramāra) Dhandhuka mentioned above, p 11, whose son Pūrnapāla ruled the Arbuda territory in the Vikrama years 1099 and 1102¹. He would of course have been a contemporary of both the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I and the Paramāra Bhōjadēva of Mālava — Vimala's name occurs in another inscription at his own temple, dated in the Vikrama year 1201. That inscription,² No 1767 of Mr Cousens' List, contains 10 lines of writing which covers a space about 2' 6" long by 5½" high, and contains 17 verses. In the ink-impression the first two lines of it cannot be read with any confidence, but so far as I can see, a man is spoken of in them who belonged to the Śrīmāla *kula* and was an ornament of the Prāgvāta *vamsa*. His son was Lahadha, who was somehow connected with the king Mūla (see the Chaulukya Mūlarāja I) and was also known by the name Vira-mahattama. Lahadha had two sons. The first of them was the minister Nēdha, and the second Vimala, who in verse 7 is described thus —

Dvītiyakō-dvāitamatāvalamvī(bī) damdādhipah śrī-Vimalō va(ba) bhūva |
yēn-ēdam-nachair-bhavasimdhunētukalpam vimrmmāpitam-atra vēsma ||

¹ The name Dhandhuka also occurs in the genealogy of the Paramāras of Chandravatī, above, Vol VIII p 201.

² According to Mr Cousens the inscription is over the doorway of cell No 10 in the corridor of Vimala's temple. It is referred to in *As Res* Vol XVI p 311, in the words. "One inscription bears date S 1201, but as nothing else is decipherable, it is of no further value."

Nēḍha's son was Lāḷga, his son was the minister Mahāduka,¹ and he again had two sons, Hēma and Daśaratha. And the object of the inscription is, to record that Daśaratha at the temple of Rishabha set up an image of Nēmiṇṇésa (Nēmitrībhakara, *ie* Nēminātha), which was installed on Friday, the first *tithi* of Jyēṣṭha of the Vikrama year 1201, corresponding to Friday, the 5th May A.D. 1144. I may add that the genealogy here given is for the greater part corroborated by another inscription at Vimala's temple, No 1768 of Mr Consens's List,² the full text of which is —

- L 1 Śrī-Śrīmālakulōdbhava |⁴ Viramahāmamtri putra-[sa]nmamtri- | śrī-
 2 Nēḍha-putra-Lāḷga-tatsuta-Mahāduka-⁵śutēn-ēdam || Nijapu-
 3 trakalatra-samanvitēna |⁴ sanmamtri-Daśarathēn-ēdam | śrī-Nēmi-
 4 nātha-[b]ṛmvaṃ |⁶ mōkshārtham kāntam rāmyam ||

For us the main point of interest is the date which the first of the two inscriptions furnishes for Daśaratha, for that date, being of the Vikrama year 1201, shows that Vimala, the younger brother of Daśaratha's great-grandfather Nēḍha, may well have lived in the Vikrama year 1088, the traditional date for the foundation of his temple.

The contents of the second part of our inscription (verses 14-23) I have already given above, p. 81 f. This *rāyāvalī* in verse 14 commences with Āsarāja, who belonged to the Chāhuvāma (Chāhuvāna, Chāhamāna) family and was king of the town of Naddūla (Naddūla). After him came Samarasimha; and his son was Mahanāsimhabhata (v. 15). Then came Pratsāpamalla, and to him was born Vijāda, the lord of the Marusthali *maṇḍala* (v. 16). He had three sons, the first of whom was the king Lūṅga (v. 17). Verse 18 then eulogizes Lūṅha 'who like a god of death devoured the host of adversaries', and verse 19 Lumbha, of whom verse 20 records that he conquered the mountain Arbuda, and that, after having ruled the earth, he became the lord of heaven (*ie* died). Verse 21 then eulogizes Tējasimha, the son of Lūṅga, verse 22 wishes long life to Tihunāka, and the mutilated verse 23 appears to say that Lumbhaka together with Tējasimha and Tihuna (*śrīmāl-Lumbhaka-nāma samān vitas=Tējasimha-Tihunābhyaṃ*) in right manner carried on the government of the mountain Arbuda.

Regarding the first part of this *rāyāvalī*, as far as Vijāda, there can be no doubt, and I have nothing to add to what I have previously said about it. A difficulty arises concerning the sons of Vijāda. According to the inscription of Luntigadēva, above, p. 80, Vijāda, who is also called Daśasyandana (Daśaratha), had four sons — Lāvanyakarna, Lūṅha (Luntiga), Lakshmana, and Lūṇavarman, of whom Lāvanyakarna is distinctly called the eldest (*jyēṣṭha*). According to the present inscription Vijāda had three sons the first (*dāya*) of whom was Lūṅga. After Lūṅga the inscription mentions Lūṇḍha and Lumbha, without saying that they were his younger brothers or in any way specifying their relationship. In my account of Luntigadēva's inscription I have identified Lūṅga with Lāvanyakarna, and have taken Lūṇḍha and Lumbha to be the names of his brothers, identifying Lūṇḍha with Lūṇha (Luntiga) and Lumbha with Lūṇavarman. Other inscriptions are sure to be discovered which will show whether I am right or wrong. In the meantime I feel bound to state that my friend Mr Ojha, than whom nobody is better acquainted with the history of his country, takes the three names Lūṅga, Lūṇḍha and Lumbha (Lumbhaka) to denote one and the same person, and to be all Sanskritized forms of Lumbhā, denoting a chief 'commonly called राव लुभा,

¹ The metre shows that the name is correct here.

² The inscription is on the seat of an image in cell No. 10 in the corridor.

³ Metre of the two verses Āryā.

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

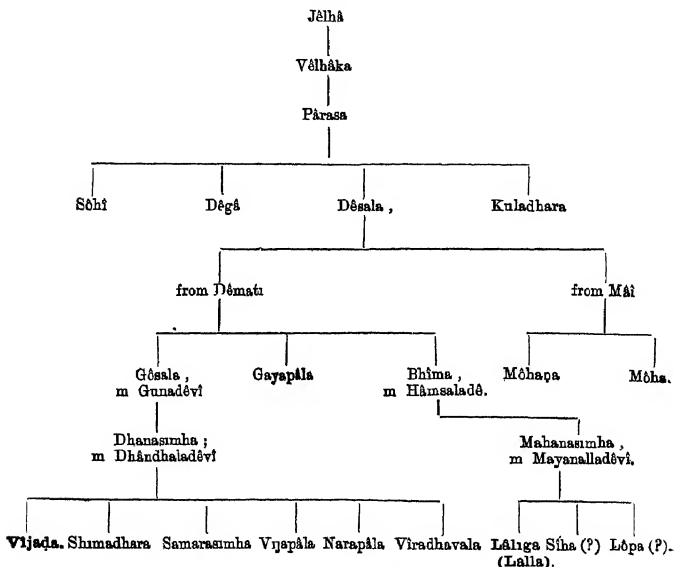
⁵ The metre requires us to read *Mahāduka*.

⁶ Read *-bṛmvaṃ*.

the famous conqueror of Ābā. If my learned friend should be right, the last lines of the genealogical Table published above, p 83, would of course have to be slightly altered. Mr Ojha agrees with me in considering Tihunāka (Tihuna) to be a younger brother of Tējasimha, but from his point of view places both, together with Tējasimha's son Kānhaḍadēva, under Luṭṭiga (Lundha, Lūnga, Lumbha). At the time when our inscription was composed, in the Vikrama year 1378, Lumbha was dead, and the government of Ābā must have been actually carried on by Tējasimha.

The account, which forms the third part of our inscription (verses 24-38), of the family of the two men (Lalla and Vijāda) who restored the temple, contains little more than a list of names which may be seen from the following Table —

Genealogical Table.



The individuals mentioned in this Table were devotedly attached to the Jaina faith. Jēlā, the founder of the family, was a merchant, and his *guru* was Dharmasūtri.¹ His place of residence was given in the inscription, but the name has been effaced. Of Dēsala it is said that he made fourteen processions to the seven sacred places,² Śātrunjaya and the rest. The other members of the family are eulogized in general terms.

¹ See below, p 154.

² The seven *śrīhas* or *kṣētras* are frequently mentioned, but I have not yet found the names of the seven places.

There are at Vimala's temple several short inscriptions of members of this family, likewise dated in the [Vikrama] year 1378. And there is a longer inscription¹ of the same family, No. 1791 of Mr Cousens' List, which is dated, in words and figures, in the Vikrama year 1309. This inscription contains 25 lines of writing with 15 verses, and records the installation, by Ānandasūri, of an image of Nemiṇa (Nēminātha) at Vimala's *vasahukā*. We learn from it that the family belonged to the Ūkā[śa] *vamā*,² and that its founder, Jēhāka, as he is there called, was an inhabitant of Māndavyapura (Mandor). After Kuladhara it mentions five sons of his, but as the text is partly effaced, I am not at present prepared to give their names from the ink-impression at my disposal.

The remaining verses (39-42) of our inscription record that Rishabha was installed (or rather re-installed) on the mountain Arbuda by the *guru* or *sūri* Jñānachandra, on a date in the [Vikrama] year 1378. Regarding the spiritual lineage of Jñānachandra, we learn that he was preceded by Amaraprabhasūri, and that the founder of the lineage was Dharmasūri, also called Dharmaghōsha-gaṇāryaman, i.e. Dharmaghōsha, 'the sun of the gana,' 'who defeated Vādicandra and Gunachandra, and caused the awakening of three kings'. Other inscriptions of the [Vikrama] year 1378 speak of Jñānachandra either as being in the *paṭṭa* of Dharmasūri³ or as being in the *paṭṭa* of Dharmaghōshasūri,⁴ and an undated inscription, No. 1796 of Mr Cousens' List, commences with the words *Śrīmad-Dharmaghōshasūri-paṭṭe śrī-Āna(n)dasūri-śrī-Amaraprabhasūri-paṭṭe śrī-Jñānachandrasūri*. The Ānandasūri of the last must be the Ānandasūri mentioned above with a date in the Vikrama year 1309, and the Ānandasūri and Amaraprabhasūri of the inscription apparently are the Ānandasūri and his disciple Amaraprabhasūri who, according to Prof Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p. 110, l. 1, are mentioned in a manuscript written by Amaraprabhasūri's advice in the [Vikrama] year 1344. Before Ānandasūri there is mentioned, *ibid* p. 109, Dharmasūri (a disciple of Śīlabhadrasūri of the Rāja-gaichha), who to the pride of conceited disputants was what the lion's roar is to an elephant, and who put an end to the intoxication of the king *Vigraha*. And the same person is mentioned, under the name Dharmaghōshasūri, in Prof Peterson's *Third Report*, App pp. 15 and 307, where he is represented as enlightening the king of Śākambhari; and *ibid* p. 262, where he is said to have defeated disputants in the presence of the king of the Sapādalaksha country. From all this there can be no doubt that, of the three kings who in our inscription are spoken of as having been awakened by Dharmasūri, one was a king Vigraharāja of Śākambhari (the capital of the Sapādalaksha country). In fact, I believe that that king is identical with Visaladēva-Vigraharāja, whose Delhi Siwālik pillar inscriptions (No. 144 of my *Northern List*) are dated in the Vikrama year 1220 (in A.D. 1164), and that Dharmaghōshasūri himself is a person of that name who in a short Vimala temple inscription (No. 1906 of Mr Cousens' List) is mentioned with a date in the [Vikrama] year 1226 (in A.D. 1170). Who the two other kings were I do not know, nor have I identified yet Vādicandra⁵ and Gunachandra who were defeated by Dharmasūri.

The date given in verse 42 is Monday, the ninth *tithi* of the dark half (*śukla*) of Jyēsthā in the year made up of the *vasus* (8), the *munis* (7), the *gunas* (3) and the moon (1), i.e. the [Vikrama] year 1378. Here there is the difficulty that the word *śukla*, which I have translated by 'the dark half,' might equally well denote 'the bright half', and at first sight the latter interpretation might really seem to be preferable, because in line 30 of our text the date is repeated

¹ This is the inscription referred to in *As Res* Vol. XVI p. 311, in the words "Another (*viz* inscription), in like manner, shows a date S. 1309, but nothing else."

² I.e. the Ūśavāla tribe, compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II p. 40.

³ Nos. 1769, 1822 and 1852 of Mr Cousens' List.

⁴ Nos. 1766, 1758A, 1764 and 1793 of Mr Cousens' List.

⁵ There is a Vādicandra who composed the *Jñānasūryōdaya*, I do not know whether he is the man mentioned in our inscription.

in the words 1379 *Jyēshtha-sudī 9 Sōmē* But against this it has to be said that in four independent inscriptions (Nos 1771, 1821, 1829 and 1904 of Mr Cousens' List) we have *samvat* (or *sañ*) 1378 *varshē Jyēshtha-vadī 9 Sōma-dinē* (or *Sōmē*), which evidently is the same date as the one given in our inscription. And besides, for the bright half of *Jyāishtha* the date would be quite incorrect for 1378 (as a *Chaitrādī* current or expired, or *Kārttikādī* expired year), whereas for the dark half of the *pūrṇmānta* *Jyāishtha* of the expired *Kārttikādī* Vikrama year 1378 it regularly corresponds to Monday, the 10th May A D 1322 For these reasons I regard my translation of the date to be correct and take Monday, the 10th May A D. 1322 to be its proper equivalent, and I consider the way in which the date has been repeated in line 30 (where '1379' under any circumstances would be suspicious) to be due to a mistake

TEXT¹

- 1 || Om² || ³Srī-Arbudatīrtha-prasāsū-likhyatē || ⁴Amgikrit-āchalapadō vṛishabhāstō-
sī⁵ | ⁶bhūtār-ganādhipatsēvita-pādāpadmah | śambhu-yugādīpurushō jagad-
ēkanāthah punyāya pallavayatu⁶ prātī-vāsāam sa[h]⁷ || 1
2 ⁸Nibaddha-mālāh phalibhūh sapatīa⁹ | ¹⁰di-mair-naēmdī-aur-iva sēvyamānah |
pādāgi-ajāgrad-bahuvāhnikah sī-Arbudō namdatu śaila-rājah || 2 Yasmin
¹⁰Viśiṣṭānalakumda-jannmā kṣhāntkṣhātī-trānapaah pur-āstī | pratyashī-¹¹
3 rthiśārthōnmathanā-kṛitāthī¹² | ¹³kṣhātāv-īha śrī-Paramāra-nāmā || 3 ¹⁴Tad-anvayē
Kānhsadādēva-vīrah pur-āvir-āśiva¹⁴ | piabala-pratāpah | chiram nivāsam
vidadhāna¹⁵ yasya karāmbujē sarvājagaj-jayaśrīh || 4 ¹⁶Tatkulakamala-
4 marālāh kīla[h]¹⁷ | pratyarthi-mamdalīkānā[m*] | Chandra-vatīpur-īśah samajāni
vir-āgrani[ī*]=Dha[m*]dhuh || 5 ¹⁷Srī-Bhimadēvasya nṛpāśa(sya) sēvāma-
amānya[m]ānah kīla Dhamdhurājah | narēśa-rōshāch=cha tatō manaśvī(svi)
Dhārādhipam

¹ From an impression supplied by Mr Cousens, No 1790 of his List

² Denoted by a symbol

³ Here, as often elsewhere, the vowel of *śrī* is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name

⁴ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁵ This sign of punctuation, which is superfluous, may have been struck out in the original

⁶ Originally **yantu* was engraved

⁷ Originally *śd* was engraved, but it seems to have been changed to *śah* — So far as I can see, the verse does not admit of a proper construction. In the three first Pādas the author addresses the Jaina Tirthamkara Rishabha, in terms which would be equally applicable to the god Śiva, and, as the text stands, he then in the fourth Pāda speaks of him in the third person, in words which would literally mean 'may he day by day put forth sprouts for (our) religious merit'. Instead of *pallavayatu* I should have expected *pallavaya*, followed by an accusative case and generally words to some such effect as 'cause our devotion to thee to sprout for our religious merit' (Compare *Śāstrīyaya-māhātmya* XIV 33 *tādrīśānāḥ hī sādābhakti-vally-sēvām pallavānyasī*). In the first Pāda I take *vṛishabhāstō-sī* to be equivalent to both *Vṛishabha, āstō-sī*, and *vṛishabhāstō-sī*, so that the Pāda would mean both 'O Vṛishabha (Rishabha)' having chosen this mountain for your residence, you are seated (here), and 'you (O Śiva!), who have taken the name Achala, are seated on a bull'. I am aware that Rishabha has a bull for his cognizance, and that in representations of him this animal is figured beneath him, but I am not sure that he could be described as 'seated on a bull'. — In the second Pāda *ganddhīpati* denotes both Puṇḍarika, the leader of Rishabha's *gana*, and Gaṇēśa

⁸ Metre of verses 2 and 8 *Upajātī*

⁹ Read *sapatīra* — The word *phala* means both 'fruit' and 'the blade (of a sword), etc.; *patīra* 'leaves' and 'vehicles,' etc.; and *edānī* 'rivers' and 'armies'

¹⁰ Read *Vasatīlā*, the same wrong reading we have below, in line 9 — With *anala-kunda* compare *agni-kunda* in *Ep Ind* Vol I p 234, v 5

¹¹ The *akṣhara śhī* is a mistake for *rthī*, and should be struck out because *rthī* has been repeated at the commencement of line 3

¹² Read *kṛitāthāh*

¹³ Metre *Upēndravajrā*

¹⁴ Read *-dātī*

¹⁵ Wrong for *vidadhā*, which would not have suited the metre

¹⁶ Metre *Āryā*

¹⁷ Metre: *Upajātī*

- 5 Bhôjanripam prapêdê || 6 ¹Prâgvâtavamê-âbharanam babbûva ratnam
pradhânam Thi(vi)mal-âbhidhâna | yas-tôjasê ²dusamay-âdhakâra-magnôpi
dharmanah sahas-âvir-âsita³ || 7 ⁴Tava(ta)sê-cha Bhimêna narâdhîpêna^{sa}
pratâpa-bhârmi(mi)r=Vima-
- 6 lô mahâmatah | kva(kr)tô-[r*]budê damdapatih satâm priyah priyamvadô
namdatta Jaina-sâsanê || 8 ⁵âôkapat[t*]rârûna-pânpallavâ samullasatkêsa-
sâm(sim)ha-vâhanâ [r*] sîsudvayâlamkrita-vigrahâ sati⁵ satâm kri-
7 yâd=vighna-vinâsam=Ambikâ || 9 Âth-Ânyadâ tam msi damdanâyakam samâdâdêa
prayatâ kil=Âmbikâ [r*] ih=âchi(cha)lê tvam kuru sadma sumdaram
Yugâdibharttur=nirapâya-samârayah || 10 ⁶Śrī-Vikramâdityanripâd-vya-
8 titê shtâsîti-yâtê saradâm sahasrê(arê) | Śrī-Âdi[nâ]tha[m]⁷ śikharê-rbudasya
mvesi(śi)tam śrī-[V]imalêna vamdê || 11 ⁸Vighnâdhivyâdhu-hamtrî yâ mâtê-śva
pranat-âmgishu | Śrîpumjârjaya-tanayâ Śrîmâtâ bhavatâm⁹ śrī-
9 yê || 12 ¹⁰Achalêśa ¹¹Vîśishtânalataatni-Mamâdâkinivimalasaliha | punyâni yasya
śrī[m]vê¹² jayamvi(tu) vîvidhâni tîrthâni || 13 Âtha râjâvali || ¹³Vairivargga-
dalanê gata-tamdras=Châhuvâmakulakarava-çamdras¹⁴ | yê Nadûla-na-
10 gamasya narêśa Âsârjaya ita vîravarô sbhût || 14 ¹⁵Prabalavârîdâvâsala-
vândah Samaras[m*]ha ita prathitas=tatah | Mahanasimhabhatah subhat-
âgranih prithu-yasâ ajanishtha tad-âmgajah || 15 ¹⁶Pratâpamallas-tad-ann pratâ-
11 pi babbûva bhûpâla-sadassu mânayâ [r*] vîr-âvatamsô-jani¹⁷ Vijadô-sya
Marusthalimamdala-bhûtmibhartî || 16 ¹⁸Âsan¹⁸ trayas=tat-tanayâ nay-âghyâ
mûrttâh pum-arthâ iva bhâgabho(bhâ)jab | âdyô dharitripati-rakshapâlabh
khyâtah kshîtô(tau) Lâniga-
12 nâmadhêyah || 17 ¹⁹Nyâyamârgga-śikharî madhumâsah²⁰ kâlavaksha(t=ka)valayann=
ari-vrajam | mamadilika-paha(da)vîm-apâlahâ(ya)l=Lumdha ity=abhidhaya
dhîyâm mûhuh || 18 ²¹Vipakshanârî-nayanâmbupûras=çakâra yah kîrtîti-

¹ Metre Indravajrî² Read -dêd³ Read dusamay(or dushamay) âdhakâra-⁴ Metre of verses 8-10 Vamâsthâ.⁵ Here a sign of punctuation was originally engraved — Ambikâ is similarly described in the inscription of the Vikrama year 1201, mentioned above, p 151 f, in a verse the correct reading of which I take to be *Vikata-kutladamêhîrâ-bhîkandeyam tatikâ cha dhutajabalasutâlâ-bhâsuram tungam-uchohash | çahai sutam-uddrahâ y-dnka sametham sad-avaç mrgapatis-madhîrâdhâ s=Âmbikâ vâ-stu tushîtya ||* Compare the representation of Kushmândul in *Ind Ant* Vol XXXII p 463, Plate iv⁶ Metre Upajâti⁷ It is difficult to say whether we should read *Adindithan* or *Adidêam* The *akshara* which follows upon *dê*, originally was *dê*, but seems to have been altered, and the next *akshara* looks more like *th* than *va*, but it might be said that *th* has been wrongly engraved instead of *v* also in *Thimâla* for *Vimâla*, in line 5 On the whole I think that the reading *Adindithan* is preferable⁸ Metre Ślôka (Anashubh)⁹ The sign for *d* in this word is clearly struck out in the original, and it seems probable that the engraver intended to alter *bhacatâm* to *bhacatu* — In the above I have purposely given *Śrîmâtâ*, not *śrî Mâtâ*, because in other inscriptions *śrî* appears clearly to be part of the name, not an honorific prefix I may mention that in No 1774 of Mr Cousens' List we have *Śrîmâtâdêv* as one word, not *Śrîmâtîrîdêv*, and that in the account given of this mythical being and her father in Mârutunga's *Prabandhachintâman*, p 282 ff, the base of the word is both *Śrîmâtâ* and *Śrîmâtî*. In the same account the father's name is *Śrîpûnîya*¹⁰ Metre Âryâ¹¹ Read *Parishîdê*; compare above, line 2¹² Read *śringê* — Since at the commencement of the verse the mountain is addressed in the vocative case, one would have expected *tava śringê*, but this would not have suited the metre¹³ Metre Svâgatâ¹⁴ *Châhuvâma* probably is a mistake for either *Châhuvâma* or *Châhuvâna*¹⁵ Metre Drutavilambita.¹⁶ Metre Upajâti.¹⁷ After the *ô* of *tamed* another vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out.¹⁸ Metre Indravajrî — Read *Asami-trayas*¹⁹ Metre Rathôddhatâ.²⁰ Read, probably, *madhusaravah*²¹ Metre . Upajâti

- 13 latām sapat[t*]rām | babhūva bhūmipati-labdhāmānō Lumbh-ābhūdhānō jagad-
 ākavirāḥ || 19 ¹Samhṛitya śāstrūn prabalanu² balēna śrī-A[r*]budam prāpya
 nagādhurājam | ³[bh]nktvā sa [bh]ūma[m*]dana-rā[jyam=uchchaḥ] || ⁴svarlō-
- 14 ka-lōkādhīpatir=babhūva || 20 ⁵Lūngasya tanujō jagaj-jajyī Tējasimba itī
 tējasām midhī | yat-pratāpadavapāvakaś-chiram varivargga-vipadam
 nahatisma⁶ || 21 ⁷Karāgia[jā]grā[t*]karavā-
- 15 ladamda-khamdikrit-āśēshavirōdhivargga | prithyām⁸ prasiddhas-Tihunāka-nāmā
 vīr-āvatamsah sa chirayur-astu || 21 (22) ⁹Śrīmal-Lumbhaka-nāmā sama[nv]itas=
 Tējasimba-Tigu(hu)nābhyām | A[r*]buda[g]nīśa-
- 16 rājyam nyāyami[dh ?]¹⁰ . . . [|| 23*] . . . ¹¹urapura-vāsi
 suguru-śrī Dharmmasūti-padabhaktah [I*] Sarbajñanāsēna-ratah¹² sa jayati
 Jēlha-ābhūdhah śrēṣṭhī(śhthī) || 24 Tat-tanayah su-nayō=bhūti¹³ Vē-
- 17 [hā]kah sakala-bhūta¹⁴ . . . [||] tat-putrah su-charitra[h] punya-midhī
 Pārassah sādhub || 25 Sōhi-Dēgā-Dēsala-Kuladhara-nāmnā tad-amgaḥ jātāh |
 chaṭvārāh kulamamdura-sudrīdhastambh-ābhīrāmā [yē ||]
- 18 26 ¹⁵Śrī-Dēsalah sukṛi[tapēsa]la-vittakō[tis=¹⁶chamcha]chohaturdaśajagaj-janitā-
 vad[āta]h¹⁷ | Śāstrumjayapramukha-vīrutasaptatī[rtha]-¹⁸yātrās=cha[tu]rdaśa chakāra
 mahāmāhēna || 27 ¹⁹Dē[ma]tū-Māi-
- 19 nāmni sādhu-śrī-Dēsāsyā bhāryō dvē | nirmalaślagun-ā[dhy]ā dayā-kṣa[mē]
 Jaina-dharmasya || 28 Dēmahakūshi-prabhavā Gōsa[ra]j-Gayapāla-Bhī[ma]-
 nāmānah | Māi-kukshēr-jātan Mōha-
- 20 na-Mōh-ābhūdhau putrau || 29 Jmaśāsanakamala-raviḥ sādhub śrī-Gōsalō-
 vi[dat]²⁰ kīrtum | gunaratnarōhanadhārā²¹ Gunadēvī priyatamā tasya || 30
²²Saddharmmakarmm-akaniba-
- 21 dhabuddhis=²³tad-amgaḥ śrī-Dhanasimba-sādhub | bhāryā tādīyā sadayā
 vadāpā(nyā) mānyā satām Dhāmdhaladēvi-samjñā || 31 ²⁴Sādhi[r*]=Bhīmasya
 eutō Hēmasaladēkukshī-sambhāva(va)h śrīmān | ma-²⁵
- 22 hūmā-midhur-mahaujā mahāmatur-Māhanasimb-ākhyā[h] || 32 ²⁶Mayanalladēvi-
 varakukshisukti-muktās=trayas-tat-tanayā jayanti | jēshō²⁷ jagadvyāpi-
 yasahprakāśah sādhu-agrapī[r*]=Lālga-

¹ Metre Indravajrā² Read *prabalan*³ Up to the end of the line the *akṣaras* in brackets are more or less conjectural, they are carelessly written in the original For *bhāmamdana* read *bhāmamda*-⁴ 'his sign of punctuation is superfluous⁵ Metre Rathōddhatā⁶ The four *akṣaras nahatisma* are quite clear in the original, but offend against the metre and yield no proper meaning The only alteration which I could suggest would be *dahatu=īha*⁷ Metre Upajātā⁸ Read *prithvyām*⁹ Metre of verses 23 26 Āryā¹⁰ Here about 10 *akṣaras* are effaced¹¹ In No 1791 of Mr Cousens' List (see above, p 154) Jēlhaḥ is described as an inhabitant of Māndavyapura¹² Read *Sarvajñānāsana ratah*¹³ Read *bhūti*¹⁴ Here about 4 *akṣaras* are effaced¹⁵ Metre Vasantilakā¹⁶ Read *ptāla vittakōti*¹⁷ Read, perhaps, *ōdnah*¹⁸ Originally *Wrihō*, with a sign of punctuation after it, was engraved¹⁹ Metre of verses 28 30 Āryā²⁰ The reading is conjectural The original has *vī [t ?] dē kīrtim*²¹ Compare *gunaratnarōhanagiri* in my *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS*, Bombay, 1881, p 43, line 1²² Metre Upajātā²³ After the *akṣara dāhi* a sign of punctuation was originally engraved, but has been struck out²⁴ Metre Āryā²⁵ Here originally *mā* was engraved, but the sign for *ś* seems to have been struck out, the two *akṣaras hīma* at the commencement of the next line are quite clear The author has written the feminine *māhīm* instead of the masculine *māhīman*²⁶ Metre Indravajrā — The two *akṣaras mayā* at the commencement of the verse were apparently read as one syllable (*may*)²⁷ Read *jyēshthō*

- 23 sādhanurājah || 33 ¹Āśvināyā[*v*]=iva śrēsth[*an*] kamsthān guna-śāhnan [*i*]*
Siha-Lōp-ābhudhan² dharmmadhyāna-pravanamānasau || 34 Shat sutā
Dhanasimhasya mūrītā
- 24 iva shad=artāva³ | visvaviśv-ōpakārāy=āvatirnnā[*h*] pritha(ṭhi)-vi-talē || 35
⁴Tēshām=ādyah sādhu[*r**]=Vijada ita vimalama(ṭa)ra-yasāhprasarah | guṇa-
sāgarah Śhūmadharah saṅga(ja)na-
- 25 mānyah Samarasi[*m*]bah || 36 ⁵Rājasamāja-śrēsthō vikhyātō(tah) sādhu-
Vijapālāh [*i*]* mpuna-matū-Narapālāh sukṛita-ratō Viradhaival-ākhyah | (II)
37 ⁶Svapitri śrēyasē
- 26 jīrnōddhāram⁷ Rishabha-mamdrē | kārayām-āsatur=Lalala-Vijadau sādhu-
sattamō(mau) (II) 38 ⁸Vādiochandra Gunachandra-vijētā bhāpatitraya-vibōdha-
vidhātā | Dharmasūtri-
- 27 r=iti nāma pur=āsta⁹ visvaviśva-viditō muni-rāja[*h**] | (II) 39 ¹⁰Mūlapatta-
kāmē tasya Dharmagōṣha-gaṇāryamā¹¹ [*i*]* babhūvuh śama-sampūrṇāh¹²
Amaraprabhasūrayah || 40
- 28 ¹³Tatpatta-bhūshanam=adāshasādharmasīla-¹⁴sīdya(ddhām)tasimdhuparīśīlana-Vishnulīlāh
| śrī-Jānāchandra ita namdatu sūri-rājah punyōpadēsavidhū-bōdhitasa-
- 29 tsamājah | (II) 41 ¹⁵Vasu-muni-tu(gu)na-śasi(śi)-varsha | Jēshatē¹⁶ sitinara(va)mī-
Sōma-yuta-divasē | śrī-Jānāchandra-gurunā pra[t]iśhtā(shtā)tō=[*r*bū]da-g[*r*au
Ri]sha[*b*hah]¹⁷ || 42
- 30 1379 Jēsta-sudī¹⁸ 9 Sōmē ||

POSTSCRIPT.

On the Chāhamānas of Naddūla.

As I have referred in the preceding to the Genealogical Table of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla published above, p 83, I take the opportunity to state that Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha has recently sent me rubbings of four inscriptions, two of which furnish a date in the [Vikrama] year 1147 for the chief Jōjalla (Yōjaka), here called Jōjala, while the two others are of the reign of Rāyapāla of Naddūla, whose name does not occur in the Table, and for whom they furnish dates in the [Vikrama] years 1198 and 1200. The rubbings do not enable me to edit the full texts of these inscriptions, but the initial lines, which contain the dates and the names of the chiefs, may be given with confidence.

1 — This inscription is at Sādri (about 13 miles south of Nadol) in the Gōdwār district of the Jōdhpur State. It contains 11 lines of writing and commences —

- L 1 Ōm¹⁹ samvat 1147 Vaisākha-śudī 2 Budha-vāsarē mahā-
2 rāja-śrī-Jōjaladēvēna śrī-Lakshmanasvāmī-prabhriti-
3 samastadēvānām yātrākāla-vyavahārō lēkhitah ||

¹ Metre of verses 34 and 35 Ślōka (Anushtubh)

² I am doubtful about the correctness of the two names, the four *aksharas* at the beginning of the Pāda might be read also *stādāpā*

³ Wrong for *shad=artāva*, which would not have suited the metre

⁴ Metre Āryā.

⁵ Metre Upagītā

⁶ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

⁷ Read *śam=Rishabha*

⁸ Metre Svagatā

⁹ Read *śatā*

¹⁰ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

¹¹ Read *gandryamnah*

¹² Read *sampūrṇā*

¹³ Metre Vasantatikā — With the commencement of the verse compare e.g. Prof Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p 207, v 5 *tatpatta bhūshanamanirvata-dāshambōbhāt*

¹⁴ Probably the intended reading was *līlāh*

¹⁵ Read *varshē Jyēshthē* (or *Jyāshthē*)

¹⁶ Metre Āryā

¹⁷ Read *śvād=Rishabha*

¹⁸ Read *Jyēsthā* (or *Jyāshthā*) - *sudī*; and see above, p. 155

¹⁹ Denoted by a symbol.

2 — This inscription is at Nadol. It contains 13 lines of writing and commences —

- L 1 Ōm¹ samvat 1147 Vaisākha-sudi 2 Vu(bu)dha-vāsa-
 2 ré mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Jōjaladēvaḥ sama-
 3 sta-dēvanām śrī-Lakshmanasvāmī-prabhñtinām yātrā-vya-
 4 vahāram lēkhayati yathā ||

The date of these two inscriptions regularly corresponds, for the expired *Kārttikāda* Vikrama year 1147, to Wednesday, the 23rd April A.D. 1091, when the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h 26 m after mean sunrise

3 — This also is at Nadol. It contains 39 lines of writing and commences. —

- L 1 Ōm¹ samvat 1198 Śrāvana-vadi 8 Ravāv-ady-ēsha [ma]-
 2 hārāj[ādhirāja]-śrī-Rāyapālādēvaḥ² kalyāṇa-viṣa[ya]-
 3 rājyē ēvam kālē pravarttamānē .

The date corresponds either, for the *pūrnimānta* Śrāvana of the expired *Chaitrāda* Vikrama year 1198, to Sunday, the 29th June A.D. 1141, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h 11 m after mean sunrise, or, for the *amānta* Śrāvana of the expired *Kārttikāda* Vikrama year 1198, to Sunday, the 16th August A.D. 1142, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 20 m after mean sunrise. As the date of the following inscription is correct only for the *amānta* month, I here, too, take Sunday, the 16th August A.D. 1142, to be the true equivalent of the date

4 — This also is at Nadol. It contains 8 lines of writing and commences —

- L 1 Ōm¹ || Samvat 1200 Bhādrapada-vadi 8 Budha-vārē ady-ēsha śrī-
 2 Na[ḍū]ḥ³ lē samastarājavalīsamalankṛta-pūjya-mahārājādhi-
 3 rāja-paramésvara-śrī-Rāyapālādēva-vijayarājyē ē-
 4 vam kālē pravarttamānē .

The date, for the *amānta* Bhādrapada of the expired *Kārttikāda* Vikrama year 1200, corresponds to Wednesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1144, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h 52 m after mean sunrise

In the Table Rāyapāla (A.D. 1142 and 1144) would have to be placed between Jōjalla (A.D. 1091) and Ālhana (A.D. 1153-1161), and it is probable that he was the immediate predecessor of the latter, but how he was related to either of them it is impossible to say at present

I may add that Mr. Ojha has also been good enough to send me some notes on the identification of Kāsahrada and Naddūlāi, spoken of by me above, pp. 73 and 67. On the former, which I suspected to be somewhere near Nadol, he writes —

“I would identify Kāsahrada with Kāyadrām (also called Kāsadrām) at the foot of Mount Ābū, about 3 miles from the Bhimānā station of the R. M. Railway. It is a place of considerable antiquity with several old temples. An inscription of the time of the Paramāra prince Dhārāvārsha was discovered there by me some years ago.”

And respecting Naddūlāi, which I had taken to be a different place from Naddūla, he says —

“As you think, it is quite different from Naddūla. It is now called Nāralāi, and is situated in the Gōdwār district of the Jōdhpur State. An inscription from the place is published in *Bhāvnagar Inscr.* p. 140 (where the date given is incorrect).”

¹ Denoted by a symbol.

² Read “*dēva kalyāṇa-*”

³ See my *Northern List*, No. 306 — On the map of the Rājputāna Agency ‘Narlas’ is seven miles south-east of ‘Nadol.’

No 19 — INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BASTAR STATE.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Mr Cousens in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903-04 (p. 54) opens his report on the conservation of antiquarian remains in the Central Provinces with the remarks that 'the Central Provinces and Berâr cannot be said to be rich in antiquarian remains,' but 'possibly there exists many an old relic of considerable interest lying hidden away in some of the extensive jungles and little known tracts in the province, that has not come under the notice of any one capable of estimating its value' Exactly from such a place do I draw the materials for the subject I propose to notice on

Bastar is a feudatory state in the extreme south of the province situated between 17° 46' and 20° 14' north latitude and 80° 15' and 82° 15' east longitude, touching the Gôdâvarî and comprising an area of 13,000 square miles, all covered with dense forests and populated by the wild tribes, some of whom did not till very recently know the use of clothes. This extensive jungle has been made to yield no less than 22 inscriptions¹ through the strenuous efforts of my friend Mr Bajjnath, B.A., Superintendent of the Bastar State. Three of these inscriptions were noticed by Colonel Glasford, Deputy Commissioner of the then Upper Gôdâvarî District, about the year 1862 A.D.² So far as is known, only one of them has been published, viz, the so-called Nagpur Museum inscription of Sômêśvara.³ On the authority of the information supplied by the Curator of the Nagpur Museum it is there stated that the stone was brought from a village Kowtah, near Sironcha, which is incorrect as will presently be shown. It belonged to Bârsâr of the Bastar State, and is an important record of the predecessors of the present line of Râjas.

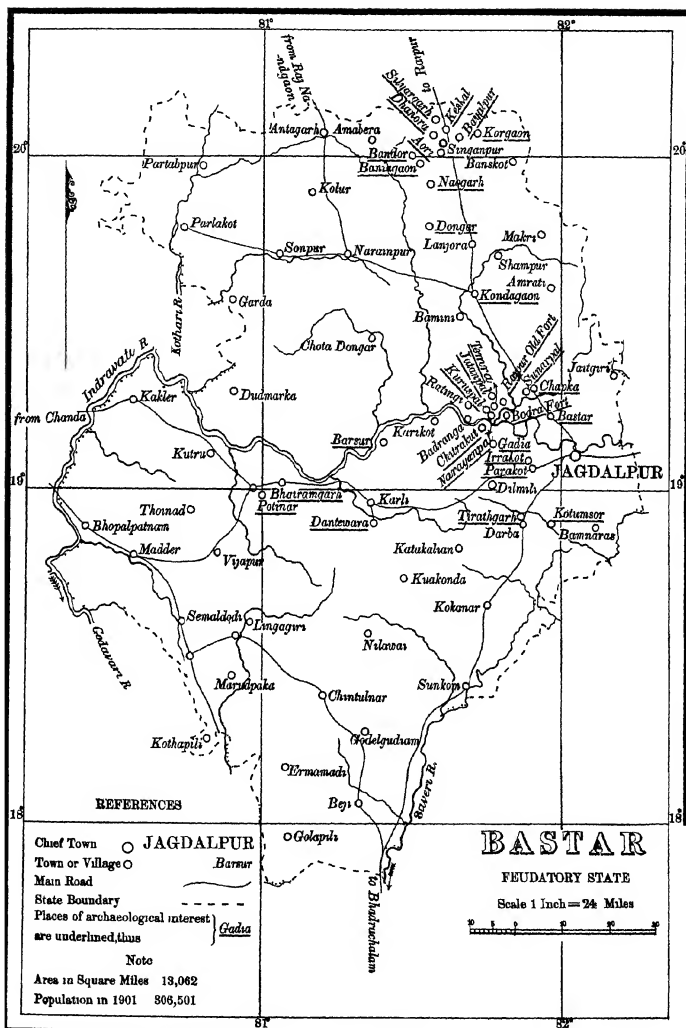
In order that the references to places in the Bastar inscriptions may be easily understood I append a map of the State showing their positions as also some other places possessing archaeological remains. As most of the latter have never been noticed before, a brief mention of at least some of the important ones may not be out of place here. These places are Bârsâr, Dantêwârâ, Gadia, Bhairamgarh, Narâyanpâl, Sunarpâl, Kuruspâl, Tirathgarh, Potnâr, Chajkâ and Dôngar.

Bârsâr is a place of very great interest. It is 55 miles west of Jagdalpur, the present capital of Bastar. It contains ruins of many temples, the most important of which is a Śiva temple with two sanctuaries having a common *mandapa* supported on 32 pillars in four rows. In each of the sanctuaries there is a *linga* and a Nandi, and old people remember that an inscription was removed from this place about half a century ago. Another Śiva temple has a *mandapa* with 12 pillars in three rows, and the third is called *Māmâ bhâṣṭrâ-kâ mandir* and is distinguished by carvings on the inside walls in the shape of bells suspended from chains. Outside the Gaṇêśa temple there is a huge figure of Gaṇêśa, 17' in circumference and about 7' or 8' high. Numerous images are lying about or collected together under huts, of which the most noticeable is one of Vishnu, 4' high, and showing good workmanship. There are also some images of Mahishâsuramardini, one of which is inscribed. All the temples are of medieval Brâhmanic style, most of them built of stone without lime. Dantêwârâ is about 20 miles south of Bârsâr, and in the intervening villages there are sculptured stones lying about, some of them being five-hooded cobras or intercoiled snakes. Dantêwârâ contains the shrine of Dantêśvarî, the tutelary goddess of the present ruling family. The temple is built at the junction of two rivers.

¹ Since I wrote this Mr Bajjnath has made further discoveries which will be described in another paper.

² See *Selections from the Records of the Government of India in the Foreign Department*, No. XXXIX p. 82 et seq.

³ Above, Vol. III p. 314.



Prepared specially for the Govt. Epigraphist for India
 from an original supplied by him

called Sankhni and Dankni, and is notorious as a place where human sacrifices were formerly annually offered. At least a place was pointed out to me in the innermost sanctum, close to the goddess, where they said the victims used to be decapitated. The goddess has eight arms and is represented in the act of killing the buffalo demon. She is in reality Mahishasuramardini, locally known as Dantésvari. There are various other images such as those of Vishnu, Kārttikēya, Ganēśa, etc., some of which were brought away from the ruins of Bārsūr. There are five inscriptions here, three inside the Dantésvari temple, one just outside it, and another near a mud hut called Bhairamgudi. There are remains of several other temples buried in ruins. For the support of the Dantésvari temple, an estate consisting of several villages is attached — Bhairamgarh is about 70 miles west of Jagdalpur and has three or four temples, together with remains of a fort and a ditch and several tanks. There is an inscription on a pillar, and at Potinār, a village near Bhairamgarh, there is a slab¹ inscribed on four sides — Gadia is 20 miles west of Jagdalpur and has a stone temple with no idol, but built in the same style as those of Bārsūr. About 400 yards away there is a big inscription, and a *linga* was found buried in a brick mound. — Narāyanpāl and Kuruspāl are quite close to each other, the former being situated on the river Indravatī. Near these villages are the forts of Rājapur and Bōdrā, and not far away the beautiful falls of the Indravatī at Chitrakūt present a magnificent appearance. — Narāyanpāl is only 6 miles from Gadia and has an old temple, an image of Vishnu, and an inscription. — Sunārpāl and Chapkā are within 12 miles from Narāyanpāl. Chapkā has a number of *satī* pillars, several of which are inscribed. — Tīrathgarh also contains some temples and relics. — Dōngar is a place where according to custom the present Rājas go to be crowned. Here one of the queens, whose finger was chopped off by royal order and who ventured to inform her father, writing the letter with the blood so wantonly spilt, was buried alive. The pit, which is still pointed out, was once disturbed by a greedy Rāja of the same family, who also brought down the temple of Narāyanpāl and some others in search of supposed buried treasure.

I now proceed to give a short notice of each inscription of which I possess impressions, with very brief remarks where necessary, reserving a fuller account for other papers. The Bastar inscriptions may be roughly divided into three classes, viz., those of the (1) Nāgavamśi kings, (2) the Kākatīyas, and (3) miscellaneous. Of 27 yet discovered, ten belong to the 1st class, five to the 2nd, and the rest to the 3rd.

THE NĀGAVAMŚI INSCRIPTIONS.

I — Narāyanpāl Stone inscription of Queen Gunda-mahādēvi, the mother of Sōmēśvaradēva.

Narāyanpāl is a village 23 miles west of Jagdalpur. The inscription is on a stone slab and is in Nāgarī characters, and the language is Sanskrit. It records the grant of the village Nārāyanapura to the god Nārāyana and some land near the Khajjuri tank to the god Lōkēśvara, and it is dated in the Śaka year 1033 on Wednesday, the full moon-day of the Kārttika month in the Khara samvatsara (Śaka-nrpa-kālātītēśaśa-sata traya[s*]-trims-ādāhēśa Khara-samvatsarē Kārtika-paurṇmāsyān Budhavārē) corresponding to 18th October 1111 A. D. and issued by Gunda-mahādēvi, the chief queen of Mahārāja Dhāravarsha, the mother of Sōmēśvaradēva and the grandmother of Kanharadēva, who was then ruling on the death of his father (Mahārāja-Sōmēśvara-dēvasya svar(svar)gatē tāshān putrasya dām naptuh . . . śrīmad-vīra-Kanharadēvasya kalyāna-vyaya-rāyē) The dynasty claims to belong to the Nāgavamśa and the Kātyapa gōtra, to have a tiger with a calf as their crest and to be the lords of Bhōgavati the best of the cities (Nāgavamśodbhava Bhōgavati-pura-var-śvara savatsa-vyāghra-lācchhana Kāśīyapa-gōtra). At the end of the inscription the sun and moon, a cow and a calf, and a

¹ This has now been removed to a roadside place called Jānglā, six miles north of Potinār, for easy access

dagger and shield with a *linga* in its socket, exactly of the shape in which the Lingâyats wear them, are engraved. There is a postscript to this inscription in which it is stated that the land was given by Dhârana-mahâdêvi, who was probably the widow of Sômêśvara, as will appear further on. There can be no doubt that Narâyanpâl is the Nârâyanapura of the inscription. A temple of Nârâyana is still standing there. The image of Vishnu, about 2' high, canopied by a hooded snake, is exquisitely executed.

II.—Bârsûr inscription of Ganga-mahâdêvi, wife of Sômêśvaradêva.

This inscription is now in the Nâgpur Museum, and, as stated above, it has already been published.¹ It is a slab 9' 2" long, 14" broad and 3½" thick, broken into two pieces, the bigger one measuring 6½' and the smaller one 2' 11". It is inscribed on three sides. The inscribed portion of each flat side is about 4½', thus leaving half of the pillar buried underground. As the whole of the inscription could not be completed within the allotted space, the remaining portion has been inscribed on the third side, on which the writing runs to the length of 31". The stone is stated to have been brought from Kowtah near Sironcha, but the Tahsildar of Sironcha informs me that it was never sent from that place.²

The stone is indisputably from Bârsûr. Happily Col Glasford has given a facsimile in his report on the Dependency of Bastar. Speaking of the Bârsûr temples he says³ — "In front of this temple I found a slab with an ancient Sanskrit and Telugu inscription on both sides, part of it had been broken off and was nowhere to be found. After offering a reward and causing search to be made I had the satisfaction of obtaining it. As the Telugu is of an antiquated character, I regret to say I have not succeeded in obtaining an accurate translation of the inscription. A facsimile is appended. From what I can ascertain it would appear that the temple of Mahâdêva where the slab was found was built by a Râjâ Sômêśvaradêva, a Nagavamsî Kshatriya, in the year 1130."

The inscription is in the Telugu character, and the language is also Telugu prose, the *viruddhavalî* or titles of the king being in Sanskrit and corresponding with those in the Narâyanpâl Sanskrit inscription. It records that Ganga-mahâdêvi, the chief queen of Sômêśvaradêva gave a village named Kêramaruka or Kêramarka to two temples of Śiva (both of which she had built) on Sunday, the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phâlguna in the Śaka year 1130. The two temples referred to here still exist, having one common *mandapa*, and from local enquiry it appears that it was from this place that Col Glasford removed the slab. Although the names of the temples Virasômêśvara and Gangâdharêśvara given after the royal couple as recorded in the grant, are forgotten, a tank still remains which is called Gangâsâgar and retains the memory of the charitable queen Ganga-mahâdêvi. If the Sômêśvara of this inscription is identical with that of Narâyanpâl, there has apparently been a mistake in engraving the date which should be 1030 and not 1130, and that is perhaps the reason why the week day does not correspond with the *tithi* given there, *vis*, the 12th of the bright fortnight of Phâlguna, on a Sunday. According to Mr. Dikshit's calculations, Phâlguna Śukla 12 of Śaka-Samvat 1130 ended on Wednesday. So it was concluded that the year meant was Śaka 1131 expired, in which year the *tithi* given in the inscription fell on a Sunday. But on calculating the week day for the same *tithi* in Śaka 1030 expired I find that

¹ Above, Vol. III p. 814.

² A similar error seems to have been committed in relegating the Buddhist stone inscription of Bhavadêva (republished in J. R. A. S. 1905, p. 617, by Dr. Kielhorn) to Bâtanpur, whereas from my enquiry *in situ* I found that the inscription was really brought from Bhândaka, and this is confirmed by General Cunningham, *Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 127.

³ *Report on the Dependency of Bastar*, 1862, p. 62.

it also fell on Sunday.¹ In the Narāyanpāl inscription it is stated that the grant of Nārāyanapura was made in Śaka 1033, in the reign of Kanharādēva, who had succeeded his father Sōmēśvarādēva on his death. And as there is nothing to show at present that there were two Sōmēśvaras,² the date 1030 fits in very well. It, however, seems somewhat extraordinary that such a palpable mistake should have been allowed to remain when it could be corrected by joining together with a curved line the two ends of the Telugu l which is like an egg half-cut (at least it is so in the inscription) thus transforming easily the second l of 1130 into a zero. I am very reluctant to suppose that the engraver committed a mistake, but that he did is patent enough in this case whether we read 1030 or 1130. The village Kēramaguka may be identified with Kōdmalnār, which is situated quite close to Bārsūr and is said to have been *mu'afi* or exempt from the payment of taxes for a long time.

III.—Kuruspāl inscription of Dhārana-mahādēvi, second queen(?) of Sōmēśvara.

Kuruspāl is a village about a mile off from Narāyanpāl. The inscription was found built upside down into the steps of a small tank, which shows that it did not belong to the tank itself, but was brought away from some ruins, possibly the temple built in the centre of the tank, and was utilised without regard to what was engraved on it. It is in the Nāgarī character, the language being Sanskrit with very bad spellings. The object of the inscription is to record a grant of land situated near Kalamba by Dhārana-mahādēvi, who seems to have been the second queen of Sōmēśvarādēva. The inscription belongs to the victorious reign of Mahārājādhirāja Sōmēśvarādēva (*Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Sōmēśvarādēva-pādānu kalyāna-vijaya-rājyāś . . śrīmat-sā(mach-ahhā)sana-mahādēvi dvitīya Dhārana-mahādēvi tay-āchamya Kalāmbva-samāpastihā bhūmī dattam(ā)*). The same long *brūdas* as in the Narāyanpāl and Bārsūr inscriptions are attached to Sōmēśvarādēva's name. The inscription also mentions the name of Nārāyanapura. It is dated in the Śaumya saivatsara.

IV.—Sunārpāl stone inscription of Mahādēvi, queen of Jayasimhadēva.

Sunārpāl is about 10 miles from Narāyanpāl. The stone is partially broken, and a part of the inscription is gone. It is undated. It records the grant of land, or, more properly, an imprecation against the resumption of granted land, and gives the names of witnesses before whom the gift was made, but it is not stated where. The gift was apparently made by Mahādēvi, the chief queen of Jayasimhadēva of the Nāga race, the supreme lord of Bhōgavati, having the tiger with a calf as his crest. He is called Rājādhirāja Mahārāja Śrī Jayasimhadēva.

V.—The Dantēśvari gudi inscription³ of Narasimhadēva.

This is another stone inscription in Telugu character found in the temple of the goddess Dantēśvari at Dantēwārā. It is dated in the dark fortnight of the month Jyēsthā in the Śaka year 1140 (expired). In this year there was an eclipse of the sun, and the month of Jyēsthā was intercalary. At that time Mahārāja Narasimhadēva, the ornament of the race of the best of serpents, was ruling (*Śrī-bhujaga-vāra-bhāshana-Mahārājula-sana Śrīman-Narasimhadēva-Mahārājula rājyamu*). The inscription is only a fragment.

¹ Since I wrote the above, Prof. Kielhorn has kindly calculated the date for me and finds that Śaka 1030 Phālguna Sudi 12 Sunday regularly corresponds to Sunday, 14th Feb. A.D. 1109.

² I do not think that much importance can be attached to the different *brūdas* used in the Bārsūr and Narāyanpāl inscriptions. The Sōmēśvara of the former has the title *yagadēkābhāshana-mahārāja*, which does not occur in the latter. But then the *brūdas* used in the Bastar inscriptions are not always the same.

³ For reading this I am indebted to Mr. Sitaramayya, one of the Superintendents in the Comptroller's office, Central Provinces.

Of the remaining five Nāgavamśi inscriptions it has not yet been possible to obtain good impressions. They are all in Telugu. The Potinār slab seems to refer to Narasimhadēva and the Dantēwārā stone lying outside the Dantēśvarī temple to Jayasimhadēva. The Bhairamgarh inscription contains *brudās* similar to those found in the Barsūr one, and the king is stated in both to be the worshipper of Mānkyadēvi (*Śrī-Mānkyadēvi-dvya-śrīpāda-padm-ārādha*), which is an older name of Dantēśvarī, so named by the successors of the Nāgavamśis, the Kākatiyas, although the latter claim that Dantēśvarī came with them from Warangal, where she was called Mānkyēśvarī.¹ This inscription is incomplete and it appears that it was never completed. The Bhairamgudi inscription at Dantēwārā appears to be the oldest of all, as its date appears to be Śaka 984.² The Gadia inscription, apparently of Somēśvaradēva's time, contains the usual figures of the cow and calf, Sun and Moon, Śiva, etc., the peculiar signs of the Nāgavamśi kings, although they do not seem to refer to their family crests. They are all picture imprecations. The sun and moon represent that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Śiva is the protector against violation of the grant on the spiritual side, and the dagger and shield of the king on the temporal. The cow and calf depict the grave sin which the transgressor would commit, exactly equal to taking away the cow from the calf. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Kuruspāl inscription has a representation of an ass associating with a pig, the imprecation being explained in the text thus, *Jā (yā) anyathā karōti tasya pītā gardabhāh śikarī mātā* (he who acts otherwise has for his father an ass and for his mother a pig.)

From these inscriptions it would appear that Bastar, which has been held to have always been the home of wild animals, with almost wilder tribes, was once ruled by a people whose civilization is sufficiently evidenced by the remains of temples, some of which are of great architectural beauty. These inscriptions carry the history of Bastar back to the eleventh century A.D., when at least the central portion of the State was ruled by the Nāgavamśi kings. They apparently belonged to the Sinda family of Yelburga, whose titles are strikingly identical with those of the Bastar Nāgavamśi kings. Dr Fleet states³ that there appear to have been more branches than one of this family. One of these was that of Bastar, which has been hitherto unknown. These inscriptions disclose the names of five or six different kings, viz., Dhārāvarsha, his son Sōmēśvaradēva, and his grandson Kanharadēva, Jayasimhadēva, Narasimhadēva, and a possible Sōmēśvara II. In view of the fact that half the inscriptions relating to these kings have not yet been deciphered owing to their incompleteness or want of proper impressions, I reserve a fuller discussion of the history of these kings for another occasion.

II.—THE KĀKATĪYA INSCRIPTIONS.

All these are modern ones, the oldest being those of the Dantēśvarī temple at Dantēwārā written by the *rājaguru* of the present family, who was a Maithilī Pandit. One of these is in Sanskrit and the other is a Maithilī rendering of the same with some additions. Col Glasford has given a very defective transcript of both in his report. They are dated in the Vikrama Samvat 1760, or 1703 A.D. on the 3rd day of Baisākh, dark fortnight. They record the pilgrimage of Rāja Dīpālādēva to the Dantēśvarī shrine when 'so many thousands of buffaloes and goats were sacrificed that the waters of the Sankhni river became red like *kusuma* flowers and remained so for five days'. The Kākatiyas are stated to be Sōmavamśis,⁴ born of the

¹ Elliot's *Report on the Bastar and Kharonde Dependencies*, 1861, p. 13.

² As read by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.

³ *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 572.

⁴ In the Ekāmrañtha inscription of Gaṇapati (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, p. 200) they are stated to belong to the solar race to which 'Sagara, Bhagrattha, Baghu and Bāma' belonged. This apparent contradiction is, however, capable of being explained. The Kākatiya king Gaṇapati had no male issue. He had a daughter named Rudrāmbā, who succeeded him on the throne. Apparently she also had no male issue and had therefore to adopt her daughter's

Pândava Arjuna The genealogy begins with Kâkati Pratâparudra, who was king of Warangal. His brother Annamrâja was the first to come to Bastar, and the genealogy is continued to Dikpâlâdêva, nine successors being mentioned. The present Bastar family is the representative of the old Warangal family, who, having been defeated by Musalmâns, fled to Bastar. Combining the information hitherto available, the following list of Kâkatiya kings may be made up

1—Predecessors of Annamdêva, from Professor Kielhorn's *Southern List*, above, Vol VIII, Appendix, p 18

- 1 Duryaya
- 2 Bêta (Betmarâja) Tribhuvanamalla, son of 1
- 3 Prôla (Prôlârâja, Prôdârâja) Jagannêsarin, son of 2, made the Western Châlukya Tailapa-dêva prisoner, defeated Gôvindarâja and Gunda of Mantrakûta, conquered but reinstated Chôddôdaya, put to flight Jagaddêva
- 4 The *Mahâmanjâlêsvara* Rudradêva, son of 3, subdued Domna, conquered Mailigidêva, burnt the city of Chôddôdaya A D 1163-[and 1186]
- 5 Mahâdêva (Mâdhava), brother of 4
- 6 Ganapati (Ganapa) Chhalamattiganda, son of 5, defeated the Dêvagrî Yâdava Singhana, the kings of Chôla, etc. A D [1199-1200 to 1260-61]
- 7 the *Mahâmandalâchakravartin* Pratâparudra of Êkasîlânagarî, i.e. Warangal. His general Muppidi entered Kâñchî and installed Mânâvira as governor A D 1316

2—Successors of Annamdêva down to Dikpâlâdêva according to the Dantêwârâ inscriptions.

- 1 Annamrâja, brother of Pratâparudra.
- 2 Hâmirâdêva
- 3 Bhairava (Bhai Râj) dêva
- 4 Purushôttamadêva
- 5 Jayasimhadêva
- 6 Narasimhadêva, his queen Lachhamî-dêî dug many tanks and planted gardens
- 7 Jagadîśārâyadêva
- 8 Viranârâyanadêva
- 9 Virasimhadêva, married Vadanakumârî, a Chandêlla princess
- 10 Dikpâlâdêva, married Ajabakumârî, of the Chandêllas, visited the Dantêśvarî temple in Samvat 1760, A D 1703

son Pratâparudra It is possible that Pratâparudra's father may have belonged to the lunar race, and, while Pratâparudra became by adoption a Kâkatiya of the solar race, his brother Annamdêva, the founder of the Bastar family, must have remained what his father was, that is, of the lunar race. Strictly speaking Pratâparudra himself does not seem to have a very strong claim to be a solar Kâkatiya. He was adopted by his grandmother, whereby he became a member of her (his husband's) race, but it can be urged in his favour that he succeeded to the Kâkatiya throne, and that adoption of females was valid in ancient times (see *Dattakamîndra* VII § 30—38 as quoted by Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, sixth edition, p. 180), whereby Ganapati's daughter, whom her father had called his 'son' and had given a male name of 'Rudra' (on which account she was called Rudrâmba, see *Ind. Ant.* XXI p 199) became incorporated with her parental race of solar Kâkatiyas. The commentator of the *Pratâparudriya*, who was no less a personage than the great Mallînâtha's son, explains the word thus—*Kâkatiyâ nâma Durgâ Śaktir Êkasîlânagarîvarândm kuladêvatâ sâ Śaktir bhaganty-asy êti Kâkatiyâh*. It is in this sense alone that the Bastar family could be classed as Kâkatiya. This would not affect their true lineage, etc., the lunar race. All this however would apply if Annamdêva was a brother of the Pratâparudra of our list I. But list II with 10 kings for a period of about 400 years postulates the existence of another Pratâparudra, who probably ruled a hundred years later and 'lost his kingdom and his life in the battle with Ahmad Shâh Bahmanî' in 1424 A.D. This Pratâparudra was also probably engrafted from another family like his predecessor, in all likelihood from the lunar race to which his brother Annamdêva as a matter of natural course continued to belong.

3 —Successors of Dīkpalādēva down to the present ruling chief, according to records kept in the Rāja's family

- 1 Rajpālādēva
- 2 Dalpatādēva
- 3 Daryāodēva, his brother Ajmēr Singh rebelled against him in Samvat 1836, A.D. 1779
- 4 Mahipālādēva
- 5 Bhūpālādēva
- 6 Bhammadēva.
- 7 Rudrapratāpādēva, the present chief

The family records place another Pratāparājādēva between Narasimhadēva and Jagadīśarājādēva, Nos 6 and 7 of List 2. Pratāparudradēva, the brother of Annamrāja, is stated to have had three eyes, his army was composed of nine lac archers,¹ and during his time golden rain fell. Pratāparudra I. was a great patron of learning, and Vidyānātha wrote a work on Alankāra, which he called after him *Pratāparudrayasōbhāṣana* or *Pratāparudrīya*.²

The other three inscriptions are at Dōngar; they are written in Hindī. Two of them are dated in Samvat 1836, or A.D. 1783, and refer to a visit of Rāja Daryāodēva in order to quell a local rebellion. The third is dated in Samvat 1928, or A.D. 1871, and records the *patībhāṣhka* ceremony of Bhairamadēva, the father of the present ruler.

III — MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

All these are unimportant and give no historical data. Six belong to Chapkā and are engraved on *satī* memorial stones and, with one exception, in Nāgarī characters. Most of these have the usual marks of the sun, the moon and the outstretched hand with figures of husband and wife. Some have got temples engraved, with the couple in the act of worshipping the *lunja* represented there. One is found at Bārsār on the pedestal of a goddess and is fragmentary.

No 20 — KANKER COPPER PLATES OF PAMPARAJADEVA

[KALACHURI] SAMVAT 965 AND 966.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

These are two copper plates which were found in an old well in the Village Tahankāpār, 18 miles from Kanker, the capital of the state of the same name in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. They are now in the possession of the chief of that state and were sent to me by his Dīvān Paṇdit Durgaprasād. Ink impressions were kindly taken for me at Nāgpur by Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, and they are reproduced in the accompanying plate.

There are two different records issued at an interval of a year. Both the plates are $7\frac{7}{8}$ " long, but they differ in height and weight, one measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ " and the other $3\frac{1}{4}$ ", the bigger one

¹ This may be true in the sense that he ruled over so big a population, who, as subjects, could at any time be called out for military service. In Bastar and adjoining tracts almost every man knows the use of the bow and arrow, with which they even kill tigers. The probability, however, is that 'nine lac' was a conventional term for the highest number. In the Hoṭṭār inscription (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 439) the Chālukya king Satyāśraya is stated to have put to flight a Chōla king who had collected a force numbering nine lacs, indirectly insinuating that he defeated the biggest army that could be brought in the field. Similarly it has become idiomatic to speak of *Bdugangark* (52 forts), 700 *chēlas* (disciples), 108 *śrīs*, etc.

² *Ind. Ant.* xii, p. 198, and Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 213.

weighing 6 oz and the smaller 6 oz 10 drs. The former has an oblong hole at the top, measuring $\frac{1}{8}'' \times \frac{1}{16}''$, apparently for stringing it with other plates. It is uniformly and sufficiently thick, and is in a good state of preservation. The smaller one is thick in the middle but very thin at the ends, so thin indeed that the commencement *Om svasti* has cut through the plate leaving holes in the engraved portion, and, similarly, at the diagonally opposite end, a portion is exceedingly worn-out leaving irregular holes there. The corners of this plate were rounded off. It has at the end an ornamental figure representing the moon. This was probably the family crest.

The average size of the letters in the bigger plate is $\frac{1}{16}''$ and in the smaller $\frac{1}{8}''$. The former appears to be a palimpsest. Both the sides contain minute scratches of letters of almost double the size, which are altogether illegible.

The characters in both the plates, which were written at an interval of a year only, are Nāgarī, and the language in both is corrupt Sanskrit prose. Both the plates were engraved by Sēthi or Sāo Kēsava, who apparently lived at Pādi (town).

There is very little to note about orthographical peculiarities. The letters *dha*, *ra*, *na*, *ksha*, *bha*, *jā*, and the figures 9 and 5 appear in a somewhat antiquated form, and the usual indifference to the use of *s* for *ś* is conspicuous. Spelling mistakes there are many, they have been noticed in the footnotes under the text.

The bigger plate, which is the older of the two and was issued from the Kākara residence, is a state document conferring a village with a fixed revenue on the village priest Lakṣmīdharasārman. This refers to Jarpārā village, but Chikhali is also incidentally mentioned. The smaller plate records the gift of two villages, Kōgarā and Āndali, to the same person on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. These transactions were made by the *Mahāmāṇḍalikā* Pamparājādēva of the Sōmavamsa (lunar race) in the presence of his queen Lakṣmīdēvi, prince Vōpadēva and eight Government officials including the minister. In the village document these officials appear as witnesses. The recipient of the villages was himself one of them.

The village document is business-like and contains abbreviations which were no doubt very well understood at that time, but are now difficult to make out. It does not indulge in genealogies. In the gift, however, we are told that Pamparājādēva meditated on the feet of Sōmarājādēva, who meditated on the feet of Vōpadēva. I take this Vōpadēva to be identical with that of the Kanker stone inscription of the Śaka year 1242 (see above, page 124). I shall discuss this question in another paper on the Sihāwā inscription, which also gives a genealogy of this family.

The bigger plate is dated in Sāmvat 965, in the Bhādrapada month, in the Mṛiga lunar mansion, on Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight, and the smaller one in the Jyēṣṭha-samvatsara, in the month of Kārttika, in the Chitrā lunar mansion, on Sunday, at the solar eclipse, the year being given in figures at the end as 966. It is not stated to what era these dates belong, but Professor Kielhorn, who has kindly calculated them for me, has conclusively proved that they refer to the Kalachuri era. The reader is referred to the postscript added by him at the end of my article on the Kanker stone inscription (see above, pp 128 and ff), where he has fully discussed the question. The English equivalents of these dates, as calculated by him, are Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, and Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, respectively.

The towns and villages mentioned in the plates are Kākara, Pādi, Kōgarā, Āndali, Jarpārā, Chikhali and Vanikōṭṭa. Kākara is the modern Kanker, where the present chief of the state resides. It is 88 miles from Raipur, the headquarters of the Chhattīsgarh Division, in which the Kanker state is included. Kōgarā has now been corrupted into Kōngērā. There are two villages of this name in the state, and for distinction one is called Dēo Kōngērā (8 miles

south-east of Kanker), and the other Hāt Kōngērā (6 miles north of Kanker). The former is associated with gods, and the latter with a market, which is held there. In the inscription Kōgarā is said to be close to the shrine of Prāṅkēśvara, which has now disappeared, but has apparently left its reminiscence in the suggestive adjunct *Dēo* which Kōngērā now bears. I therefore identify our Kōgarā with Dēo Kōngērā. Jaiparā is the modern Jēprā (Indian Atlas, quarter sheet 92, N W., Long 81° 31', Lat 20° 28'), a village 15 miles north of Kanker and Chikhali is about 21 miles in the same direction just on the borders of the state. It is now included in the Dhamtarī tahsil, which formerly formed part of the Kanker state. Āndālī is probably represented by the present Āndāl (Āṇāl), 10 miles east of Kanker. Pādī cannot be identified. The same is the case with Vanikōṭṭa about which it is doubtful whether it is the name of a village at all.

PLATE I.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Kākara-samāvasāḥ rājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-Sō-
- 2 ma-vams(ś)-ānvaya-prasūta-Kātyā[ya*]nī-vara-lavdha-paṇcha-savd¹-ābhinamdita-mya-bhṛṇ-
- 3 mahāman[d*]alika-smat²-Pamparājadēva-vijaya-rājyē tat-samnhita-rājñī Lakshmi-
- 4 dēvi kumara³ Vōpadēva pradhāna Bhōga rārā | vapāṭha | asū⁴ ētē mā-
- 5 śhthā(a)mti Jaiparā Vanikōṭṭa maryaḍi-kṇtya grāma-patrō-yañ ga-ā-
- 6 Lakshmidharāyam(ya) pradattam
- 6 prathama sarāha gaja bhāma śohhu 180 vijaya-rāja⁵ ttamka 140 halar-
- 7 ārdha-pattam-
- 7 tarē | tathā Chikhali-grāma-patrē vijaya-rāj[ya*]a-ttamka 150 pralavā-pau-
- 8 ṇa-pattamtarē | Asmim arthē śākshipāḥ bhattarā[ṇaka*] (|) Gōvinda gai(n, ā)
- 9 Lakshmidhara | ga[tā*] Ma-
- 9 hēśvara⁶ | nā[ṇaka*] | Chhamtū | nā[ṇaka*] | Dāmōdara | sā[o*] | Pālaṭō |
- 10 samvat (|) 965 Bhādrapada vadī 1[0]
- 10 mṛga-rikshā⁷ sōdma dinā⁸ | pam | Vishnuśarmmaṇā lkhitam sēthi Kōśavēna
- 11 utkirṇam Pādī-
- 11 patanā [|*] subham⁹ bhavatu ||

TRANSLATION.

Ha! At the Kākara residence, in the victorious reign of the illustrious Mahāmanḍaliśa Pamparājadēva, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the great worshipper of Śiva, (who is) born in the lineage of the family of the Moon, who is hailed as having obtained the 5 sounds as a boon from Kātyāyāni, who has acquired (his country) by (the force of) his own arms, with him the queen Lakshmidēvi and Prince Vōpadēva (sitting) by his side, and while the eight¹⁰ officials

¹ Read 'lavdha-paṇcha-savd'.² Read *irmat*.³ Read *kumara*.⁴ Probably *ashta*.⁵ Read *rāja*.⁶ Read *Mahēśvara*.⁷ Read *mṛgarekshā*.⁸ Read *sōmadinā*.⁹ Read *subham*.

¹⁰ These eight officials seem to have included the minister, the village priest, who in the present case is a party to the transaction, the Rāj Pandit, who wrote out this document, and five others, whose office is probably expressed by five letters *Rā, Rā, Vās, Pā and Tha*, which perhaps stand for *Rājaka* (chief counsellor), *Rājovallabha* (court favourite), *Vātrika* (chamberlain), *Pārsika* (aide-de-camp), and *Thakkura* (lord-in waiting). See *Jour. As Soc Bengal*, 1906, Vol I p 10, Vol XVII, 1878, pp. 405 and 408, *Ind Ant* Vol XI, pp 244 and 287. In the last, which is a Chaulukya grant of A D 1207, the following occurs *stava-ashādhur gāthikash ... adra karayya*, this place of worship has to be taken care of by the following eight trustees. Our inscription was written only six years after the one referred to above, and it would seem that at that time eight was considered an adequate number of persons as witnesses or trustees, etc., in connection with transactions of at least landed property.

(headed by) the minister Bhōga (?) are present on duty, this document of the village, making Jaiparā Vanikōṭṭa the limit,¹ is given to Gaṭṭā² Lakshmidhara First³ (the revenue was payable) at 130 (in former coins, now) 140 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for half the Halbā⁴ patti (share) Similarly in the document of Chikhalī village, 150 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for the ½ Pralavā (Halbā) patti (share) The witnesses for this purpose (are) Bhāttarānaka Gōvinda, Gaṭṭā Lakshmidhara, Gaṭṭā Mahēśvara, Nāyaka Chbantū, Nāyaka Dāmōdara, Bāo Pātātū Samvat 935, Bhādrapada (month), in the Mṛiga lunar mansion (*rakṣha*), on Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight Written by Pandit Viṣṇuśarman and engraved by Sethi Kēsava in the Pādī town Let good fortune attend

Plate II

TEXT

- 1 Om⁵ Svasti Pādī-samāvāsē samasta-rūṭ-āvalī-manālamukhita⁶-sōmayam[sānyaya-⁷
prasū]ta-mahā-
- 2 man[d*]alika-srīmad-Vōpadēva-pād-ānudyāta-parama-bhāttāraka-mahaman[d*]alik a⁸ -
[śi]maṭ-sōmarā-

¹ This is another ambiguous phrase capable of various interpretations. It is possible that the executors meant to convey that the boundaries of Jaiparā Vanikōṭṭa were duly marked out on the spot before the document was given to Lakshmidhara. Vanikōṭṭa is another troublesome word. It may have been the name of a village in the vicinity of Jaiparā and may have been used as an adjunct to distinguish it from other villages of the same name. Similarly people talk of Dēori Nāharman, meaning that Dēori which is near the village Nāharman, to distinguish it from another Dēori. There is a village in Kanker called Pharsakōṭ, which is probably a corruption of Parāsukōṭṭa, and on this analogy, it may fairly be asserted that there is nothing extraordinary in the name Vanikōṭṭa as denoting a village. It is, however, equally probable that it was no village, and that Jaiparā had this adjunct because there existed in that village a *canik kotta*, or "traders' fortress," that is, a fortified place probably made by Banjarās for storing grain purchased for transport. In older times the Banjarās are known to have carried even guns for protecting themselves from plunder. Jaiparā may have been one of their central depôts, which they fortified, and the village therefore came to be called Jaiparā Vanikōṭṭa. It is not necessary that the Banjarās alone should have done this. There may have been other traders who might have built a fortified place, but as this part of the country has been and is a favourite resort of these wandering traders, it is more likely that they should have built such a depôt. Numerous examples of such adjuncts may be cited. Thus, there is a village Barā in the Saugor district. It has got Hindu tombs called *Suras* and hence people call it Barā Suragaon. In fact the adjunct has gained such prominence that the real name Barā is almost elbowed out, and only Suragaon is regularly used. Similarly, Hirdēnagar-Garhākōṭā, well known as Garhākōṭā, derives its name from the construction of a fort and rampart, the original principal village being Hirdēnagar, which a Bundelā chief Hirdē-Shah founded in his own name.

² The village priest is still called Gaṭṭā in Kanker and Bastar States.

³ Lines 4 and 5 are so obscure as to make their translation extremely doubtful. There can be little doubt, however, that they relate to the fixation of revenue of the villages mentioned, in the coins of the reigning prince. Whether the old revenue in respect to the village to which the transaction refers, was 130 *tankas*, and on revision on the present occasion, was enhanced to 140 *tankas*, or the old 130 *tankas* were equal to 140 new coins is not clear. While executing the present document opportunity was taken to revise the revenues of another village, Chikhalī, for which another *grāmapatra* or document existed, and the revenue was fixed at 150 new *tankas*. It appears that the Chikhalī document was not near at hand, and that seems to be the reason why blank space enough to fill up 3 figures was left out between the words *Chikhalī-grāmapatra* and *Vijaya-rāyātanka* to be filled up afterwards. But once omitted nobody cared to fill it in, the matter not being of great importance, as the old rental was superseded by the revised amount which was thenceforth payable to the State. The fact that this record is a palm-leaf seems to show that the fresh transaction was a matter on revision under the new régime of Pamparajadeva, and apparently the old record, which had become useless, was beaten out and the new one was inscribed instead. The words *sardha goja bhāma dakhu* appear to be some local technical term, which was used in fiscal matters and was well understood at the time, but so far as my enquiry from local sources goes, it has not survived and it is not now used in State transactions. The matter, however, is not of great importance and does not affect the historical information inferable from the record.

⁴ *Pattā* are plots of land in a village and the Halbā or Halbā *pattā* was apparently one cultivated by the Halbās, an aboriginal tribe chiefly found in Kanker (see above note 5, page 124).

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read *many alankrta*.

⁷ Read *vamādvaya*.

⁸ Read *mahamandaitika*.

place occurs as Kariāl on the Indian Atlas sheet 92 N E, Lat 82° 50' and 20° 17' The plates have now been deposited in the Nāgpur Museum

There are three copper plates, each measuring $5\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$ " The first is inscribed on one side only Traces on the other side show that the plate has formerly been used for another inscription The plates are quite smooth, and their edges have neither been fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims They are in an excellent state of preservation About 1" from the middle of the proper right margin, each plate has a hole, about $\frac{7}{16}$ " in diameter, for the ring on which the plates are strung This ring is oval, $3\frac{3}{8}$ " long and $2\frac{3}{8}$ " broad It had not been cut when the plates were sent to me

The ends of the ring are secured in a circular seal, about $3\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter It is identical with that described by Dr Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 196 Its upper part shows a representation of a standing Lakshmi facing full front, on each side of her an elephant is standing on a waterlily, with its trunk raised above her head In the proper right corner there is an expanded waterlily, in the proper left corner a *śaṅkha*

The seal has been subjected to fire, and the legend could not be made out when I received the plates It has, however, proved possible to clean it, so that it can now be read with certainty It therefore also makes it possible to decide what the legend must have been on the corresponding seal published by Dr Fleet, which is quite illegible

The weight of the three plates is 1 lb $2\frac{3}{4}$ oz, and of the ring and seal 1 lb 2 oz, total 2 lb $4\frac{1}{4}$ oz

The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " The character is the same box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet as in the copper plates of the same king published by Dr Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp 196 and ff The long variety of *i* is denoted by a dot in the middle of the base of the circle denoting *r*, and usually not in the centre of it as in the Āraṅg plates of Mahā-Jayaśāha,¹ nor in the right side of it as in the Raipur plates of Mahā-Sudēva² The separate sign of the cerebral *ḍ* occurs in *chādāman*, l 1, and the final form of *t* in *dadyāt*, l 18, and *vasēt*, l 19 Note also the use of one and the same sign to denote a stop in l 5 and the visarga in l 4, etc The compound *ng* occurs in *Drōnasinghēna*, l 23, and *ñch* in *kāñchanam*, l 17, *mahimatāñchchhrēśha*, l 21, and, falsely, in *dānāñch=chhrēyō*, l 22

The numerical symbols for 2, 20, and 9 occur in l 22

The language is Sanskrit The legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory stanzas, here attributed to Vyāsa, are in verse the remainder of the inscription is in prose

As regards orthography we have to note the doubling of *k* before *r* in *vikrama*, l 1, the similar doubling of *dh* before *y* in *anuddhyāt*, l 3, the doubling of a consonant after *r* in *svargē*, l 18, *visarjyāt*, l 8, *svarmam*, l 16; *dharmaśeṣu* and *dharma*, l 13, *sāryya*, l 16, *sarva*, l 8, *hētuvvasu*, l 3; *bhāvvasaśnavi*, l 16, *bahubhuvvasudhā*, l 19, the form *savatsara*, i e *sāvatsara*, l 22, the use of the *ph*vāmāliya in *yañ=kāñchanam*, l 17 (but *-rājāñ kshat*, l 4), of the *upadh*māniya in *-pradhā parama*, l 3, *Śāmbhikayōḥ pratvāsa*, l 5, etc The visarga is usually replaced by *s* before hard dentals Before the stop, however, we find *bhāmāñ tasya*, l 20, *-śrīśha tē*, l 10 A superfluous anusvāra has been added in *bhāmpāma*, l 12 *Tri* and *tri* have been interchanged in *pitri*, l 3, and *tridāsa*, l 6 Note finally the forms *tāmbi-a*, ll 10 and 23, *Drōnasinghēna*, l 23, and the use of the genitive in *Vishnuśvāmīna*, l 10

The inscription is one of the Rāja Mahā-Sudēva, and it is dated in the second year of his reign on the 29th day of Śrāvana The engraver was Drōnasingha, who also occurs in

¹ *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp 191 and ff

² *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp 196 and ff

Mahā-Sudēva's Raipur plates¹ Like this latter inscription and the Āraṅg copper plates of Mahā-Jayarāja,² our inscription was issued from Śarabhapura, and it states that the illustrious Mahā-Sudēvarāja, whose two feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre of the crest jewels in the tiaras of the *sāmāntas* who have been subjugated by his prowess, who is the cause for the removal of the parting of the hair of the women of his enemies, who is the giver of riches, of land, and of cows, who is a devout worshipper of Bhagavat, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father, issues the following order to the householders living in Navannaka and the neighbouring Śāmbilaka, in the Kṣhitimandā āhāra. Be it known to you that these two villages, which assure the happiness of the abode of the king of gods, have been bestowed by a copper charter on the Vajisaneyin Viṣṇusvāmin, of the Kauśika gōtra, for as long a time as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of sun, moon, and the stars, together with their treasures and deposits, not to be entered by district officers³ and soldiers, free from all taxes, for the purpose of increasing the spiritual merit of our parents and ourselves.

The date of our inscription cannot as yet be settled. Mahā-Sudēva is the same who has issued the grant published by Rājendralāla Mitra⁴ and Dr. Fleet.⁵ According to the legend of the seal he was the son of a certain Mānamātra, who in his turn had risen from the Prasanna-dāna, i. e., who was descended from Prasanna, probably his son.

Neither Mānamātra nor Prasanna are elsewhere known. Mānamātra can perhaps be identified with Mānānka, "the ornament of the Rashtrakūtas," who is mentioned in the copper plates of Abhimanyu of Mānapura edited by Professor Hultzsch.⁶ This Mānānka had a son, Dēvarāja, who might be identical with Sudēvarāja. In support of this hypothesis it may be mentioned that *mātrā* and *anka* are both stated by lexicographers to mean ornament. On the other hand, the alphabets of the two inscriptions differ, and this, in addition to the difference in the names, makes the identification very doubtful.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription Śarabhapura also recurs in the two other grants by Mahā-Sudēva and in the Āraṅg plates of Mahā-Jayarāja. Navannaka may be the present Nahnā, the Nahnā⁷ of the maps, three miles south of Khariār. We do not know anything about the location of the remaining geographical names of our inscription, Kṣhitimandā and Śāmbilaka. They should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Khariār.

TEXT⁸

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [*] Śarabhapurād-vikīam-ōpanata-sāmānta-makuta-ohūdāmani-
- 2 prabhā-prasāk-āmbu-dhōta⁹-pāda-yugalō nṛpu-vilasni-simant-ōddharana-
- 3 hātūr-vvasu-vasudhā-gō-pradah-paramabhāgavato mātā-pitrī¹⁰-pād-ānuddhyā-
- 4 taś-śrī-Mahā-Sudēva-rājah Kṣhitimand-āhāriya-Navannaka-śtat-pravēṣya-
- 5 Śāmbilakayōh=prativāsi-kutumbinas-samājñāpayati || Viditam= astu

¹ Gupta Inscriptions, pp 196 and ff.

² Ibid pp 191 and ff.

³ For the meaning of *dhōta* compare Dr. Vogel in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1902*, p. 247.

⁴ *J. Beng. A. S.*, Vol. xxxv, Part 1, 1887, pp. 195 and ff.

⁵ Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 196 and ff.

⁶ Above, Vol. viii, p. 168, compare Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xxi, p. 509.

⁷ The Commissioner of Raipur now informs me that the plates were actually found in Nahnā, and that the local authorities are inclined to identify Śāmbilaka with the present San Doul or Sandohal, a village adjoining Nahnā.

⁸ From the original plates.

⁹ Read *dhōta*.

¹⁰ Read *pitṛi*.

၁ ညီညီအစ်ကိုချစ်သူတို့အားလုံးသို့ အသိပေးရန် အသိပေးရန်
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၃၁၂၅၆-၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀
၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀
၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀
၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀
၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀

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11 b

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၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀
၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀
၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀

22

Second Plate, First Side.

- 6 vo yathī=āsmabhur=ōtad¹=grāma dvayam tridaśa²-pau-sadana sukha-piatishrhākāro
yava-
7 d-ravi sasi tārā-kīrāni-pratihata-ghōr-āndhakāyam jagad=avastishatē tavad=upa-
8 bhogyas=sandhis=sopamdhū=achata-bhata-prāvēśya-sai vva-kata-vismujji-
9 to matāpithoi=ātmanas=cha pany-ābhivriddhayē Vāṛisanēya-Kōśika³-sagōtra
10 Viśhnusvāmīnas-tācābrasasanēn=ātsrīstah [*] Tē yūyam=ēvam=upalabhy=asya

Second Plate, Second Side

- 11 jñā-sāvana-vidhēyā bhutvā yathōcīntam bhōga-bhāgam=upanayantas=sukham piati-
12 vatsyatha [*] Bhavishyatas=cha bhūnūpāmn⁴=anudat=sayati [!]* dānād=
visistitam=anupā-
13 lana-jam⁵ pūṣa⁶ dharmmēshu nischita-dhuyah=piavadanti dharmma[*]
|| (j) tasma[d*] divja-
14 ya suvisuddha-kula-sūtaya dattām bhuvam bhavata vo matu=va
goptu[*] ||
15 Tad=bhavadbhu=apy=esha dattur=anupālayitavyā [*] Vyāsa gitam=ch=ati-
slokan=u-

Third Plate, First Side

- 16 dāharanti || Agnēr⁷=apatya[*] prathamam suvarnam bhūi=vvaishnavi
sūrya-
17 sūtās=cha gāvah [*] dattās=trayas=tēna bhavanti lōkī yah=kāñchanam gim
cha mahim cha da-
18 dyāt [!]* Shasht⁸=varsha-sahasāni svarggē mōdati bhūmidah [*] āchchhētta
19 ch=anumantā cha tāny-ōva narakē vaset [!]* Bahubhi=vvasudhā datta
rajahi-
20 s=Sagar-ādibhih [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmih tasya tosyā tadā phalam ||

Third Plate, Second Side

- 21 Svadattam⁹ paradattām vā yatnād=raksha Yudhishtira [*] mahim=mahimatāñ=
chchhrēshtha
22 dānā(ñ)ch=chhrēyō=nupālanam=iti [!]* svamukhājāyā savvetsara¹⁰ 2 Śrāvana
di 20 0
23 utkirnam tāmbraśāsanam Drōnasinghēna.

Seal.

Prasann-ārnava-sambhūta-Mānamātr-ēndu-janmana[h*] Śrīma[t-Sudē]varājasya sthūram
jagati [śāsanam].

¹ The engraver originally wrote =*dasmābhirvaya*, but corrected it to =*dasmābhirvāla*. The gender in the following is wrong

² Read *tri*

³ Read -*kaustika*

⁴ Read *bhūnūpāmn*

⁵ The *sa* in *anupālana* has been added below the line

⁶ Metre Ślōka.

⁷ Metre Ślōka

⁸ Metre Vasantatilaka

⁹ Metre Indravajrā

¹⁰ Read *savvetsara*

No 22.—NOTE ON BHUJABALA MAHARAYA

By R SEWELL, ICS (Retired)

In Vol VIII 122 ff Mr H Krishna Śāstri, B A, publishes an inscription of the Kalasa chief Bharrava II at Kārkala in the South Canara district of the Madras Presidency, and in the course of his discussion¹ on the history of the family quotes Mr Rice's Mūdgere Taluq inscription of A D 1516 (Mg 41). His comment on this is as follows—"This inscription supplies the interesting information that, during the reign of the great Kṛṣṇarāya of Vijayanagara, Bhujabala-Mahārāya led a campaign against the Tulu-rajya, and was encamped at the *bhūana-sāle* in Mangalūru. . . . Bhujabala-Mahārāya, who led the campaign, must be identical with Kṛṣṇarāya's elder brother 'Busbalrao' mentioned on p 110 of Mr Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, etc"

There seems to be a mistake here. Firstly, I note that Mr Rice does not consider the word *Bhujabala* in the passage in question to be a proper name. The passage² runs—*Vijayanagara bhujabala mahārāya u Tulu rājyaṭa mēle danda bandu*, and is translated by Mr Rice—"The mighty (*bhujabala*) Mahārāya of Vijayanagara having come against the Tulu kingdom with an army." Here there is no ruler or leader named "Bhujabala Mahārāya." Secondly, the leader of the army could only have been Nuniz's "Busbahao," elder brother of Krishnadēva Rāya, if the date of this expedition to the Tulu country were referred to a period at least seven years earlier than the date of the inscription, because "Busbalrao" had died when Krishnadēva was placed on the throne in A D 1509. It is possible that the expedition did take place before Krishnadēva's accession, and it is equally possible that it may allude to Krishnadēva Rāya's own exploit shortly after he came to the throne, when he, or his generals, reduced the Ganga Rājas of Ummatūri in Mysore. The mention in "Mg 41" of Krishnadēva Rāya's supreme sovereignty over the Kalasa country during the chieftainship of Immadī-Bhararsa-Odeyar gives us no clue to the date of the Vijayanagara army's march to Mangalore, for this may have taken place at any period before the date of that chief's grant, viz, Sunday, July 13, A D 1516. But what is quite certain is that the leader of the army referred to could not have been Krishnadēva Rāya's elder brother, whom Nuniz called "Busbalrao," during, as stated by Mr Krishna Śāstri, the reign of Kṛṣṇarāya, for it was "Busbalrao's" death, according to Nuniz, that placed Krishnadēva on the throne.

At the date of the grant Krishnadēva was conducting his decisive campaign in the east, and had captured Kondavidu three weeks earlier, viz, on June 23rd, A D 1516.

No 23.—RAJAPURA COPPER PLATES OF MADHURANTAKADEVA.

[ŚAKA] SAMVAT 987

By HIRA LAL, B A, NAGPUR

The discovery of this first copper plate inscription in the wild Bastar State of the Central Provinces is the result of the zeal with which Rai Bahadur Baiyath, B A, the Superintendent

¹ Page 127, note 2. Will some one tell us whether the name should be spelt *Kalasa* or *Kalasa*? It appears to be spelt either way in the original inscriptions. Thus in Mr 40 (the inscription preceding the one in question), the Kanarese text has *Kalasa* in line 11, and *Kalasa* in line 12. On p 68 of his translation Mr Rice gives us three times *Kalasa* and five times *Kalasa*, on p 69 we have four times *Kalasa* (not *Kalasa*) and three times *Kalasa*. This last form is certainly wrong, for the second akshara is always *la* in the original. The variation is only in the third syllable. Mr Krishna Śāstri, in the *Epigraphia* spells the word consistently *Kalasa*.

² See *Ep. Carn* VI 155-262, lines 1-2.

of the State, set himself to make a search for the antiquarian remains in that little known and remote quarter, at my request Mr Bajnath has been richly rewarded for his efforts, for, in addition to the present copper plates, he has discovered more than twenty new inscriptions in Sanskrit and Telugu characters, of most of which he has sent me ink estampages and tracings. I have deciphered several of them and they will in due course appear in this Journal. I begin with the copper plates, as this is perhaps the most ancient Sanskrit inscription yet found in Bastar. Mr Bajnath found the plates in the possession of a Brāhman named Gangādhara Pārhi of Kawadgaon close to Rājapura. Gangādhara received them from his sister-in-law, who found them buried in a field at Nāharni, sixteen miles from Rājapura.

There are three copper plates, held together by a ring, soldered into what was apparently the lower portion of a seal, which had been broken off. Each plate is about $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$ and they weigh $29\frac{1}{2}$, 30 and 35 *tolas*, respectively the weight of the ring being 26 *tolas*. The plates are smooth, sufficiently thick, and in an excellent state of preservation. They are inscribed on both sides, except the first one, which is inscribed on one side only. Mr T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Secretariat Press, Nāgpur, kindly took for me impressions, which are reproduced in the accompanying plate. The plates are numbered 1, 2, 3, on the margin, which was apparently left to prevent the ring holes from coming in between the written lines. The word *śi* has been engraved in the upper margin of the first plate, over the figure 1.

The second side of the third plate is inscribed with benedictive and imprecatory figures viz., 12 hands in a row at the top, beneath which there is to the proper left a cow with a bell attached to her neck, and a dagger and a shield beside her feet, a floated *linga* in the form of a *śaśitha* in the middle, and a woman pursued by a donkey to the proper right, with the figure of the sun and the moon over it. My interpretation of these figures is as follows.—The hands are uplifted, apparently as an expression of benediction on the donor, and they are twelve, probably because there were 12 *pāthas* or donees referred to in the inscription. The cow is apparently drawn to remind us that whosoever appropriates the gifted land, will have to reap the same consequences which a cow's curse can produce, or will fall into the same calamity as a cow is in when deprived of her calf. Śiva is shown as the protector against aggression on the spiritual side, and the ruling king's dagger and shield on the temporal. The sun and the moon indicate that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Lastly the obscene figure of an ass associating with a woman is a vulgar imprecation implying that the transgressor of a gift should be so low-born.¹

The inscription is in the Nāgarī character. The average size of the letters is $\frac{7}{8}''$. They are well formed and clearly written.

The language is corrupt Sanskrit, and except the benedictive and imprecatory verses, which are inserted in a somewhat disconnected manner, the remainder of the inscription is prose. In fact the whole composition is disjointed, and there are several grammatical slips and spelling mistakes.

The most noteworthy orthographical peculiarities are the representation of the initial *ā* with two dots and a stroke underneath, resembling the Nāgarī figure 2 (ll 13, 16, 23 and 30). The anusvara is put at the side of the letter and is represented by a dot with a *hala* underneath (ll 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26 and 27), but in several instances it is also represented in the ordinary way by a dot on the top of the letter (ll 1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 31 and 32). One top stroke representative of the *mātrā*,

¹ Compare my remarks, above, p 164

of *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* is exhibited by a vertical stroke placed before the letter to which it is attached—a practice which is still followed in the Bengali and Oriyā writing, but exceptions may be found side by side, where it is placed on the top of the letter according to the practice now followed in writing. Thus, in line 12, the *dē* of *Madhurāntakadēva* has a top, while the very next *dē* of *Kanharadēva* has a vertical stroke preceding the letter *da*. The latter form, however, predominates, the exceptions being found as regards *ē* in ll 2, 4, 10, 11, 12, 21, 26, 29 and 31 and of *ō* in ll 1, 19, 31, and 32. *At* has been used only once, in line 8, and *au* twice, in lines 11 and 26, and in each case one of the top *mātrās* has been represented by a vertical stroke preceding the letter to which it is attached. The letters *bha*, *dha*, *ra* and *ksha*, invariably appear in their antiquated forms. The letter *v* is used throughout for *b*, and *s* for *ś*, except in the solitary instances of *daśa* in l 3 and of *śrī* in ll 12 and 29. *Ja* is used for *ya* (ll 20, 24, and 27), *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* in l 8, and *na* for *na* in l 6. In line 8 *hamvala*¹ for *kamala* is a spelling which occurs in other inscriptions. It represents the actual pronunciation of the vernacular word—a pronunciation still kept up in the Chhattisgarh division, of which Bastar forms part.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of Rājapura village, situated in the Bhramarakōṭya *mandala*, to one Mēdipōta or a Chhurikāra Mēdipōta and his descendants, together with 70 *gadyānaka*² gold. The grant was made by the king Madhurāntakadēva, who belonged to the Chhindaka family of the Nāga (Coba) race. The inscription is dated in the [Śaka] year 987, in the Parābhava samvatsara, on Wednesday of the bright fortnight of Kārttika month. Although the *tithi* has not been given, there is a most minute description of the moment of the grant, the *nakshatra* being stated to be Anurādhā, the *yōga* to be Saubhāgya and the *karana* to be Gara. From these data the exact date has been kindly calculated for me by Professor Kielheim who says—

"The date for Śaka 987 expired corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A D 1065. On this day the third *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika ended 9 hours 17 minutes after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā and the *yōga* Saubhāgya. The second half of the *tithi* was the *karana* Gara. But the Jupiter's year is not quite correct. By the southern system it should have been Visvavasu and by the northern luni-solar system Plavanga and by the northern mean sun system Kīlaka. The mistake is the same as in the first Kanke³ plates."

The purpose for which the grant was made is somewhat obscure. I take it to be a compensation for supplying a victim for human sacrifice. Before proceeding to show how I arrive at this conclusion, it may be stated that in Bastar and the adjoining tracts human sacrifices were rampant about seventy years ago. It is notorious that human victims were offered to the goddess Dantēśvarī, enshrined at Dantewārā in the Bastar State. Colonel Macpherson of the Madras Army, who was appointed agent for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices and female infanticide in the hill tracts of Orissa, which Bastar adjoins, says⁴—"In the worship of Tan Pennu or Earth Goddess the chief rite is human sacrifice. It is celebrated as a public oblation by tribes both at social festivals held periodically and when occasions demand extraordinary propitiation, such as the occurrence of an extraordinary number of deaths by disease or by tigers, or should very many die in child-birth, or should the flocks or herds suffer largely from disease or from wild beasts, or should the greater crops threaten to fail, or the occurrence of any marked calamity to the families of the tribal chiefs. Victims are called Meriah and are acceptable only when they have been acquired by purchase or were born as such, that is, of a victim father. Victims are generally supplied to the Khonds by men of the two races called Panwā and Gabhagā, who are attached in small numbers to almost every Khond village for the discharge of this and other peculiar offices. The Panwās purchase the victims without difficulty or kidnap

¹ Compare Dr Grierson in *J R A S* 1907, p 1057.

² *Gadyānaka* is a weight = 32 *gauṇa*. See *Yājñavalkya* iii 258.

³ Above p 129.

⁴ *J R A S*, Vol XIII (1852), p 243 et seq.

them from the poorer classes of Hindûs, procuring them either to the order of the Khonds or on speculation, and they moreover constantly sell as victims their own children and children of whom as relatives they are the guardians Khonds when in distress, as in times of famine, also frequently sell their children for victims, considering the beatification of their souls certain and their death for the benefit of mankind, the most honourable possible. The Meriah grove, a clump of deep and shadowy forest trees, usually stands at a short distance from the village by a rivulet which is called the Meriah stream. It is kept sacred from the axe and is avoided by the Khonds as *haunted ground*. Bearing these remarks in mind, I now proceed to examine in how far they can throw light on our inscription. The italics in the above extract are mine, and they should be borne especially in mind, while considering what follows. In ll 26 to 28 it is stated that "no body enters the *chhuriprabandha*. There is no place for the preceptor of *yôginis*. For this purpose this village is taken with a view to do good to all living beings." From this it is plain that the grant was not made for any spiritual purpose such as the increasing of the religious merit of the king and his ancestors, but with a practical earthly aim, *viz*, in order to secure the welfare of the general public including cattle and other animals. The grant was not made to a Brâhmana but to a Mâdîpôta (ll 12 to 14) who is styled "Pâtra 12," and to whom 70 *gadyâkaka* gold were given in addition to the village, with the mutual consent of the king, the queen, the prince and officers of State as stated in the grant, evidently in order to make the transaction an out-and-out purchase. Had the donee been a Brâhmana, we should have expected a mention of his parentage, *gôtra* and caste, but no such information is forthcoming in this grant. In l 25 Mâdîpôta is called *chhurikâra*, which is probably used in a technical sense having reference to the *chhuriprabandha* referred to above, and not in the ordinary sense of a knife-maker (blacksmith). I am unable to say what *chhuriprabandha*² really means, but from the context it appears to stand for something like *narabala* *prabandha*, apparently on account of the great importance of the *chhura* or knife in the sacrifice.

With regard to the epithet "12 pâtra" I am inclined to believe that Mâdîpôta, whether this word is a proper name or the name of an office, was the head of the 12 persons employed in the work of procuring victims. So late as 1884 A.D., when an investigation was made in Bastar in connection with kidnapping persons for sacrifice, it was believed that there were 12 villages given rent-free to kidnappers of 12 families, with whom the stipulation was that in case they could not procure victims from elsewhere, they must supply them from their own family in consideration of the free grant they enjoyed. Of course the existence of a grant for such a purpose could not be proved, as the sacrifices had been stopped long before the institution of the investigation. But the tradition of 12 families of *mellahs* or kidnappers of victims is significant and points to a practice which evidently existed in the days of these sacrifices³. I am further inclined to think that Mâdîpôta was an office, *Mêdî* being the same as *Mêlî* or *Mellî* vulgo *Melliah* or *Malva*,⁴ the word *pôta*, which in Telugu means a sacrificial victim, being dropped for

¹ The *Kâlikâ Purâna* says —

If a human sacrifice is performed without the consent of the prince, the performer incurs sin (see *Buddhârâdhya* in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol V p 383)

² [The text has *chhuriprabandham*, which might perhaps be translated "killing with a *chhura*."—S K.]

³ [The passage in question (l 14) can also be translated,—“Receivers 12 *Mêdîpôtas*, in their hand property was received.” The *Chhurikâra* of l 25 would then be a special *Mêdîpôta*.—S K.]

⁴ Capt MacVicar says —

“The Meriah offering, whether so called Toki Poojah or Noroboli (Narabali), is essentially the same in object as the *boli* (bali) of the Doorga Poojah, and to this day the ritual of the Khond is annually celebrated by the Borisooloo or *Malvah Pater* (Pâtra) at Pooramari, the capital of Chinna Kimedi, on the conclusion of the Dasserah festival—a goat now being substituted for the more precious victim.” Mark the italics, which are mine. (See Report by Capt MacVicar, 1851, in the *History of operations for the suppression of human sacrifice in the hill tracts of Orissa*, 1854). It would appear that *Melliah* (the procurer) and *Meriah* (the victim) were identical terms, the procurers being regarded in

the sake of brevity It will now appear that the grant gives sufficient indications pointing to the procuring of a human victim The village is secured as the residence of the preceptor of the *yôgnis*, who of course dwell in a haunted place, which is naturally avoided by others The victim is obtained by purchase, with the mutual consent of the king and his subjects, the grant is made to non-Brâhmanas, the likely persons to take part in such a ceremony, and all this is done for the purpose of *dayâ* and *dharma* to all living creatures Having referred to these main points, I pass over the minor ones which lead to the same conclusion, that this grant was made in favour of procurers of victims for human sacrifices If therefore the purpose of the grant is really what it appears to be, then I fancy this is a unique record and no similar inscription has hitherto been discovered

Some remarks about the dynasty of the king mentioned in this grant will be found above on pp. 161 and ff, where I have dealt with the inscriptions of the Nâgavamâi kings found in Bastar, most of which are not yet published and which I propose to edit in due course as intimated before The dynasty is clearly related to the Sinda family of Yelburga Though styled "Lord of Bhôgavati, the best of cities," Madhurântakadêva appears to have been a *Maṇḍalika* (feudatory chief), as the verse in ll 24-25 shows that his *râj* was limited to Bhâmarakôṭya, which is described as a *mandala* in l 15 He belonged to the Ohindaka family, one of the 36 Agnikulas¹ mentioned by Chand Bardai, the court poet of Prithvirâja

With regard to the localities mentioned in the record, Râjapura is identical with the present village of the same name, 22 miles north-west of Jagdalpur (the capital of Bastar), on the bank of the Indravati river There are ruins of a fort there, and it is believed that it was once a royal capital The present Râja family also dwelt there for some time Chakrakôṭya is, I feel little doubt, the town mentioned by the Kashmirian poet Bilhana in his *Vikramânkhadêvacharita*, in which he records that Vikrama as *yuvârâja* set out on a series of warlike expeditions, with the permission of his father He repeatedly defeated the Chôlas and plundered Kâñchî He assisted the king of Mâlavâ in regaining his kingdom and carried his arms as far north as Gauda and Kâmarûpa He attacked also the king of Sindhala or Ceylon, destroyed the sandal wood forests of Malaya Hills and slew the lord of Kêrala He finally conquered Gângakunda (IV. 21) Vêṅgî (IV. 29) and Chakrakôṭa (IV. 30) After having accomplished these brilliant exploits Vikrama turned homewards, and, on coming as far as the Krishnâ, he was suddenly disquieted by the news of his father's death Dr Buhler² remarks that "Bilhana's rhapsodic treatment of this portion of Vikrama's career makes it impossible to determine the chronological order of these wars Only so much may be considered certain that his last exploits were performed in the south as he came on his homeward march to the Krishnâ." There can be no doubt about these exploits of Vikrama They were, as related above, the conquest of Gângakunda, Vêṅgî and Chakrakôṭa, and at least these seem to have been conquered in the order in which they have been mentioned Gângakunda was the Chôla capital, situated in the north-east corner of the Trichinopoly district,³ whence Vikrama proceeded north to Vêṅgî, the country between the Krishnâ

the same light as the victims, as they had themselves to become victims in the absence of a proctored one The sacrificers paid the Mellahs, who thus became purchased victims, and they did not care whence the victim was procured so long as one was supplied to them when wanted Thus to the sacrificers, the procurer and the victim would mean the same thing, but the terms came to be differentiated when a class of procurers grew up and the real victim happened to be a substitute for themselves. A parallel instance of such differentiation in the same word may be found in Kôṭwâl and Kôṭwâr in the Saugor district, where in spite of the officials regarding them as identical, a social distinction is made out The Kôṭwâl is generally of a higher caste than the Kôṭwâr and considers himself the proper village watchman, other menial duties being taken as the proper function of the Kôṭwâr

¹ *Prithvirâja Râso*, Canto I, page 54 (Nâgarî Prachârini Grantthamâlâ series)

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V p. 319 footnote

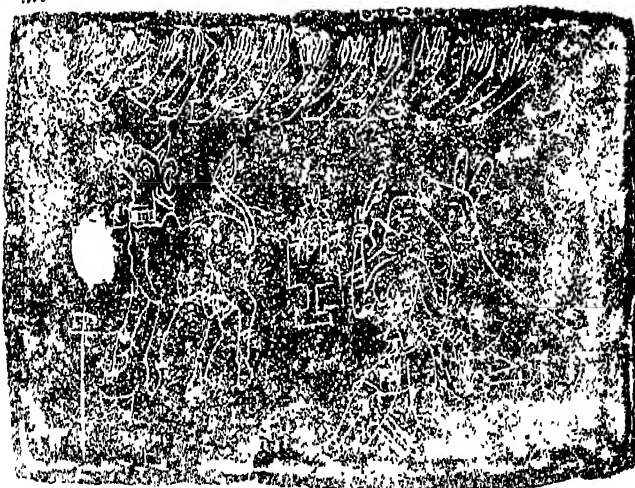
³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 389

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FROM IMPRESSIONS BY T Q GREEN

श्रीमद्गौरी तंदयार्मयवर्जितः उप का मा धीह उं। वक्रको
 समुल्लसन्नेयसि सयकृष्टी। धनस्युः सुवर्णलीला
 हृदि। कनकापि मालासिन्धुं कायसुसूक्तनः ३० ति
 तम ॥ ३१ ॥ मनउक्ता ज वल्लदव बोवत न रना देन पात्र
 ग विनय प्रसादान मम मयी वीर्य दशौ वसत न नो लं
 ति ॥



and the Gôdâvarî. He apparently crossed the latter and raided the country of Chakrakôta and then wended his way homewards. This occurred just a few years after the present grant was made (1065 A D), in as much as Vikrama became king in 1076 A D. Many a southern king¹ likewise raided this somewhat weak power, which must accordingly have been situated near to their kingdoms. Therefore Chakrakôta was not near Dhârâ, as some scholars have supposed, but was contiguous to Vēngî, being situated in the present Bastar state. I think the confusion with Dhârâ is due to the fact that Chakrakôtya had a king named Dhârâvarsha (which has been apparently wrongly interpreted to mean 'king of Dhârâ'²). In an unpublished inscription found at Kuruspâl, a place close to Râjapura, there occurs *Chakrahâtîdâhîsvardnâm kulam=alam karishnuh . . . samabhavad Dhârâvarshanâmô narâśvarah*. The Nârâyanapâla inscription also mentions Dhârâvarsha, whose widow Gunda-mahâdôvî gave away the Nârâyanapura village in her grandson's reign in the year 1111 A D.³ The name Chakrakôtya probably survives in the present Chitrakûta or Chitrakôta, 8 miles from Râjapura. Bhramarakôtya was possibly an alternative name of Chakrakôtya, which seems to survive in Ghumara, a name given to the fall of the Indrâvatî at Chitrakôta.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Ôm⁴ svasu [i*] Sahasra phanâmanî-kirana-nîkar-âvabhâsura-⁵Nâgavams-o-
- 2 dbhava-Bhôgâvati-pura-var-âsvara⁶ visada-jaya-patu-pataha-gâm-
- 3 bhâ(bhî)rya-dhvanî-lamkârîta⁷-(11)daśa-dis-âmtarâldhanu⁸-(11)vyâghra-lâm-
- 4 ohhana-(11)Chhimdaka-kula-blaka-kamala-bhâskara (11) mahâ-mahô-
- 5 svara(svara)-chaiana-kamala-sêvi-kimjalka-pumja-pi[m*]jarita-bhira-
- 6 marâyamâna(na) (11) surapati-vinirpta-dumdubhi-tûrya-rav-o[*]trâ-
- 7 sit-âri-chakra chirâ lavdha-jôtya⁹ (1) êrâvat-ôparî-lavdha-lamva¹⁰.
- 8 kamvala-kadalâ(11)-dhvaja¹¹samkh-aika-savd-âbhînamdita | svasu nri-¹²
- 9 pa kâl-âtitas-s[m*]vat 987 nava sata-satâsî-sapta-¹³

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 varshasa¹⁴ parâbhava-samvatam-abhyamtarah-kârtîka-mâsa-sukla-pakshê¹⁵ vudha-
- 11 dinê nakvatra anurâvê¹⁶ saubhâgya-jôgê¹⁷ | karana gajê¹⁸ | sarvê¹⁹ mahâ-

¹ The first raid so far as is known appears to have been made by Vijayaditya III of the Eastern Chalukya line, who ruled between 844 and 888 A D. He burnt Chakrakôta (above, Vol IV p 226). Then the Chôla Râjendra Chôla I (A D 1011-33) took Sakkarâ kôttam (South Ind Insar Vol II p 108), while one of his successors, king Virarajendra I, claims to have crossed the Gôdâvarî, passed through Kalinga, and advanced against Chakrakôta (ibid Vol III p 70). Next the Chôla Ling Kulôttunga, while yet a youth, won his first laurels in battle by storming Chakrakôta. This happened prior to 1070 A D and is mentioned in the Tamil poem *Kalingattu Parani* (X 24), and also in inscriptions (see e.g. *Ind Ant* Vol XXI p 286). Vikrama was probably the fifth ruler, the sixth being Vishnuvardhana Hoysala in the 12th century (Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No 396).

² I would therefore, instead of 'Râjâkâsarvarman (i.e. Kulôttunga Chôla I) conquered the king of Dhârâ at Chakrakôta' read 'Râjâkâsarvarman conquered king Dhârâ(varsha) at Chakrakôta' (see Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No 756).

³ See above, page 161.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read *-amâs ôdbhava*.

⁶ Read *êsvara visada*.

⁷ Read *jamkârîta*.

⁸ Read *-dis âmtarâld dhanur*.

⁹ Read *labdha-jay-ôptîta*.

¹⁰ Read *avâdat oparî labdha-lamba kamala*.

¹¹ Read *famkh aika kâbd-*.

¹² Read *saka-nri*.

¹³ Read *-sata-sapt dâtî*.

¹⁴ Read *varshasya*.

¹⁵ Read *samvat-ar-âbhyamtarâ kârtîka mâsa sukla-pakshê ôdhâ-*.

¹⁶ Read *anurâdhâ-nakshatras*.

¹⁷ Read *sarva muhârtîkeshu*.

¹⁸ Read *gôgê*.

¹⁹ Read *gârâ-karanê*.

- 12 tram śrī-Madhurāntakadēva || kumara¹ Kanharadēvaḥ rājñī Nāgala-mahā-
 13 dēvi | kumara² Nāikah nāyaka Sūdrakah³ kumāra Tumgarājah srē-⁴
 14 shthi Pulama || śkānamati⁵ -bhūtvā pātra 12 mēdipōta hastē dravyam
 15 grhītam suvarṇa-gadyāsaka 70 Bhramarakōtya-mandala-madhyē
 16 Rājapura-grāmam pāda prakshāla[y*]itvā hastē dhārām pradatā(ttam) ||
 ā-chandra-
 17 tāra-prabhriti siva-nirmālyam⁶ vaditam kāla-kāl-āntarē grihñā-⁷
 18 mañ vadat || Vānāsyām sahasra-linga bhagnē | sahasra-tatāga⁸ bhagnē

Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 sahasra vrāhmaṇa⁹ | gō sahasra-ghātam kritvā | tasyasyōpi¹⁰ phalam bhavāti ||
 sva-
 20 da[t*]t[ā*]m paradat[tā*]m vā jō(yō) harēd(rēta) vasumdhārām [I*] shashtir¹¹.
 vaushaha-sahasrāni
 21 viśthāyām jāyātē krimi[h*] || sāmānyō=yam dharma-sētum(tur)=nripānām
 kālā kā-
 22 lē (yō) pālaniyam(-yō) bhavadbhūh [I*] sarvān=yōpētām¹² bhāginah
 pāthavēmdro bhū-
 23 yō yāchatē Rāmachandrah [I*] Ākāś-ōtpati¹³ nidhi gaja da[t*]tam iti
 grāmya
 24 vāhyam rāja-dravyam || ¹⁴jāva chadras=cha sūryas=cha jāva tishtati mēdini ||
 (I) jāva-
 25 tu Bhramakōtya rājayamaś tāvatu || ohhūrī-kāra mēdipōtasya putra-
 26 pautrē sāsanam¹⁵ pālaniyam || grāma-mēdhyā¹⁶ ohhūrī-pravadham¹⁷ kō=pi na
 pravi-
 27 sat¹⁸ || kulāyani¹⁹.jōgini-āchāryasya(h) sthālam n=āsti || ētad=arthē

Third Plate, First Side

- 28 grāmam grhītam dayā-dharma-sarva jantu-(I)upakār-ārtha-hētum || Chakrakō
 29 tyā-mandala-madhyē śākshī nāyaka śrī-Dhārēsvarah(śvarah) Mudhasellī Nāga-
 30 hasti | karana Dāriā | Lūkhitam kāyastha-Dhānūkēna(h) iti
 31 lekha[nī] dhritam kumara²⁰ Tumgarāja Dhāmadēva Gōvardhanah
 Danārdanah²¹ pātra
 32 Gāgrā sādhu Sāhāranga(-su ?) | Manavridhi²² svahastō-yam matam=ārōpayā-
 33 ti ||

¹ Read *kumara*

² Read *kumara Nāyaka*

³ Read *Sūdrakah*

⁴ Read *śrēshthi*

⁵ Read *śkānamati*, cf. *śkāmatibhūtvā* in II 29, 30, and 33 of the Siyadoni inscription (above, Vol I p 177)

⁶ Read *siva nirmālyam=uditam*

⁷ Read *grihñam=tmam*

⁸ Read *-tatāga*

⁹ Read *brāhmaṇa*

¹⁰ Read *tasyasy=api*

¹¹ Read *shashtim varsha sahasrāni*

¹² Read *sarcān=śvām bhāvanah pāthavēmdro bhūyō bhū*

¹³ Read *ākāś-ōtpati*

¹⁴ Read *yāvat=chandraś=cha sūryas=cha yāvat=tiṣṭhāti mēdini yāvat=tu Bhramarakōtyō rāja-vaśēd=pi tāvat*

¹⁵ Read *sāsanam*

¹⁶ Read *-mēdhyē*

¹⁷ Read *-pravadham*

¹⁸ Read *sat*

¹⁹ Read *kulāyini-jōgini*

²⁰ Read *kumara*

²¹ Read *Danārdana* In Bastar and the adjoining Ōryā country this name is commonly pronounced *Danārdana*, and I have found a Talsildar of Kālāhandi who actually writes his name so. All these names should properly be in the instrumental

²² Read *Manavridhi*

TRANSLATION

Om ! Hail ! (In the reign of the king) born of the race of the Nāga (Cobra), which is resplendent with the mass of rays (proceeding from) the jewels in (its) thousand hoods, who is lord of Bhāgāvati, the best of cities, while the space between the ten quarters is resounding with the deep sound from the shrill drums (proclaiming his) brilliant victories, whose crest is a bow and a tiger, who is (as it were) the sun to the lotus (-like) crest jewel of the Chhindaka family, who resembles a bee which is rendered yellow by the mass of the pollen served to the lotus feet of the great Mahēsvara, whose circle of enemies is terrified by the sound of the *duṇḍubha* (drum) and *tūya* (musical horn) won from Indra, who is endued with victories gained since a long time, whose banner is the lotus and plantain (leaf) supported on (the back) of Anāvata (white elephant), and who is hailed by the sound of conches only, in the year of the (Śaka) king 987 expired, in the month of Kārttika, during the currency of the Parābhava-samvatsara, in the bright fortnight, on Wednesday, in the Anurādhā lunar mansion, in the Saubhāgya yōga and Gara karana, in all these auspicious moments, the illustrious Madhurāntakadēva, Prince Kanharadēva, Queen Nāgala Mahādēvi, Prince Nāyaka, Nayaka Sūdraka, Prince Tungarāja and Śrēṣṭhan Pulama, having unanimously agreed, the village Rājapura (situated) in the Bhramarakōṭya *mandala* is granted, after washing the feet and (accompanied) with pouring streams (of water), (and) 70 *gaḍyānaka* gold are received in the hand of (by) Mēḍipōta, (who is the head) of the twelve *pātras* (persons worthy of receiving gifts) The gift is declared as *Swanmālya* (as sacred as a gift offered to Śiva and therefore inviolable), as long as the moon, the stars, etc., endure. If any one from time to time says "I take it," the result for him also (will be the same as in the case of) breaking a thousand *lingas* in Bānāras, breaking a thousand tanks, and killing a thousand Brahmins and a thousand cows

"He who resumes land given by himself or given by another becomes a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years"

"Common is this religious bridge to princes, and it should be guarded by you from age to age Thus does Rāmachandra again and again conjure all future lords of the earth"

The produce from the heavens, deposits (in the earth) and (wild) elephants¹ are given, but other things outside the village are the State property So long as the sun and the moon and the earth and the royal race of Bhramarakōṭya endure, so long (must this charter be observed). This charter is to be respected in the case of Chhurikāra Mēḍipōta's sons and grandsons

Nobody enters the *chhureprabandha* at the village sacrifice There is no place for the preceptor of the resident (local) *jōgīs* For this purpose this village is taken, for the benefit of all creatures, for the purpose of (showing) kindness and (performing) virtue. In the Chakrakōṭya *mandala* the witnesses are —Nāyaka Śrī Dhārēśvara, Mudhasēli, Nāgahasti, (and) Karana Dārā Written by Dhānūka Kāyastha

The pen (engraving stylus) (was) touched by Kumāra Tungarāja, Dhāmadēva, Gōvardhana, Danārdana, Pātra Gāgārā (and) Sādhū Sāhāranga (Sāhārasu ?) This is in Manavī-dhrī's hand(writing) (which) sets up (expresses) the (general) opinion.

¹ In Blochman's *Am i-Akbari*, Vol I page 122, the following occurs.—

"Elephants are chiefly found in the Subah of Agra, in the forests of Bayāwān and Narwar as far as Berār, in the Subah of Allahābād, in the confines of Pattah and Ghoraghat and Ratanpur, Nandanpur, Sergachh and Bastar"

No 24—SIHAWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNARAJA

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1114

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR

This inscription is on a slab built into the wall of the Karnēśvar, *vulgo* Kanēsar, temple at Sihawā, the principal village of the tract of that name in the Dhamtari tahsil of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. It was first noticed in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV p 500, and it is referred to by General Cunningham in his *Reports*, Vol VII p 145. The place does not seem to have been visited by any archæologist. The inscription was brought to notice by the District officials, who thought it sufficient to ascertain the date, and the full contents of the record have hitherto remained unknown. I therefore edit it from an ink impression supplied by Mr Gokul Prasad Išvardās, Tahsildār of Dhamtari, from which a reduced facsimile is reproduced in the accompanying plate.

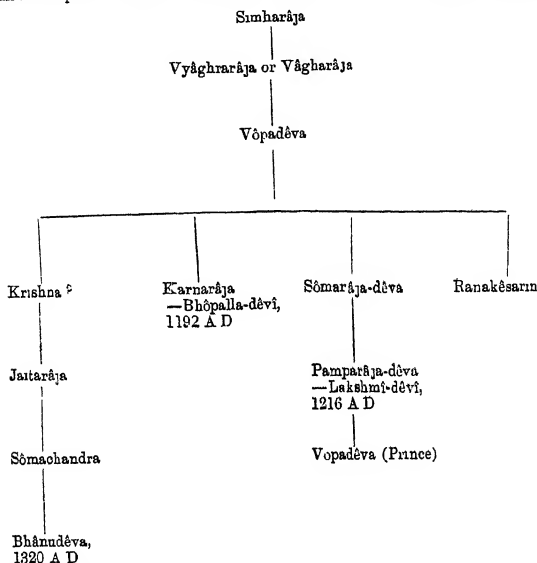
The inscription contains 16 lines covering a space 22" × 13½". The letters are bold and well formed. They are all intact excepting one which is broken off in line 2. Their average size is about ½". The script is Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The whole of the inscription is written in verse, except the invocation in the beginning, *Om namaḥ Śivāya*, and the name of the *sūtradhāra* at the end. There are altogether 13 verses, 4 in the *Vasantatilaka* metre, 8 *A nushṭubhs* and one *Upajāti*.

The following are the principal orthographical peculiarities—*s* is almost invariably used for *ś*. The sign of the *avagraha* is not used at all (see lines 3, 4 and 15). Letters following an *anusvāra* changed from a nasal are doubled (lines 2, 10, and 13). Letters with a *rēpha* are sometimes doubled and sometimes not. Instances of doubling may be seen in lines 1 and 15, and of non-doubling in lines 2, 3, 4, 5 and 11, while lines 8, 9, 10 and 14 afford instances of both. In conjunct letters *ṇ* has been used instead of the proper nasal as in *pañchakam* and *punyatakā* in lines 12 and 15. *Śiṃha* is spelt throughout as *siṃgha*, following the usual vulgar pronunciation, and, finally, in line 1 the vowel *ṛ* is used instead of the *rī*, *tritaya* being written as *tritaya*.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of five temples, two in his parents' name, two in his own, and one in his issueless brother's, by king Karnarāja of Kākara, and of one by his wife, queen Bhōpalla-dēvī. These were all built at the sacred place Dēvahrada. The date of the inscription is given in the last verse as Śaka 1114, without any other details as to the day or month, etc. The inscription was accordingly written in the year A.D. 1191-92, apparently after the completion of the whole group of temples, and it was put up in one of the king's own temples, in which Śiva was enshrined. The other one of those which he had built for himself was dedicated to Kēśava, who apparently occupied a secondary place in his estimation. The temple in which the slab is found, is still called Kanēsar or Karnēśvara, after the king's own name. The writer was the *sūtradhāra* Sūpā, and the composer of the *prastāva* Nṛsiṃha.

The inscription opens with an invocation of the three-eyed Śiva, and in the second verse the moon, as the progenitor of the dynasty, is praised. Then begins the genealogy of the king, commencing with Sumharāja, whose son was Vāgharāja, from whom was born Vōpadēva, the father of Karnarāja, who married Bhōpalla-dēvī, and who, having conquered all the neighbouring

princes, assumed the title of a paramount sovereign. Combining the information from the other two Kākara inscriptions¹ of these Sōmavamsi kings we get the following genealogical tree.—



It would appear that Vopadēva had four sons, but the probability is that he had only three, the doubtful Krishna of the Kanker *prasasti* being probably identical with Karṇa of our inscription. Evidently the three brothers were all ruling chiefs, who appear to have divided the state between them and selected their residences in different places, though always keeping in touch with the ancestral capital at Kākara and recognising one amongst themselves as over-lord. Karṇa seems to have had a predilection for a site near the older capital, viz., Sihāwā, and was probably living in Dhanōrā, now in the Bastar State, at a distance of about 28 miles from Sihāwā. In this village my friend Rai Bahādur Pandā Bajnāth, B.A., Administrator of the Bastar State, has recently discovered ancient remains, there being about 20 tanks and 25 mounds, one of which he excavated and found in it a huge Śiva *linga* with beautiful carvings. Dhanōrā is enclosed by hills on three sides, and is a likely place selected by a Rāja for his residence. There is a local tradition that a Rāja Karṇa ruled there, although the people of that place do not even now know of the existence of any inscription mentioning his name. Sōmarāja and his son Pamparāja favoured Pādi-pattana, which I cannot identify. It was possibly somewhere towards Dhamtari side. Ranakēsarin was useless, as our inscription informs us, and he was probably wholly dependent on his brother Karṇarāja, as we find the latter building a temple in his name to perpetuate his memory—a thing which he would perhaps have done himself had he been his own master. If he was ruling as a chief subordinate to his brother, we have no information as to

where he had selected his residence. There can be little doubt that all these branches of the Kākara family owed allegiance to some other power, which was very probably represented by the Haihaya kings of South Kōśala, as the use of the Kalachuri era by Pamparājadēva would indicate. Karnarāja was apparently more ambitious than the rest. He subdued the neighbouring princes, as our inscription relates, and probably set himself up as an independent ruler in the out-of-the-way jungles, that is perhaps the reason why he used the Śaka era in his inscription instead of the Kalachuri era, thus intimating that he did not acknowledge the Haihaya domination, unless it was customary to use the Kalachuri reckoning in official documents involving disposal of property, etc., while the older Śaka era was used for other religious and general purposes.

The earliest date of this line of kings is that which we get from the present inscription, viz., 1192 A.D., and the latest is that of Bhānūdēva, 1320 A.D., there being thus a difference of 128 years between Karnarāja and Bhānūdēva. Karnarāja stood in the same relationship to Bhānūdēva as did the first ancestor Simharāja to Karnarāja. Simha was great-grandfather of Karnarāja, the latter being great-grandfather (or great-granduncle) of Bhānūdēva, and if a similar interval is allowed between Simha and Karnarāja, Simha's time would be about 1064 A.D. According to this calculation the generations would be very long-lived, about 42 years each on an average, which is hardly probable, though in sporadic cases there would be nothing extraordinary about it. The present Rāja family, according to its traditions, believes its first ancestor to have come from Orissa about Vikrama Samvat 1150 or 1093 A.D., and this curiously fits in well with the evidence afforded by the inscriptions under consideration. Apparently, then, Simharāja was the first emigrant, and he came about the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. The Rāja family story² as related before (above, page 124) is to the effect that a Puri king, having become a leper, quitted that place and came to Sihāwā, which was merely a dense jungle, where he found a spring of water in which he took a bath which removed his leprosy. He was then installed king of that place, and it is possible that the locality was named after him, being called *Simha + awah = Simhūwah* (the comfort of Simha) which finally was corrupted into Sihāwā. From our inscription it appears that it was also known as *Dēvahrada tīrtha* or the holy lake of the gods, and there was certainly ample reason for calling it so. In fact a large portion of the Sihāwā tract seems to have been regarded as a piece of holy land. Local tradition avers that it was the hermitage of the *rishi* Śringin who is still worshipped there. Five miles from this place is the village Ratāwā where Angāra (Angiras) *rishi* used to live, and Muchukunda had his *āśrama* in the village Mechakā 22 miles from Sihāwā. About 10 miles west of Sihāwā there is *Dēvakūta* (the hillock of the gods), which also

¹ It is perhaps more than a coincidence that a king Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntara, who must have held sway in the same neighbourhood, is mentioned as early as the fourth century in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 6 ff.

² A variant of the same story is that a Puri king having appointed an illegitimate son of his as his successor, the others took offence and quitted the place. They came over to the wilds of Chhatisgarh and became the leaders of the local tribes, who installed them as their kings. That there is some truth in this story is evident from the fact that the installation of most of these chiefs is considered complete when it is confirmed by a particular tribe, by way of expression of gratitude on the part of the Rāja family. Thus the Kancker family seems indebted to the Halbis, the Kalāhandi family to the Kandhs, the Rairākol to the Butkā Sudhs, the Bāmā to the Bhuyās, and so on.

³ Besides the healing power of the spring, which in itself is sufficient to cause the place to become a *tīrtha*, Sihāwā is the source of the Mahānadi or Chitāpālā, of which it is said —

Suvarnākhya puri punya punya Māyārakṣart, Kōsalayām trayah punya punya Chitrōtpalā nadi
Suvarnapuri is the present Sōnpur, capital of the state of the same name, and Māyārakṣari is another name of Narsimhanāth in Borāmbhar Zamindār of the Sambalpur District. A visit to that place is held to wipe out all sins. *En passant* it may be noted that the apparent mistake of a sculptor in carving out a cat-lion instead of a man lion has metamorphosed the statue of the latter kept in the Narsimhanāth cave, into a new incarnation of the God, to account for which there has been no lack of imagination on the part of the local Brāhmins.

contains ruins of old temples¹ At Sihawā there are two old temples close together in a pretty fair state of preservation One of them, in which our inscription was found, is dedicated to Mahādēva, and it is certainly identical with one of the two mentioned in line 12 The other is dedicated to Rāmachandra, but the people say that it was also formerly a Śiva temple and that the present statues of Rāma and others in it were brought from the ruined temple (about 300 yards away) near the Amṛita Kund, a bath in which is reputed to have cured the leprosy of the first Kanker king One of these must be the temple dedicated to Kēśava There are three other temples close by, which may possibly be those constructed by Karnarāja in his parents' and brother's name In the village Bhītarās, which means 'the interior' and which probably formed the interior of the Sihawā town in its days of glory, there is another old temple containing idols not easily distinguishable but stated by the people to represent Rāmachandra, etc., and this may possibly be the temple which Bhōpalla-dēvi built. It cannot, however, be confidently identified, the probability for such a conjecture being based on another supposition, viz., that Bhōpalla-dēvi was a Vaiṣṇavi, while her lord was a Śaiva It appears that it was in deference to her that Karnarāja dedicated one of his temples to Kēśava. And as one temple erected in her name was thus built on the holy spring, it seems reasonable to suppose that she should have selected a site for another which she built independently, in the interior of the town

TEXT.

- 1 श्री नमः शिवाय ॥ ²त्पातु ³वस्तुतयमीश्वरलोचनानामग्न्यर्कसोममयमूर्ति-
धर स-
- 2 मन्तात् । 'यंलोकदुःखदहनप्रतिभासनादि[स्त्रा]प्यायनानि कृपयानुदिनं करोति ॥१॥
⁴कन्दर्पवा-
- 3 गणसाणसिलामनोन्नदिक्कमिनीवदनदर्पणमण्डलसीः⁵ । देवः ससी' विजय
तेजि-
- 4 तपः पयोधिसु[क्ताफलं] हरसिरोमुकुटैकरत्नं⁶ ॥२॥ ⁷पुरुवरःप्रभृतिभिः नृपैर्यो-
वद्वधन्वयः । त-
- 5 स्व तस्मिन्नभूषणः ¹⁰[सिं]वराजो नृपाग्रणीः ॥३॥ ¹¹तस्मादजायत महोपतिमौ-
लिसंवरर्षवृष्ट-¹²
- 6 चरणः किल वाधराजः । ¹³राजन्यतो समभवज्जगती समन्ताद्येन प्रजासपि
दृतां भजता नृपेण ॥
- 7 ॥४॥ ¹⁴वोपदेवोभवत्तस्मात्सिंघः¹⁵ सिंघादिवापरः । येन विचासिता जग्मु-
द्विसः¹⁶ सन्नुनृपद्विपाः ॥५॥

¹ Mr Gokul Prasad visited these temples lately (November 1907) and has sent me a copy of a small inscription found in one of them, in which I read the name of Śrī Vāgharaja. Thus the Devakūta temples appear to be older than those of Sihawā, having been built in the times of Karnarāja's grandfather

² Metre Vasantatilaka

³ Read वस्तुतयसीधर

⁴ Read यल्लोक

⁵ Metre Vasantatilaka

⁶ Read कन्दर्पवाणगणसाणसिलामनोन्न

⁷ Read ०त्रो,

⁸ Read श्री I am indebted to Pandit Hirananda Śāstri, M A., for pointing out that the moon is Atri's son who comes out of the Ocean in the form of his penance

⁹ Metre Anushubh

¹⁰ Read ०मिर्नृपैर्यो ववधे नय

¹¹ Read जिरौ

¹² Metre Vasantatilaka

¹³ Read ०संघसत्तर्ष

¹⁴ Read सिंघ

¹⁵ Metre Anushubh

¹⁶ Read सिंघ. सिंघौ

¹⁷ Read ०द्विस. यन्नु

- 8 ¹तस्माद्भूतपतिमण्डलमण्डनघ्नीः स्त्रीकर्षराजनृपतिर्विदितप्रतापः । ²यन्यायवर्त-
नक्षपाणभ-
9 यागवेष्टुं ³काकैरदेसममल न कलिः समर्थः ॥६॥ ⁴तस्य भोपल्लदेवीति
महिषी वरवर्णिनी । ⁵वभूवः
10 मेने याज्ञीको लक्ष्मीं क्षितिगतामिव ॥७॥ ⁶स्ववाहुवीर्येण विजित्य सर्वातु-
पान्तदेशाधिपतीन्सम-
11 न्तात् । सेवाकरोपायनदानसीक्षांश्चकार⁷ साम्राज्यपदं दधानः ॥८॥ ⁸तीर्थं
देवद्वदे तेन कृतं प्रासा-
12 दपञ्चकं⁹ । स्त्रीयं तत्र हयं जातं यत्र शकरकेसवी¹⁰ ॥९॥ ¹¹पितृभ्यां प्रददौ
चान्यत्स्वरयित्वा¹² हयं नृपः ।
13 सदनं देवदेवस्य मनोहारि त्रिसूदनः(शूलिनः) ॥१०॥ ¹³रथकेसरिणे प्रादांनृपायैकं¹⁴
सुरालयं । ¹⁵तद्वसन्तीण-
14 तां ज्ञात्वा भ्रातृस्त्रेहिन कर्षराट् ॥११॥ ¹⁶भोपल्लदेव्या तत्रैव प्रासादः कारितः
सुभः¹⁷ । भर्तुः संक्षेपः¹⁸
15 मिदृश्या देहतः ¹⁹पुन्यतस्तथा ॥१२॥ चतुर्हसीत्तरं²⁰ सेयमेकादशे सते
सके । वर्चतां सर्वतो नित्यं
16 नृसिंघे²¹ क्षतिना कृता ॥१३॥ सूत्रघा[रः*] स्या

TRANSLATION.

Om¹ Salutation to Śiva

(Verse 1.) Let that triad of eyes of Śiva, consisting of fire, sun and moon, protect you on all sides—(that triad) which out of kindness burns the miseries of this world (and) illuminates and pleases it daily

(V 2) May the god moon be victorious—(the moon) who is a good whetstone for sharpening the arrows of Cupid, who is (the embodiment of) the splendour on the orb of the mirror (-like) faces of the maidens of the (various) quarters of the sky, who is a pearl from the ocean (emanating in the form of) Atri's penance, and (who is) the only jewel on the crest of Śiva's head.

(V 3.) In that (moon's) family which prospered through Purūras and other kings there was a king Simharāja who was the leader of (other) kings

¹ Metre Vasantatilaka Read तस्माद् °श्रीः श्री°

² Read °देव°

³ Metre Upajāti. Read स्ववाहु°

⁴ Metre Anuṣṭubh.

⁵ Metre Anuṣṭubh

⁶ Read प्रादात्°

⁷ Read एभः.

⁸ Metre: Anuṣṭubh Read चतुर्हसीत्तरं सेयमेकादशे सते सके

⁹ Metre Anuṣṭubh

¹⁰ Read पञ्चक

¹¹ Read °स्कारयित्वा

¹² Read तद्वस°

¹³ Read सक्षेप°

¹⁴ Read यत्राय°

¹⁵ Read वभूव

¹⁶ Read °श्रीका°

¹⁷ Read °केसरिणे.

¹⁸ Metre Anuṣṭubh

¹⁹ Metre Anuṣṭubh

²⁰ Read पुष्पत°

²¹ Read नृसिंघ°.

(V 4) From him was born Vāgharāja, whose feet were indeed scratched by the friction of diadems (adorning the heads) of (other) kings (prostrating themselves before him) By (this) king, who was devoted to his subjects like a father, the world came to be well-ruled on all sides

(V 5) From this lion as it were was born Vōpadēva, another lion, frightened by whom the elephant like hostile kings went (as retired) to the (various) cardinal points (of the compass)

(V 6) From him was born the illustrious Karnadēva (who was) the splendour (adorning) the assembly of kings, whose glory was (well) known, and through fear of whose sword in the form of dispensation of justice the Kali (age) was unable to enter the spotless Kākara country.

(V 7) His queen was the beautiful Bhōpalladēvi, whom the people considered as if she were Lakshmi (goddess of wealth) come to this earth

(V 8) Having completely conquered the lords of all the neighbouring countries by the force of his arm and having secured paramount sovereignty (over them), (he) caused them to become devoted to his service, to pay tribute and presents and to become charitable

(V 9) In the holy place Dēvahrada five edifices were built by him Two of them were his own, where Śankara and Kāśava (are enshrined)

(V 10) The king, having caused two other temples of the god of gods, the holder of the trident,¹ to be built bestowed them on (as dedicated them in the name of) his parents.

(V 11) One temple Karnarāja gave to (as dedicated in the name of) king Ranākēśarin, through fraternal affection, knowing that his lineage was to become extinct

(V 12) There, an auspicious temple was also caused to be built by Bhōpalla-dēvi, who wished for the union with her husband (both) in body as well as in meritorious acts.

(V 13) This (was done) in the Śaka year eleven hundred increased by fourteen. Let prosperity daily attend Composed by the clever Nṛsimha

The Sūtradhāra (architect) was Sūpā (?)

NO 25 —VASANTGADH INSCRIPTION OF VARMALATA,

[VIKRAMA] SAMVAT 682.

By D R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA

Last year a summary of this inscription was published by Prof Kielhorn,² with a promise to publish the full text on some future occasion The impressions sent by Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur were not sufficiently clear for that purpose. During the touring season ending March 1906, my work chiefly lay in the Sirohi State I was thus able to inspect the original stone in person and take the best possible impressions When the summary was afterwards published on my return to head-quarters, I sent my impressions to Prof Kielhorn. But, as circumstances arose which prevented him from publishing them, the impressions were

¹ In the original the word is *tridānah* which I originally read as *triddānah*. Dr Konow has suggested the correction adopted in the text

² *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1906, H 2

to whom the temple was dedicated. The second name is Pratiḥāra Bōtaka, the first of which words I think signifies the race Bōtaka was thus a Pratiḥāra, i.e. Padiār, and this is the earliest instance of the denomination Pratiḥāra occurring in an inscription. The third name is *rājasthānīya* Ādityabhata, the first part of which is unquestionably an official designation, meaning the foreign secretary.¹

Prof. Kielhorn thinks that the name of Varmalāta spoken of in our inscription as paramount sovereign settles the date of the poet Māgha. It would be impossible not to agree with him when he says, that, out of the numerous forms found in the manuscripts of the Śiṣupālavadha, of the name of the king at whose court Māgha's grandfather Suprabhadēva is stated to have held the office of prime-minister, the variant Varmalāta is to be selected as the most likely one. But to the identification of this prince with the Varmalāta of our inscription, supposing the date V E 682 to be correct it is possible to raise an objection. As every student who has read the *Śiṣupālavadha* knows, Māgha in his work distinctly alludes to the two grammatical treatises, the *Kṛṣṇivṛtti* and its commentary called *Nyāsa*. The former is the joint production of Jayaditya and Vāmana, and, with regard to the former author, the Chinese traveller I-tsing informs us in unmistakable terms that he died about A D 661-662. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that the author of the *Nyāsa* was Jinēndrabuddhi, who like Jayaditya was a follower of the Buddha.² And it is inconceivable that I-tsing, one of whose principal objects in coming to India was to collect information about Buddhist authors, could have passed him over in silence, if the latter had flourished before A D. 695 when the Chinese traveller's departure from India took place. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the author of the *Nyāsa* could not have lived before the first half of the 8th century. Māgha, therefore, has to be assigned to the latter part of the 8th century. This line of argument adduced by Prof. Pathak³ appears to me to be worth considering. Dr Konow, however, informs me that he does not think it convincing. He says, "the *argumentum ex silentio* is always unsafe, and, even if we admit that Jinēndrabuddhi cannot have written before A D 695, that does not disprove Professor Kielhorn's identification of our Varmalāta with the king whose minister Māgha's grandfather was. Our inscription may very well date from a time previous to his appointment as minister, and it does not, at any rate, make it impossible to bring Māgha down to the first twenty years of the 8th century. There is nothing to hinder us from supposing that Jinēndrabuddhi flourished about A D. 700. The alleged reference to his work in the *Śiṣupālavadha* would, I think, be more intelligible if we suppose it to have been a new work at the time when Māgha wrote his poem."

I quite accept Dr Konow's main conclusions. But I agree with Professor Pathak that the *argumentum ex silentio* carries some weight in this particular instance. One of the chief objects I-tsing had in view was to gather all available information about Buddhist authors in India. And, when we consider that he has even mentioned his own contemporaries, it is very unlikely that he should have failed to notice Jinēndrabuddhi, if the latter had actually achieved fame in his time. As pointed out by Dr. Konow, there is, however, nothing to prevent us from considering Māgha and Jinēndrabuddhi as contemporaries. The mere fact that one author quotes another one, only shows that he knows him, and not necessarily that he belongs to a later time. Māgha and Jinēndrabuddhi can, therefore, very well both have lived at the beginning of the eighth century, and Professor Kielhorn's identification of the two Varmalātas remains unaffected by Professor Pathak's argument.

¹ *History of Gujarat in the Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I Pt I p 82

² It might perhaps be doubted whether Jinēndrabuddhi was a Buddhist. But there are no reasonable grounds for this doubt. A Deccan College manuscript (No 38 of 1881-82, leaf 90b) has the following: *Iti bōdhisattvādītya-dhārya-Dvayē(Jinēndrabuddhi)(dāhi)-vṛcchitāyām Kāśikā-vārāṇasī-pāṇchikāyām dantī dhāryayā chatur-thak pādāh*. I am indebted to Prof. Pathak for this reference. See also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII p 67

³ *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol XX, pp 305-6

The place **Vata**, where the feudatory prince Rāṣṭra was reigning, is doubtless Vasantgadh itself. This will be seen from the fact that the temple to Kṣhāmāyā, said in the inscription to have been built by the *gōshthī* of Vata, is no other than the temple of Khmel *matā* in Vasantgadh of which the inscription stone originally formed part. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the temples dedicated to the Sun and Brahṃā mentioned as existing in Vatapura in the inscription of Pūrnapāla dated V E 1099 are still existing at Vasantgadh. A slightly different name for the place, viz Vataḥkara, occurs in 19. We have a similar instance of a certain old place called both Āśāsana and Āśāsanākara. The remains of Vasantgadh have been fully described and the question regarding the name Vata and Vataḥkara is fully discussed in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the months July 1906 to March 1906, inclusive pp 49 ff¹

TEXT²

- 1 श्री नम. ॥ धातुर्या योगनिद्रा [जलन] — ७ ७ [नस्या] कृतिर्विश्व
यने. 'कैलासीचाङ्गच्छिप्रतिनियतमुदावासिनीर्वाङ्मसता [1*] या
- 2 राक्षिष्वर्लोके स्मृतिरपि च सतां या श्रुतिर्ब्रह्मगीता सा देवी दुर्गमेषु
प्रदिशतु जगते मङ्गलानीह दुर्गा.⁵ ॥ [1*] नियतमतिप्रणतिप-
- 3 रस्याजो यागे 'क्याफलैवसकृत् [1*] क्षेमार्था क्षेमकरी विदधातु शिवाय
नस्ततः⁷ ॥ [2*] जयति जयलक्ष्मलक्षितवक्ष्यलक्षितश्रितश्रियाधार⁸ [1*] श्री-
- 4 वक्ष्मातनृपतिः पतिरवनेरधिकवक्ष्यवीर्यः ॥ [3*] केचित्क्षन्देशमाक्षैरतिविशदपद⁹
सुद्रया पारगर्था¹⁰ केचित्क्षान्ते प्रकाम प्रतिवचनयुतैः [1]
- 5 [र्य]जापैरजसं [1*] अन्ये वै मण्डलान्ते कृतवलिक्कुक्षैर्भूतिदनिन चान्ये
तेनेत्य सन्नरेन्द्रतमनुचरता शासिता भूमिपालाः¹¹ ॥ [8*] तस्याशेषविश-
- 6 [ष]दोषरहितान्युष्णाति भक्त्या गुणान् (i) नाम्ना वञ्चभटेति भृत्यपदवी-
माश्रित्य सत्याश्रयः [1*] ख्यातः कीर्तिमतामलक्ष्यचरितः¹² 13 श्रीमातु-
रप्यर्जुन¹⁴ किञ्च
- 7 [जा]तगुणः प्रमुर्द्धिमवतस्नूनीय संरक्षणे¹⁵ 1(1) [4*] तस्य सूनुरधिक प्रियः
प्रियः प्रथयादिसकलैर्महागुणैः¹⁶ [1*] राजिलोभवदेशेपराजकव्याप्तकी-

¹ In 19 of the Vasantgadh inscription of Pūrnapāla, Vata is also spoken of as the name of a country. In verse 17 of the *matā kṣatṛ* inscription found at Ghatiyāla (*Jour. E. As. Soc.* 1895, p. 518), the expression *Vata mānaya mandala* occurs. This is doubtless identical with *Vata Nānaka-mandala*. Here the country or district is not called simply after Vata (Vasantgadh) but also after *Nānaka* which evidently is the present Nānā, about thirteen miles north-east of it.

² From the original stone

⁴ Read कैलासीचाङ्गच्छि^०

⁶ Read क्रिया^०

⁸ Wrong for 'क्याधार' which would not have suited the metre

⁹ Read 'पदेषुद्रया

¹¹ Metre. Sragdharā

¹⁴ The letter य is not in the same line with र and ल् but is engraved exactly below between the two letters and two vertical strokes are added one above and one below between them to draw attention to the omission

¹⁵ Read, probably 'क्ष' instead of 'क्ष'

¹⁶ Read 'गुणैः..

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ Read दुर्गा, metre. Sragdharā

⁷ Metre. Āryā, and also of the verse of 11. 12

¹⁰ Read 'क्षया

¹² Read 'मलक्ष्य'

¹ Metre. Sādhavikridita

- 8 तिरमले कुले नृपः¹ [॥*] [६*] ब्राह्मणातिथिभृत्यादिकलावत्सु विशेषतः² [१*]
सौधिक³ द्रविणे⁴ शम्भवटे वैश्वनायते⁵ ॥ [७*] तस्मिन्नाजनि
देव्याश्वासति राज्यं
- 9 वटाकरस्थानि[१*] गोष्ठ्या कारितमेतद्भवनं भुवनस्य चिह्नमिव⁶ ॥ [८*]
कारापकस्तु स्रुतः पितामहाख्यस्य सत्यदेवाख्यः [१*] गोष्ठ्या प्रसादपरया
निरूपितो ज-
- 10 [क]ना स वणिक⁷ ।(॥) [८*] यावन्मेरोस्तटानि प्रचुरहिमकणोत्तुङ्गशैलाधिपस्य
स्यन्दि[न्यो] यावदु[च्चा] अपगतक[त्रु]पा — — — — — [१*]
यावच्चन्द्रार्कभास-
- 11 [सु]तरलजलधे[रु]क्षयो यावदुच्चैस्ताव[हे]वालयं [निस्थि]तमिह भवतु 'त्रेयस
'पौरजानां⁸ ॥ [१०*] दिग्ग्रीवधिके काले घण्टां वर्षशतोत्तरे [१*]
जगन्मातु-
- 12 ¹⁰[रिदं] र[व]ान स्या[पि]तं [गो]ष्ठिपुङ्गवैः¹¹ ॥ [११*] दिवाकरसुतस्येयं
धूर्तराशेहिजन्मनः¹² [१*] पूर्वार्तिमृदुभिर्वर्णैः प्रोत्कीर्णा नागमुण्डिना
[॥] [१२*] ॥ ॐ ॥
- 13 [गो]ष्ठिकाक्ष¹³ [१] राजिल । वकट । चन्द्रक । प्रतीहारबोटक ।
राजस्थानीयादित्यभट । जा(?)व(?)र्ण । मातृदासवङ्गदेव । कुलवर्धन ।
धनदत्त[व]सु [१]
- 14 घुषक । धोन्धकपुत्रसत्यदेव । ककिलक । धनदत्त । गोमिक । हरि-
गुप्त । [व]पक । पपोष्ठ । सत्यदेव । रेभिलाक । रतिदास ।
तरण । — — — — दत्त
- 15 दृढगुर । धनगर । वपाणन्दि । — — — । राजक । भद्रदेव ।
रुद्रक । दक्षभित्तमालकुय । खिलकु । आर्यदिण्ड । शणु ।
शण्डरटनाग — —
- 16 तता । भिलमालकु । सत्तमदेव । वङ्गदास — — । श्रीमातागणिका
वृटान्ना ¹⁴ ॥ * ॥ एवमेषां गोष्ठिकाराणां ¹⁵ना-
- 17 ¹⁵

¹ Metre Bathôddhatâ.² Read विशेषतः.³ Read द्रविणे.⁴ Read शम्भवटे.⁵ Metre Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)⁶ Metre Āryā, and also of the verse following.⁷ The letter य is engraved below the line.⁸ The word *paurajana* is curious, but it probably means "descendants of the citizens (of Vata) "⁹ Metre Gṛagīharā.¹⁰ The *akṣharas* 'रिदं' are very indistinct.¹¹ Metre Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)¹² Read 'राशिनः'.¹³ Read गोष्ठिका क्ष¹⁴ Read नासनि.¹⁵ About five letters have been incised in cursive form, but I am unable to read them.

NO. 26. — DAULATABAD PLATES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA SANKARAGANA,
SAKA-SAMVAT 715

By D R BHANDARKAR, M A, POONA

These plates were in the possession of a Tongawalla, named Bhan Devram Bhat, a Brahmkshatri by caste, and residing at Daulatâbâd, in the Nizam's territory. They seem to have been preserved as heirloom in his family, and, according to the account given by him, it appears that they were given to his great-grandfather as a *sanad*. The plates were obtained on loan by me from the owner through Maulvi Syed Mohammad Bilgrami, First Tâlakdâr, Aurangâbâd district, who was kind enough to accede to my request promptly.

There are three plates, each of which measures about $7\frac{1}{2}$ " long by about 5" broad. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the remaining ones on both sides. The edges of the inner sides of them are fashioned slightly thicker so as to protect the writing, and the inscription is, on the whole, in a state of almost perfect preservation. The plates are strung on a circular ring, the ends of which are joined together by means of a knob bearing a roughly round seal, containing, in relief on a countersunk surface, a representation of Garuda, squatting and facing full-front, his hands are joined, palm to palm, on the chest, and are turned upwards, his legs rest one upon the other, and two projections at the sides denote his wings.

The characters of the original inscription belong to the northern class of alphabets prevailing in the 8th century. With regard to the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to *â*, e.g. in *Âsi*, l 2, to *n*, which looks almost exactly like *m*, e.g. in "*pulma*", l 12, to *nga* in *bhanga*, l 14, to *nka* in *Sri-Sankaraganarâja*, l 27, to *rya* in *vîryâ*, l 20, and to *âcha* in "*pañchabhâ*", l 35. The alphabet also includes signs for the numerals 7, 1, and 5 in line 41. The last sign is almost exactly like that for 5 given in the Sârnâth grant of Dantidurga, where the date is also expressed in words. No reasonable doubt can, therefore, be entertained as to the correct reading of the date of our inscription. The language is Sanskrit. Up to almost the close of line 24 the inscription is in verse, and two benedictive and imprecatory verses occur in lines 38-40, the rest is in prose. The number of verses at the beginning is 12. Of these, verses 1-9 also occur in other early Rashtrakûta records. The remaining three verses are peculiar to this inscription, and are historically important. The whole of line 31 after the word *vra(brahmachârî)* and a part of the line following have unquestionably been tampered with. They contained names of the donee and the village granted, which have been cancelled and replaced by new ones by heating the plates and beating in the letters originally engraved. The boundaries of this new village are specified after about the middle of line 42, where the original inscription really ends, down to line 55. The letters of these lines are as carelessly written and are of exactly the same type as those incised in lines 31-32 just referred to. Lines 42-55 are thus a continuation of the forgery commenced in lines 31-32. In respect of orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants after *r*, the *visarga* is often wrongly omitted, the vowel *ri* is employed instead of *ri* in *dhûpas=trivishîpâ*, l 5, *Kanakâdâra=va=Endrarâjâh*, l 8, and *pry-âitma*jjah*, l 24, the letter *qh* is employed instead of *h* once in *râja-samghah*, l 4, and an *anusvâra* in conjunction with a following *n* is changed to that letter once in *dhvastin=nayâ*, l. 2.

The inscription records a grant by Samarâvalôka *âri-Sankaragana-râja* of the Rashtrakûta family. In the introductory metrical portion, his genealogy is given, beginning with *Gôvinda-râja I*. The genealogy set forth as far as *Krishnarâja I* is in verses 1-9 which, as already said, are to be met with in many other grants of this dynasty, and which consequently teach us nothing new. It then describes *Gôvinda II* in the following words in verse 10, occupying ll. 19-21 and bearing a *double entendre* "His son was king *Gôvindarâja* who was like *Hari* (*Krishna*) inasmuch as both were fond of battles, inasmuch as the former was celebrated for

having snatched away the glory of Śrī-Pārijāta just as the latter was for having carried off its greatness of the auspicious *pārijāta* (tree), and inasmuch as the prowess of his arms was shown by the former by supporting Gōvardhana just as it was shown by the latter by uplifting the Gōvardhana (mountain) " The mythological sense is clear enough, and, besides, the verse seems to show that Gōvinda II defeated a king of the name of Pārijāta, and made alliance with, and espoused the cause of, another prince called Gōvardhana.¹ The names Pārijāta and Gōvardhana are new, and have not so far been met with in epigraphic records. Then follows a verse (11) which is as important as it is unfortunately corrupt. But if the emendations proposed by me are accepted, the following appears to be its sense: "His younger brother was Nirupama, who, perceiving him self-conceited, abandoned by (feudatory) princes, and even deprived of policy, assumed the royal authority placed (in the hands of a person) other than one possessed of devotion for the elders, in order that the sovereignty might not deviate from the family." What the verse means is that Gōvinda II was a self-conceited ruler and resorted to bad policy, which resulted in the regal authority being held by a person who had no respect for the Rāshtrakūta sovereigns that preceded him, and consequently created disaffection amongst his feudatory chieftains, who deserted him, and that Dhruva-Nirupama fearing that the sovereignty would pass away to another dynasty, was compelled to take the reins of the government into his hands and thus rule over his brother's dominions. The Dēoli and Karhād grants of Krishna III, however, give a slightly different account. They record that "sensual pleasures made Gōvindarāja careless of the kingdom, and that, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose." The discrepancy in the two accounts is with regard to whether Dhruva-Nirupama was actually entrusted by Gōvinda II with the management of the kingdom, the Dēoli and Karhād grants saying that it was so, but our inscription implying that it was not so, as it was left to the care of one who was anything but attached to the Rāshtrakūta family.² But the facts, the actual occurrences, mentioned in our charter, which is the earlier of the two and consequently more reliable, could not have been distorted, though the motives might have been coloured and differently expressed, and hence what most probably happened was that Gōvinda II gave himself up to sensual pleasures and allowed the government of his kingdom to slip into the hands of a person other than Dhruva, and not of Dhruva himself, as the Dēoli and Karhād grants claim, and whether it was to remove the danger thereby caused to the stability of the Rāshtrakūta supremacy, as the motive is stated in our inscription, or, what is more likely, his mind lusted after sovereignty, for securing which a splendid opportunity had presented itself when Gōvinda II gave himself up to vicious courses, Dhruva-Nirupama was successful in making himself ruler of his brother's dominions.

Verse 12 informs us that the paternal uncle of (Dhruva-)Nirupama was Śrī-Nanna, brother of Śrī-Krishnarāja and son of Śrī-Kakkarāja. Then follows the preamble of the prose passage which usually precedes the formal part of a copper-plate inscription, and therein the

¹ I have taken the word *uddharana* in the sense of "uplifting, upholding," but it also signifies "eradication, extermination." In that case it would mean that Gōvinda II slew a prince of the name of Gōvardhana. Or if Gōvardhana is here supposed to denote a province, it would mean that he devastated the province of Gōvardhana. A province and a place of that name have been mentioned in the Nāsik cave inscriptions, and have also been spoken of in the Purāṇas. But whether the name was extant so late as the 8th century is doubtful. A similar play upon the word *Gōvardhana* occurs in the Bagurā grants of Indrarāja III (above, Vol. IX pp. 32 and 36).

² This discrepancy may perhaps be removed by putting a different interpretation on the words *guru-bhakti-mato-nyasametham*. It might be said that the person who had no respect for the elders, i.e. the Rāshtrakūta sovereigns who were dead, and in whose hands the sovereignty lay, was no other than Gōvinda II himself. It might be argued that the management of the kingdom had actually been entrusted to Dhruva by him on account of his sensual courses, as the Dēoli and Karhād plates claim, and that the motive put forth by Dhruva and his party for ousting Gōvinda II and completely severing his connection with the Rāshtrakūta kingdom was that he had shown himself unworthy of his elders, i.e. the sovereigns who preceded him, by abandoning himself to sensual pleasures and not himself carrying on the administration of his kingdom. In my opinion, this interpretation would be far-fetched and fantastic.

name of the grantor: Samarāvaloka-Śrī-Śankaragana-rāja is specified and he is mentioned as son of Śrī-Nanna just referred to. It is worthy of note that no titles have been coupled with his name. He was thus not even a feudatory chieftain. It is, therefore, no wonder that he is spoken of as issuing the charter with the express consent of Śrī-Kalivallebbha Narendradēva. The latter was doubtless an epithet of (Dhruva-)Nrupama, who was then the paramount sovereign and whose cousin Śankaragana was. The proper object of the inscription is stated in ll 28-33, but, as said above, the names of the original donee and the village granted to him which were engraved in ll 31-32, have been erased, and new ones incised in characters which, though old, are not quite legible. The only particular which has survived of the original grantee is that he had emigrated from Tenvi, and the expression *tat-pāda-pāgātham gurv-dukshind*, which occurs in l 33, shows that he was the preceptor of Śankaragana. Lines 34-36 contain a request to future rulers to respect the donation, and threaten with spiritual punishment those who might rescind it. Lines 37-40 quote two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the original inscription then concludes thus: "And this charter was written by Chandayika by order of the supreme ruler, when 715 years had elapsed in accordance with the era of the Śaka Kings." The supreme ruler here alluded to is (Druva-)Nrupama, and the Śaka year 715 must consequently refer to his reign. The earliest record—the Pāṭhan grant—of his son and successor Govinda III is dated in Śaka 716. It is thus plain that (Dhruva-)Nrupama could not have lived long after Śaka 715 when our grant was made.

After this commences the second part of the forged record. It has been mentioned above that the names of the grantee and the village granted engraved in the original inscription in lines 31-32 have been erased, and new ones substituted for them by beating in the previous letters. The name of the new grantee cannot be made out, but his *gōṭa* specified is Bhāṣad-vāja. Secondly, the name of the new village incised appears to be something like Sāmira. And it is the boundaries of this village that are now specified in lines 42-53 after the completion of the old genuine inscription. The names are written so carelessly and the composition is so full of grammatical inaccuracies that it is not possible to be here definite about anything. In line 52 is given the expression *vala(ḷa)ḥha-narindra* which is an epithet generally borne by the Rāshtrakūṭa rulers. The connection of this expression, however, with what precedes and follows is not clear. The forged document ends with *Śrī-Bhatah(ṭa)ka matah* || 800. The name *Bhataḥha* reminds one of the inscriptions of the Valabhi princes, and if the numerals taken for 800 are correctly read and represent a date, as is highly probable, it must be referred to the Valabhi era, and it thus becomes equivalent to A D 1119 which may be taken to be the date of the fabrication of the forged record. Our copper-plate charter, as has been said at the outset, was in the possession of a person from Daulatabad, a Brahmakshatri by caste, and has been preserved in his family as heirloom. As Brahmakshatrias in the Dekkan are known originally to have come from Kāthiāwār, it is not unlikely that somebody in his family, after securing these plates tampered with them in order to use them as documentary evidence to strengthen his otherwise disputable claim to the village therein mentioned, and it is but natural that he should engrave the name Bhataṭka after the manner of the Valabhi plates which he must have either seen himself in Kāthiāwār or known about from his forefathers.

TEXT¹

First Plate.

1 श्री² स्वस्ति [॥*] स वोय्याहेश्वरी³ धाम यन्नाभिकमल कृतं [।*] हरश्च
यस्य कान्तिन्दु-

¹ From the original plates

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Read 'हेश्वरी'

- 2 कलया कमलंकृतं ॥ [१*] 'आसीदपत्तिमिरसुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिक्रयः'^१
 3 अभिसुखो रणशर्वरीषु [१*] भूपः शुचिः पृथुरिवाप्तदिगन्तकीर्तिं 'गोविन्द'^२
 4 राज इति राजसु राजसिंहः^३ । (॥) [२*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विन्धुतदीर्घकीर्तिं^४
 5 रात्तार्तिहिरिहरिविक्रमधामधारी । 'भूपस्तुविष्टपट्टपातुकतिः'^५
 6 कृतज्ञः श्रीकन्नराज इति गोत्रमण्डितभूव^६ । (॥) [३*] तस्य प्रभिन्न-
 7 करटच्युतदानदन्तिर्दत्तप्रहारविषमोक्षिहितांसुपीठः'^७ ।
 8 क्षापः क्षितौ क्षपितश्चतुरभूतनूजः सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनकादृरिवेन्द्र-^८
 9 राजः । (॥) [४*] तस्योपार्जिततपसस्तनयस्तुष्टधिवलयमालिन्या^९ ।
 10 भोक्ता सुवि^{१०} शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजोभूत् । (॥) [५*] आसीतोव्विपुलो-^{११}
 11 पलावलिललङ्गोलोर्भिवलाजलादाप्राप्तियकलांकितोमल-^{१२}
 12 शिलाजालात्तुषाराचलात् । आपूर्वापरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्त-

Second Plate, First Side.

- 13 ^{१३}प्रसिद्धावधियेनेयं जगती ^{१४}स्वविक्रमवलेनैकातपचीकृता । (॥) [६*] अभूवि-
 14 भङ्गमगृहीतनिशातशस्त्रमज्ञातमप्रतिहताश्रमपेतयज्ञं [१*] यो व-
 15 क्तमं सपदि दण्डवलेन^{१५} जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप । (॥) [७*]
 काक्षी-
 16 ^{१६}सकेरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रविसेदविधानदत्तं [१*] कपर्णाटकं
 17 ^{१७}वलमचिन्त्यमजोयमथैः भृत्यै^{१८} कियद्विरपि यः सहसा विजिग्ये । (॥) [८*]
 तस्मिन्^{१९} दि-
 18 व प्रयाते वल्लभराजे कृतप्रजापालः [१*] श्रीकन्नराजस्तुर्महो-
 19 पति^{२०} कृष्णराज[?]भूत् ॥ [९*] त[खू]नुराष्ट्रवरुचिः प्रथितो वभूव^{२१} श्रीपा-
 20 रजातविभवहार[?]प्रतीत^{२२} [१*] गोवर्धनोदरणलक्षितवाहुवीर्यो^{२३}
 21 गोविन्दराजनृपति ^{२४}हरिणा समानः । (॥) [१०*] तस्यानुजो निरुपम-
 सुदीर्घर्षमी-

^१ Read 'आसीदपत्ति'

^२ Read 'सिंहः'

^३ Read 'दन्तिदत्त' and 'क्षिहितांस'

^४ Read 'सुवि'

^५ Read 'प्रसिद्धावधे'

^६ Read 'काक्षीय', the letter ख in 'कैरलनराधिप' was first inadvertently omitted, but was afterwards engraved

below between र and म, and the omission indicated by a horizontal stroke above

^७ Read 'मल' and 'मजैय'

^८ Read 'पति'

^९ Read 'वाहु'

^{१०} Read 'भूप'

^{११} Read 'भूपविष्टपट्ट'

^{१२} Read 'कनकादि'

^{१३} Read 'सितीर्षि'

^{१४} Read 'मल'

^{१५} Read 'मलैय'

^{१६} Read 'मलैय'

^{१७} Read 'मलैय'

^{१८} Read 'मलैय'

^{१९} Read 'मलैय'

^{२०} Read 'मलैय'

^{२१} Read 'मलैय'

^{२२} Read 'मलैय'

^{२३} Read 'मलैय'

^{२४} Read 'मलैय'

^१ Read 'कीर्तिनी'

^२ Read 'मलैय'

^३ Read 'मलैय'

^४ Read 'मलैय'

^५ Read 'मलैय'

^६ Read 'मलैय'

^७ Read 'मलैय'

^८ Read 'मलैय'

^९ Read 'मलैय'

^{१०} Read 'मलैय'

^{११} Read 'मलैय'

^{१२} Read 'मलैय'

^{१३} Read 'मलैय'

^{१४} Read 'मलैय'

^{१५} Read 'मलैय'

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- 22 च¹ त्यक्त नृपैरपि नयेन विलुप्यमानं । र[1*]ज्यं चभार² गुरुभक्ति-
तोन्मसंख्यं³
23 मा भूक्लिप्तान्वयपरिच्युतिरत्र लक्ष्माः⁴ [11*] [११*] पितृव्यस्तस्य⁵ गुणवा
श्रीनम इति
24 विच्युतः [1*] श्रीकृष्णराजभाता हि श्रीकृष्णराजपुत्रजः⁶ [11*] [१२*] तत्पुत्रः

Second Plate, Second Side

- 25 प्रकटपराक्रमाक्रान्तदिक्चक्रो⁷ पात्तानुरागः परच्छिद्रापवादरङ्ग-⁸
26 स्वेधन्मूकवधिर⁹ विरुद्धकामसेवी विमलागाधसलिल¹⁰ कान्तारभू-
27 मौ जलाशय इव प्रणयिनां¹¹ तृट्छिता समरावलोकश्रीशङ्करगणराजः
28 श्रीकलिवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवानुमंत्या¹² सर्वानेवागामिभूतपतिग्रामकूट-
29¹³ महत्तराधिकारिदीप्तिमनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथास्माभि-
30 र्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चानल्पपुन्ययशोभिद्वय¹⁴ (1) तेन्वीविनि-
31¹⁵ र्गतब्रह्मचारी भारद्वाजगोत्राय वासुदे — — — नेयप-
32 ण्डि — — — भुक्त्या सामिराभिधानग्रामः साभ्यन्तरसिद्धिसर्व-
33 देयप्रह्नीणश्चतुराघाटविशुद्धस्तत्पादपूजार्थ¹⁶ गुरुदक्षिणा दत्ता ।
34 यतोऽस्मद्वंशैरन्यैर्वा पालनीयो रक्षणीयश्च । यो वाञ्छानतिभि-
35 राहतमतिः¹⁷ 18 आच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्यमानं चानुमोदेतः¹⁹ स पञ्चभिर्न[ह]-
36²⁰ पातकै चोपपातकैः संयुक्त²¹ स्यादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्या-
37 सेन ।

Third Plate, First Side

- 38 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति²² भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
39 तान्येव नरकं वसेत् ॥ [१३*] विन्याटवीश्वतोयां²³ शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*]

¹ ईय seems to have been intended, but is, of course, an ungrammatical form

² Read चभार, व and not च must have been in the original draft, and, being similar in formation, च was engraved instead of व

³ Read °भक्तिमती°

⁴ Read लक्ष्मा

⁵ Read गुणशायी°

⁶ Read °मिथारमज, रस is omitted in the text The श्री° of श्रीकृष्ण° or, what is more probable, the हि preceding t, is superfluous

⁷ Read दिव्यकृत् and पात्तानुराग,

⁸ हि was first incised, and then it was corrected into च by erasure

⁹ Read °वधिर°

¹⁰ Read °सलिल°

¹¹ Read तृट्छिता.

¹² Read °देवानुमंत्या

¹³ Read °कार्यादीन्मनुबोध°

¹⁴ Read °पुण्य°

¹⁵ Read °ब्रह्मचारी°, all letters of l 31 after °ब्रह्मचारी° and the first eight letters of the line following are forged ones, put in after effacing the original letters of the charter, which must have contained the name of the grantee and of the village granted.

¹⁶ Read °पूजार्थ°

¹⁷ Here and in the following the rules of *sandhi* have not been followed

¹⁸ Read

¹⁹ Read °मोदेत.

²⁰ Read °पातकैचोप°.

²¹ Read

²² This ought to be मोदते according to the rules of grammar; but this will not suit

²³ Read °तोयां

- 40 कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ।(॥) [१४*] लिखित
चैतत्कासन¹
- 41 शकटपक्षात्तातीतसवत्सरशतेषु ७१५ परमेश्वराज्ञया पर-
42 मेश्वराज्ञया² चन्दयिकेन ॥ ³पुनरपि ⁴सिम [1*] पुर्वत[1*]⁵ चिच-
43 ग्राम [द¹क्षिणत निवग्रामः पश्चिमतः दधि[वाह]-
44 ल ॥ उत्तरत⁶ पडलावदपटन एव चतु[र]— —⁷
45 सिम⁸ पुर्वत⁹ टक । खेतसिमा¹⁰ पुर्वदरिदरिगहो (?) [पुनः]
46 टोणस्य टोणस्य मस्तके शिलतल । तोयनरज । नि-
47 ब्रुतटाकं [1*] दक्षिणतः जबुग्र(?)हरकः [1] दक्षिणतः¹¹ नीवग्राम
48 सती (?)ताविह—रेलाद्रिसंवकः हस्तिनिकगोयहदरिद-
49 धिवाहलतटा[क] सिलाहयं सिवकपलासचिचाव-
50 दरितटाक ॥ उत्तरतः¹² खाटके हटो क — —

Third Plate, Second Side

- 51 यु[न]म(?)णिः । पुर्वदरीर(?)[ल]—वससिमापर्यंत¹³व-
52 ली—[निव]ह । वलभनरेद्रेण हिरमाल—गांडुड-
53 क उत्तरतः¹⁴ देसिलस्यद्र ॥ ग्रामे भूमी ॥ इयच्चोना-
54 चरमधिकाचरं वा सर्वं प्रमाणमिति ॥
55 ¹⁵श्रीभट्टाकंसतः ॥ ८००

No 27.—BUCHKALA INSCRIPTION OF NAGABHATTA,
SAMVAT 872

By D R BHANDARKAR, M A , POONA

This inscription was first discovered by a *Brahmahatta* of Jodhpur named Nannurāma whose zeal for antiquarian matters is as unflagging as it is disinterested. It was found at Buchkalā in the Bilādā district, Jodhpur State. It is incised on a pilaster on the proper right forming part of the shrine wall jutting out into the *sabdhāmanjapa* of what is popularly known there as the temple of Pārvatī. The inscription contains twenty lines of, on the whole, well-

¹ Read चैतत्कासन

² This word is repeated unnecessarily.

³ The original inscription ends at चन्दयिकेन, and after that begins again the forged part which goes on till 155 at the close. It is engraved so carelessly that I am by no means certain of my reading of it. It is, moreover, so full of grammatical inaccuracies, which, in many cases, are due to local pronunciation, that it is not desirable to correct them all.

⁴ Read सीमा

⁵ Read पुर्वत

⁶ Read उत्तरत.

⁷ Probably चतुराष्टाट

⁸ Read सीमा.

⁹ Read पुर्वत

¹⁰ Read सीमा.

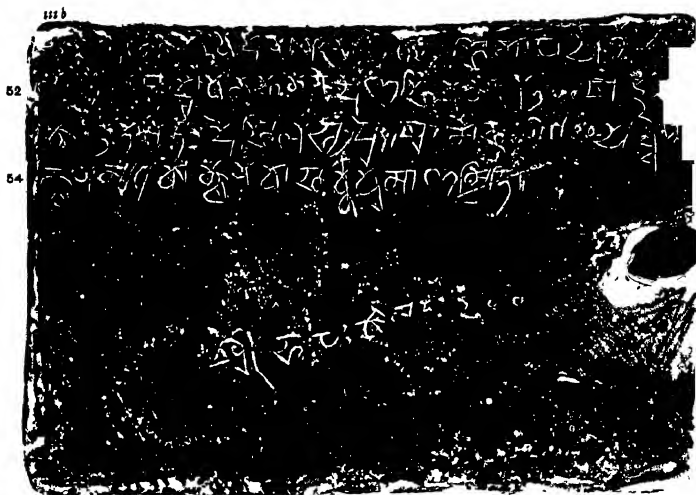
¹¹ This दक्षिणत is probably a mistake for पश्चिमत.

¹² Read उत्तरत

¹³ The reading पुर्वत is also possible

¹⁴ Read उत्तरतः

¹⁵ Read श्रीभट्टाकः.



preserved writing which covers a space of about 2' 4½" high by 11½" broad. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the somewhat rare forms of *gh* and *n* and the numeral figures 8, 7, and 2. Attention may also be drawn to the way in which the letters *ś* and *ṛ* are engraved. With regard to the latter there is no difference between it and *m*, except that the upper vertical strokes in the case of the former are much shorter than in the case of the latter. The language is Sanskrit, but is anything but grammatical and the whole is in prose. In respect of orthography, *ś* is doubled in conjunction with a following *ṛ*, *dh* is written *ddh* twice in the word *mahāddhīrājya*, and there is a tendency to use the dental sibilant instead of the palatal, though in one case the latter is substituted for the former viz in *sūtradhīrāja*, l 20.

The inscription is dated Samvat 872¹ the fifth of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, and refers itself to the reign of the *P M P* Nāgabhatta-dēva meditating on the feet of the *M. P* Vatsarāja-dēva. It is thus clear that Nāgabhatta is no other person than Nāgabhatta, son of Vatsarāja, of the imperial Pratihāra dynasty wielding sway over the larger portion of North India. Of the princes of this royal family we have had but few dates earlier than the time of Bhōjadēva I. In fact, we had only one date, viz Śaka 705 = A D 783-84, for Vatsarāja furnished by the Jaina work *Harivamśa-Purāṇa*. And our inscription now supplies the second date, V. S. 872 = A D 815 for his son Nāgabhatta.²

The purport of the inscription, however, is not quite clear. Something is said therein to have been set up (*nvṛtita*), but what that 'something' was is far from evident. This something, we are told, was set up, after building the temple (*divagriha*) and worshipping the feet of *Paramāśvara*, in the village of Rājyaghangakam, by the queen Jayāvalī, the daughter of Jajjaka, who himself was a son of the Pratihāra Bapuka, and wife of Bhumbhuvaka, the son of Haragupta of the family called Avāṅgānaka. As Jayāvalī has been spoken of as queen (*rajñī*), her husband must have been some kind of ruler, most probably a chieftain, feudatory to Nāgabhatta, and reigning at, or, at any rate, holding Rājyaghangakam, which must be supposed to be the old name of Buchkalā. The name of the *sūtradhīrāja* or mason is Pañchaharī, the son of Dēśā.

The temple is, as we have seen, said to have been dedicated to *Paramāśvara*, which is usually taken to be a name of Śiva. This, however, does not agree with the sculptural details of the temple. Although it is now-a-days called a temple of Pārvatī, there is, truly speaking, no image in the sanctum. But on the dedicatory block on the shrine door and in the principal niche at the back, the images in which enable one to determine to what god the temple is dedicated, is a figure with four hands, doubtlessly representing some form of Viṣṇu, as the mace, discus, and conch-shell can be distinctly seen in its hands. Other images, also carved on the inner and outer walls of the temple, show that it was a Vaiṣṇava structure. The word *paramāśvara* must, therefore, be taken in its ordinary sense and as referring to Viṣṇu.

TEXT³

1 श्रीं [१] संवत्सरयते ८७२

2 चैत्रस्य सितपक्षस्य पंचम्यां

3 निवेष्टिता⁴ ॥ महाराजाधिराज-⁵

¹ It is worthy of note that, in the copper plate charters issued by Bhōjadēva I, Mahēndrapāla and Mahīpāla alias Vinayakapāla, letter numerals are used to express figures, whereas, in the present as well as other stone-inscriptions belonging to the time of these princes, decimal notation is employed. It will thus be seen that both systems were current in North India about this time. [In the facsimile 892 is a misprint for 872—S K.]

² The date has already been given by Prof Kielhorn in his *Synchronistic Table for Northern India*, col 9, from information furnished by Mr. Ojha.

³ From the original stone.

⁴ Read निवेष्टिता

⁵ Read महाराजाधिराज

- 4 परमेश्वरश्रीवत्सराजदेवपा-
- 5 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहारा-
- 6 ¹जाहिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीनाग-
- 7 भट्टदेवस्वविषये प्रवर्धमान-
- 8 राज्ये राज्यवङ्गकङ्गामे
- 9 राज्ञी जायावली प्रतीहार-
- 10 ²स्वगोत्रश्रीवपुक्पुत्रश्रीज-
- 11 जकदुहिता ताकुहुवोत्पनावा-³
- 12 ज्ञानकस्वगोत्रश्रीहरगुप्त-⁴
- 13 पुत्रभुम्भुकपत्नी ⁵अन्न च पर-
- 14 मेस्त्रो निर्वा⁶ कृत्वा अनेकजन्मा-
- 15 ⁷तरस्त्रसिवर्तंससारदुखाव-⁸
- 16 हरस्य परमेश्वरस्य⁹ पादा¹⁰
- 17 पुजयित्वा¹¹ देवगृहं करा-
- 18 प्य¹² [*] पुन ¹³तस्य उपलिपन¹⁴
- 19 देवशासुतप[ञ्च]हरि¹⁵
- 20 शुचधारः¹⁶ ॥

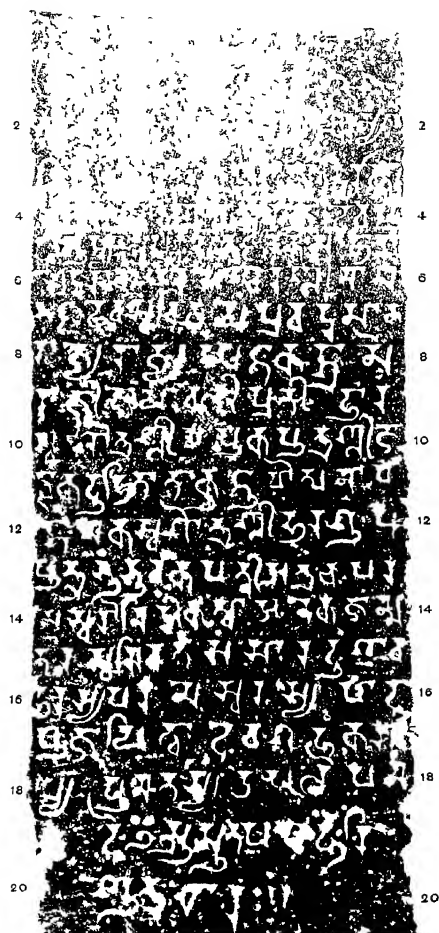
No 28—KENDUR PLATES OF KIRTIVARMAN II.

SAKA SAMVAT 672

By K B PATHAK, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA

This inscription was first brought to my notice in May 1902 by Bhṛingārkar bāva, a well known reciter of *kirtans* at Poona. He was then engaged in a literary controversy about the identity of Jñānēśvara, the well-known saint of Alandi, with Jñānēśvara, the author of the Jñānēśvarī, a famous Marāṭhī commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, and asked me whether the inscription threw any light on the point he was discussing. When I told him that the grant was issued in Śaka 672, and had nothing to do with the author of the Jñānēśvarī, who was contemporary with Rāmadēva, the last of the Yādava kings of Dēvagrī, Bhṛingārkar bāva was kind enough to lend me the plates for the purpose of editing the inscription.

¹ Read °राजाधिरज°.² Read °सगीह°.³ Read °वीषत्रा°.⁴ Read °सगीह°.⁵ Here and in the following the rules of *sandhā* have not been observed.⁶ The words परमेश्वरी and निर्वा as they stand, make no sense, and I can suggest no correction.⁷ Some such reading as °जन्माकारेणनिवर्ति° might be expected.⁸ Read °दुःखा°.⁹ Read परमेश्वरस्य.¹⁰ Read पादौ.¹¹ Read पूजयित्वा.¹² Read क्षारयित्वा.¹³ Read पुनस्तस्य.¹⁴ Read उपलिपने. This word seems to have been here used in the sense of "engraving".¹⁵ Read °हरि°.¹⁶ Read शुचधारः.



The plates were found at Kēndūr, a village in the Khēd tāluka of the Poona district. They belong to Mr Purushōttama Rājapāthak, now residing at Kēndūr. There are five plates, the first and the last of which are inscribed on one side only. The plates are equal in size, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ " long by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. Their edges are raised into rims to protect the writing. The ring on which the plates are strung is about half an inch thick and $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The seal on the ring is oval, measuring 2" by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". It has, in relief, on a countersunk surface, a standing boar facing to the proper left. The weight of the plates, together with the ring and seal, is 225 tolas. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets. The language is Sanskrit throughout, and with the exception of the invocatory verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole is in prose.

The grant is one of the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II., and is issued from the city of Raktapura, which is probably to be identified with Lakshmēśvara, in the Dharwar district. It records that on the full moon day of the month Vaiśākha, during a lunar eclipse, in Śaka 672 expired, in the sixth year of his reign, when his victorious camp was at Raktapura, Kirtivarman II., at the request of his great queen, granted to a Brāhmana named Rāmaśarma, the village of Beppatti in the centre of the villages of Penbāsaru, Kisumhagalam, Suliam and Perbballi, in the district of Velvola. The five villages can be easily identified with Behati, Hebsur, Kusugalla, Sulla and Hebbali, in the Dharwar district. Velvola is a Sanskritized form of Belvola or Belvala, a name which is applied even at the present day to a portion of the southern Marāṭhā country.

Before the discovery of the present grant, only three records of Kirtivarman II.'s time were known to scholars. Of these the most important is the Vakkalēn grant, which has been published by Mr Rice¹ and re-edited by Dr Kielhorn.² As interpreted by these scholars, the date of that grant is Śaka 679 expired, which is spoken of as the eleventh year of Kirtivarman's reign, while, according to the pre-ent grant, Śaka 672 expired was the sixth year of his reign. These two statements cannot be reconciled. It is, however, important to note that the present grant was issued five years earlier, and is perfectly legible throughout. It also mentions the occurrence of a lunar eclipse. Therefore the date in this grant, which admits of verification, is correct. But in the Vakkalēn grant, the first word describing the Śaka year is not legible. Both Mr Rice and Dr Kielhorn have proposed to read it as *nava*, nine, and this view has been endorsed by Dr Fleet. But the proposed emendation does not agree with the present inscription, according to which Śaka 677 expired was really the eleventh year of the king's reign.

The historical information in the present grant may be briefly summarised thus. The first king of the Chalukya line was Polekēśin who performed horse sacrifices. Then came his son Kirtivarman I., who defeated the kings of Vanavāsi and other countries. His brother Mangalīśa being passed over, we are next introduced to Satyāśraya, better known as Polekēśin II., who defeated the famous Buddhist king Harshavardhana, the patron of the illustrious Chinese traveller Hsien Tsiang and the hero of Bāṇa's immortal work, the *Harshacharita*. Polekēśin II.'s son, Vikramāditya I., was the next king, who recovered, by means of his horse Chitrakantha, part of the Chalukya dominions, which had been overrun by the Pallavas, and had obedience done to him by the lord of Kāñchi, who had bowed down to none other. Vikramāditya I.'s son and successor was Vinayāditya, who broke the confederacy of the Chōlas, Kēralas, Pāṇdyas and Pallavas, and defeated the paramount sovereign of Northern India. Vinayāditya's son Vijayāditya, the next king, had greatly assisted his father and grandfather in their wars. Though suddenly taken prisoner by the enemy, whom he had put

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII p. 28 ff

² Above, Vol. V p. 200 and ff

to flight, he skilfully effected his escape and restored the splendour of the Chalukya empire. He was succeeded by his son **Vikramāditya II**, who led an excursion into the Tundāka country, defeated his natural foe the Pallava king Nandipōtavarmān, and entered the Pallava capital Kāñchi, but did not destroy it. He restored to the Rājasimbhēśvara and other temples, which had been caused to be built there by Nārasimhapōtavarmān, heaps of gold and rubies, which had been taken away from them. **Vikramāditya II** was succeeded by his son **Kirtivarmān II**, who issued the present grant.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [i*] Jayaty=āvishkrīta[m] Viśhnōr=vvārāham kshōbhāt-ārnavam [i*]
dakṣin-ōmrata-damshtr-āgra-vīranta-bhuvanam
- 2 vapuh [i*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-samstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrānām Hār[i]ti-
putrānām sa-
- 3 pta-lōkamātrībhis=saptamātrībhu=abhivardhātānām Kārttikēya-parirakṣhana-pīṣṭa(pta)-
kalyāna-
- 4 parampaiānām bhagavan-Nāīyana-prasāda-samāsādita-vaiāha-lāñchhan ēkṣhana
kṣhana-
- 5 vaśī-krīṭ-āśēsha-mahābhritāñ=Chalukyānām kulam=alamkarishnōr=asvamedh-āva-
- 6 bhritāsnāna-pavitri-krīta-gātīasya śī-Polekēśī-vallabha-mahārājasya sū-
- 7 nuh parākram-ākṛānta-Vanavāsy-ādi-paranripati-mandala-pranibaddha-vīśuddha-kīrtti-
śrī-
- 8 Kīrttivarmma-prithu(thi)vīvalabha-mahārājas=tasy=ātmajas=samara-samsakta-sakalōttara-
- 9 pathēśvara-śrī-Harshavardhana-parājay-ōpātta-paramēśvara-sābdas=tasya Sa-

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 tyāśraya-śī-prithu(thi)vīvalabha-mahārājādhnāja-paramēśvarasya priyatanayasya
- 11 prajūāta-nayasya khatga(dga)-mātra-sahāyasya Chitrakapthākhyā-pravara-tuamgamēn-
aikē-
- 12 n=av=ōtsādīt-āśēsha-vijigishōr=avanipati-tritay-āntarītām svagurō śrīyam=
- 13 t-krītya prabhāva-kulīśa dalita-Pāmdya-Chōla-Kērala-Kalabhra-piabhriti-bhūbhrid-ā-
- 14 dabhra-vibhramasy=ānanyāvanata-Kāmchīpati-makuta-chumbita-pādāmbujasya
- 15 **Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śī-prithu(thi)vīvalabha-mahārājādhrāja-paramēśva-**
- 16 **ra-bhattāarakasya priyasūnōh pītur=āṇayā Bālēndugē(sē)kharasya Tārakārāti-**
- 17 **r=iva daityabalām=asasamudhatam trairājya-Kāmchīpati-balam=avasatbhya kara**

Second Plate, Second Side

- 18 dikṛta-Kavēra-Pārasika-Simha-ādi-dvip-ādhipasya sakal-ōttarāpatha²-nātha-mathan-
ōpāryūt-ō-
- 19 rjita-pāldhvaj-ādi samasta-pāramaisvaryya-chinḥa(hna)sya Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-
śīprithu(thi)vīvala-
- 20 bha-mahārājādhrāja-paramēśvara-bhattāarakasya priy-ātmajaś=śai[śa*]va ēv=ādihgat
āśēsh-āstra-
- 21 śāstrō dakṣināśā-vijayini pītāmahē samunnūlita-nikhila-kantaka-samhatir=
- 22 uttarāpatha-
- 22 vijigishōr=gurōr=agrata ēv=āhava-vyāpāram=ācharann=arāti-gaja-ghatā-pāṭa-

¹ From the original plates² The engraver has originally written **pathā*, but corrected it

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे अर्जुनसमवाये ॥
अथ कृष्ण उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
काशिराज उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
काशिराज उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
काशिराज उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
काशिराज उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
काशिराज उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
काशिराज उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥

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16

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे अर्जुनसमवाये ॥
अथ कृष्ण उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
काशिराज उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
काशिराज उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
काशिराज उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
काशिराज उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
काशिराज उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
काशिराज उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥

18

20

22

24

26

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in horizontal lines. A large circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf, approximately between lines 22 and 24.

8

0

28

30

32

34

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in horizontal lines. A large circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf, approximately between lines 8 and 10.

- 23 na-viśiṣṭyāmāna-kripāna-dhāras-samagra-vigraha-āgrēśaia[h*] san-sāhasa-rasakah
 24 paiām(n)mukhikṛita-sāti umandalō Gangā-Yamunā-pāḥudhvaja-padaḥhakṛā-mahāśabda-
 mā-
 25 nitya-matamga-j-ādin=pitrisāt=kurvvan=parah palāyamānair=āsāḍya katham=api
 vidhivaśā-
 26 d=apanitō=pi piatāpād=ēva viśhaya-prakōpam=arājakam=utsārayan=Vatsarāja 1-

Third Plate, First Side

- 27 v=ānapēkshīt-āpara sāhīyakas=tad-avagrahān=nurgatya svabhuj-āvashtambha-prasāḍhit-
 āśēsha-viśva-
 28 mbharah prabhur=akhamdita=śaktitrayatvāt(ch)=chhatru-mada-bhamjanatvād-
 udāratvān=niravadyatvād=yas=sa-
 29 masta-bhuvan-āsrayas=sakala-pāramāśvarya-vyakti hetu-pāḥudhvaj-ādy-u[]jvala-prājya-
 30 rājyō Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrīprithu(thi)vīvalabha-mahāīājādhurāja-paramēśvara-
 31 ra-bhātārakasya priyaputras=sakala-bhuvana-sāmrajya-lakshmi-svayamvar-ā-
 32 bhūhēka-samay-ānantara-samupajāta mahōtsāhah ātmavamśaja-pū-
 33 rva-nripati-chchhāy-āpahārinah prakṛity-amitṛasya Pallavasya samūl-
 ōnmālanāya
 34 kṛita-matir=atitvarayā Tumḍāka-viśhayam prāpy=ābhūmukh-āgatan=sa-
 Nandipōtavarmma-ā-
 35 bhūdhānam Pallavam rana-mukhē samprahritya prapalāyya
 katumukha-vādita-sa-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 36 mudhaghōsh-ābhūdhāna-vāḍya-viśēshān(shau)=khatvānga-dhvaja-praṇaṇa-prabhūta-
 prakhyāta-hasti-varā-
 37 n=sva-kirana-nikara-vikāsa nūrākṛita-tumram-mānukya-rāsīś=cha hastēkṛitya
 Kalāśabhava-ni-
 38 ya-harid-angan-āmoḥita kāmchīyamānām Kāmchīm=ayināśya praviśya satata-
 pravṛtta-dā
 39 n-ānā(na)ndita-dvija-dm-ānātha-janah Narasimhapōtavarmma-nirmmāpita-śilāmaya-
 40 Rājasimhāśvar-ādi-dēvakula-suvarnarāsi pratyarppan-ōpājit-ōjita-pu-
 41 nyah amivārita-piātāpa-prasara-pratāpita-Pāmdya-Chōla-Kērala-Kajabhra-
 42 prabhṛiti-rājanyakah kshubhita-kari-makara-kara-hata-dahita śukti-mukta-muktāphala-
 43 prakāsa-marochi-jāla-vilasita-vēl-ākulē ghūrnamān-ārōp-nidhānē daksīṇā-
 44 rnavē śarad-amala-sāsādhara-viśāda yasō-rāsi-mayam jayastambham=atishat[h*]ipat

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 45 Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrīprithu(thi)vīvalabha-mahāīājādhurāja-paramēśvara-bha-
 46 ttārakasya sūnuh(r) bālyē susukshita-sāstra-sāstra[h*] sva-guna-kalāp-ānandita-
 hri-
 47 dayēna pitṛā samārōpita-yanvarājya[h*] svakula-vairipah Kāmchīpatēr-
 mngrahā-
 48 ya mām prēshaya ity=ādēśam prārthya labdhvā tad-anantaram=ēva kṛita-
 prayānas=sann=a-
 49 bhūmukham=āgatya prakāśa-yuddham kartum=asamartham praviśhta-durggam
 Palla-
 50 vam =amantatō=bhūbhūya bhagnasaktim kṛtvā prabhūta-matta-matamga-ja-su-
 51 varna-mānukya-kotir=ādāya pitṛē samarpitvātān=ēvam kramēṇa prāpta-sā-

- 52 ivvabhauṇa-padaḥ pratāp-ānūrāg-āvanata-samasta-sāman'a-makuta-mā-
 53 la-rajah-pumja-pumjavarita-chalana-surasubhab(iuhah) Kirtivarman-na-Satyā-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 54 śraya-śiprithivivallabha-mahāujyadhira-paramēśaia-bhattāraḥkas-sarvān-ēva-
 55 m=ājñāpayati [1*] Vīditam=astu vo-smābhū = dvīsaptaty-uttara-shatchhatēshu
 Śakavarshēshv-atitēshu
 56 pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē shashthē varttamānē Raktapuram-
 adlavasa-
 57 ti vijaya-skandhāvāiē Vaisākha-paurṇamāsyām sōmagrahanē Kāśyapa-go-
 58 tiāya Vajappaśarṃmanah¹-paurāya Mākaya-Vajipē[ya*]-jājñah
 59 putiāya vēda vēdunga-pāgāyā Rāmaśarṃmanē Vēlvola-visha-
 60 yō Penbasaaru-Kisumamgalam-Sulāṃ-Perballi-nāma-grāmānām=ma-
 61 dhyē Beppatti-nāma-grāmo śil-mahādēvi-vijñāpanayā dattah

Fifth Plate

- 62 Tad=āgāmubhu=asmad-vamāyaur=anyas=cha iājabhū=āyur=aiśvaryy-ādinām vīlasitam=
 achi-
 63 i āinsu-chañchalam=avagachchhadbhū=achandr-āika-dhai-ārṇava-sthiti-samakālam yasāś-
 chiki-
 64 iśubhūis-sva-datti-nirvviśēsham paupālaniyam=Uktañ=cha bhagavatā vēda
 vyāsēna
 65 Vyāsēna [1*] Babubhūr=vasudhā bhuktā iājabhūis=Sagar-ādibhū [1*] yasya
 yasya
 66 jadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tada phalam [1*] Svan=dātum sumahachi-
 chhakam
 67 duhkham=anyasya pālanam [1*] dānam vā pālanam v=ētti(v=ēti) dānāch=chhrējō-
 nupālanam [1*]
 68 Svadattām paradattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [1*] shashth(t)im
 vaisha-saha-
 69 srāu viśthayām jāyatē kri(kp)mīr=iti [1*] Dhanamjaya-Punyavallabhēna
 likhita-
 70 m=dam

TRANSLATION.

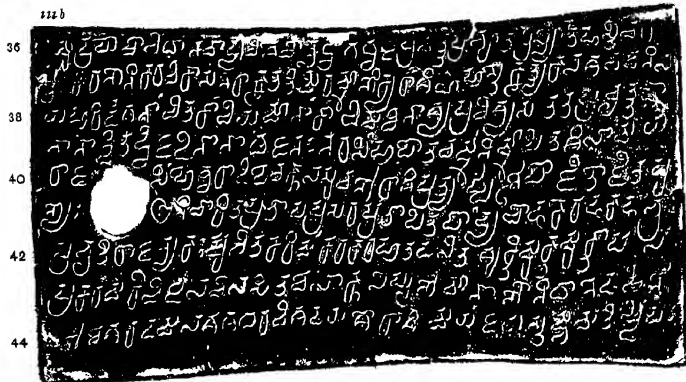
(Verse 1) Hail! victorious is the body of Viṣṇu, manifested in the form of a boar on whose uplified right tusk rests the world, and who has agitated the ocean

(Lines 2 to 6) The great king, the prosperous Polekēśi-vallabha, whose body was purified by the *avabhiṭha* bath terminating a horse-sacrifice, and who adorned the family of the prosperous Chalukyas, who belonged to the family of Manavya praised by the whole world, who were the sons of Hāriti, who were reared by seven mothers, the mothers of the seven worlds, who had acquired a series of benefits through the protection of Kāitikēya, and who had subdued in an instant all kings at the sight of the sign of the boar acquired through the favour of the revered Nārāyaṇa

(Ll 6 to 8) His son was the prosperous Kirtivarman, the great king, and the lord of the earth, who had achieved spotless fame by the conquest of Vanavāsi² and other countries of hostile kings.

¹ [Looks like *Vajappaśarṃmanah* ॐ S. K.]

² Also called Banavāsi or Banavāṣe.



STEN KONOW

SCALE 0.7

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LIT

FROM INK IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY D. R. BHANDARKAR

54 56 58 60 62

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, on a dark, rectangular palm leaf. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf, approximately one-third of the way down.

62 64 66 68 70

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, on a dark, rectangular palm leaf. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf, approximately one-third of the way down.

(Ll 8 to 9) His son was he who had acquired the title of *Paramēsvara* by defeating the prosperous *Harshavardhana*, the lord of all the north, and addicted to war

(Ll 10 to 16) The dear son of that¹ asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the great lord, was *Vikramāditya*, well versed in politics, whose companion was his sword alone, who had destroyed all rivals only with his excellent horse called *Chitrakantha*, who relieving the fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by the confederacy of the three² kings, had destroyed the great splendour of the mountain-like kings of the *Pāndyas*, *Chôlas*, *Kêralas*, *Kalabhras* and others with his prowess resembling a thunderbolt,³ whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the crest of the lord of *Kāñchi* who had not bowed down to others, and who was the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the venerable emperor

(Ll 16 to 20) His dear son, who reduced to the condition of tributaries the kings of *Kavêra*, *Pârasika*, *Sinhala* and other countries after vanquishing the proud army of the confederacy of the three⁴ kings and the lord of *Kāñchi* at the command of his father, just as *Kārtikēya*, at the command of *Śiva* defeated the very insolent host of demons, who had acquired all the symbols of sovereignty such as a lofty *pāṇḍhava*⁵ and others by subjugating the king of all the north, was *Vinayāditya*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord

(Ll 20 to 30) His dear son, who while still a child, had mastered all the sciences and the use of arms, who when his grandfather conquered the southern region had uprooted the multitude of all his foes resembling thorns, conducting warlike operations in the very presence of his father who was desirous of conquering the north, who had the edge of his sword blunted by destroying the group of hostile elephants, who took the lead in all fighting, fond of meeting danger, who caused the multitude of his enemies to turn their backs, delivering to his father the variegated *pāṇi*-banner,⁶ the *dhakṣā*, the great musical instruments,⁷ rubies and intoxicated elephants, who, though taken captive through the force of circumstances by the flying foe approaching with some difficulty, put an end to anarchy and popular commotion by his prowess alone, and like *Vatsarāja*, expecting no help from others, escaped from the peril and conquered the whole earth by dint of his arm, who was an emperor, the asylum of truth, through his three powers being uninterrupted, through his breaking the pride of his enemies, through his liberality and blamelessness, whose vast empire was resplendent with a *pāṇḍhava* which was a symbol of universal sovereignty, was *Vijayāditya*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings and the venerable lord

(Ll 31 to 45) His dear son, who had enjoyed great pleasure immediately after the time of his anointment at the self-choice by the goddess of universal sovereignty, who resolved to uproot the *Pallava* king, his natural foe, who had robbed of splendour the former kings of his line, who on coming to the *Tundāka*⁸ district in great haste, beat and put to flight, at the opening of the campaign, the opposing *Pallava* king named *Nandipōstavaman*,

¹ *Tasya* means "of one who is well-known or referred to above"

² Compare the expression *avanipatitritaya* with *trairdyaya* in line 17 *Aimadi-kṛtiya* should be "*kṛtad*"

³ *Vikramāditya* is compared to *Indra*.

⁴ *Trairdyaya* is used by *Jinasena* in the following verse (*Adipurāṇa*, XXX. 35), and is explained by the commentator to mean *Chôla*, *Kêrala* and *Pāṇḍya* —

prasādhyā dakṣiṇām-āśām vibhva trairdyayapṛākṣāṇi |
samam pranamayām-dea vyūtiya jagasādhanasā ||

⁵ For the explanation of *pāṇḍhava*, see my paper in the *Ind Ant*, Vol XIV p 104

⁶ The expression *maḥāsabha* is frequently used in this sense in *Pampa Bhārata*, p 211

⁷ *Tundākavishaya* or *Toṇḍai* is a name of the *Dravida* country *Kāñchi*, capital of it.

took¹ possession of particular musical instruments, called *katumukhavāḍḍitra* and *sa, draghōsha*, the *khatvāṅga-āhvaya*, many excellent and well-known intoxicated elephants and a heap of rubies, which dispelled darkness by the brilliancy of the multitude of their rays who entered, without destroying it, the city of *Kāñchi*, which was, as it were, a girdle adorning yonder lady, the region of the south, who had rejoiced *Brahmanas*, and poor and helpless people by his uninterrupted liberality, who acquired high merit by restoring heaps of gold to the stone temples of *Rājasimbhēśvara* and other gods, which had been caused to be built by *Narasimhapōtavarman*, who distressed *Pāndya*, *Chōla*, *Kērala*, *Kajabhra* and other kings, the extent of his valour which could not be withstood, and who erected a pillar of victory² in the form of his great fame, as bright as the cloudless autumnal moon in the southern ocean, full of rolling waves, the shores of which were shining with the multitude of rays of numerous pearls dropped from shells struck and broken by the trunks of excited elephants resembling whales, was *Vikramāditya*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord

(Ll. 46 to 54) His dear son, who was trained in science and the use of arms in his childhood, was appointed heir apparent by his father whose heart was delighted with a multitude of his virtues, who having asked for and obtained an order to put down the lord of *Kāñchi*, the enemy of his family, led an expedition, defeated the *Pallava* king in every quarter, who, unable to meet him in an open field had taken refuge in a fort, made him powerless, took possession of many rutish elephants, gold and crores of rubies, and delivered them to his father, who thus gradually attained to the position of an emperor, and whose lotus-like feet were rendered yellowish by the mass of pollen on the numerous crests of all feudatory kings, who bowed to him through love of his heroism, *Kirtivarman*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord, thus commands all,

(Ll 55 to 61) Be it known to you, when six hundred and seventy-two years of the *Śaka* era had passed away, and the sixth year of [our] increasing prosperous reign was current, when our victorious camp was located at *Raktepura*, on the full moon of *Vaiśākha* during a lunar eclipse, the village named *Beppatti* surrounded by the villages named *Penbasaaru*, *Kisumangalam*, *Sullam* and *Perbballi*, in the district of *Velvola*, was granted by us at the request of the prosperous great queen to *Rāmasarman*, well versed in the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas*, who was the son of *Mākaya*, a performer of the *Vājapēya* sacrifice, and the grandson of *Vājappaśarman* of the *Kāśyapa* *gōtra*.

(Ll 62 to 64) This should be preserved, as though it were their own gift, by future kings of our own family or others, knowing the flash of life and other things to be as changeful as lightning, and desirous of achieving a fame lasting as long as the moon, the sun, earth, and ocean will endure

(Ll 65 to 70) And it is said by the venerable *Vyāsa*, the arranger of the *Vēdas* The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, including *Sagara* Whoever is the owner of the earth, reaps its fruit It is very easy to give what is one's own, it is difficult to preserve what is given by others Of the two things—a gift and preservation—preservation is the better He who takes away land, whether given by himself or others, is born as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. This is written by *Dhanañjaya*³ *Punyavallabha*.

¹ The expression *hastē-kṛitya* is not wrong, compare *Dhanañjaya*, *D sandhanakāvya* XIII 86, and *Blatt* *Dikshita's* remark on *Pāṇini* I 4, 77: *sutkāramdram=ity=anyē*, *hastē-kṛitya mahāstrānt*: See *Padamanjari*, p. 224 (Benares edition)

² *Vikramāditya* II did not set up a pillar of victory, only his fame, which spread to the shores of the southern ocean, is compared to such a pillar

³ This must be the same person who composed the *Vakkalāri* grant five years later A relative of his, perhaps his father, was *Anuvārtapunya* *allabha*, who wrote the *Kañchi* inscription of *Vikramāditya* II (above, Vol. III, p. 359 f)

No 29 — DATES OF CHOLA KINGS

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, O.L.E., GOTTINGEN

(Continued from Vol VIII, page 274)

From the materials supplied to me by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya I publish here, with the results of my calculations, twenty-two more dates of Chôla kings (Nos 137-158), and two dates (Nos 159 and 160) of the king Peruñjungadêva, "who claims to be a Pallava and who subverted the Chôla sovereignty about A D 1231-32"¹ Five of these dates (Nos. 145-149) belong to the king Râjâdhirâja [II] Râjakêsarivarman, of whom no dates have yet been published, and whose reign these dates with great probability show to have commenced between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A D 1183 The other dates in general merely confirm the correctness of the results previously found for the commencement of the reigns of the kings to whom they belong, but No 142 reduces the period, during which Râjarâja II must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 6th April to the 11th July A D 1148²

I am still keeping back a number of dates of Kulôttunga-Chôla II Râjakêsarivarman in the hope that more dates of this king may be discovered before long

At the end of this article I give a list of all published dates of Chôla kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign

A.—RAJARAJA I.

137.—In the Śivayôganâthasvâmin temple at Tiruvissâlûr³

- 1 Svasti śrī [|| —] Kô-Râjarâjakêsarivarmakkû yându 5 âvadu 17v-âtt[ai]
[Dha]nu-[n]âyagru Nâyagru-kk[i]lamayum Mûlamum pakka-
2 m⁴ prathipadamum kûdina vara yôgatt[i]n pôdu

"In the 5th year (of the reign) of king Râjarâjakêsarivarman,—on the day of the auspicious yôga which was combined with the first tithi of a fortnight,⁵ (the nakshatra) Mûla and a Sunday in the month of Dhanus of this year"

I have previously found⁶ that Râjarâja I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 25th June and the 25th July A D 985. This date of the 5th year of his reign corresponds to Sunday, the 1st December A.D. 989, which was the 8th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the first tithi (of the bright half of Pausa) commenced 5 h 6 m, while the nakshatra was Mûla, by the equal space system for 16 h. 25 m, and according to Garga for 3 h 56 m, after mean sunrise.

For dates with the auspicious yôga—also called *amrta-yôga*⁷—of a Sunday with the nakshatra Mûla, see above, Vol VI p 21, No 33, and note Compare also Hémachandra's *Śabdânusâsana-vrtti*, end of Adhyâya II Pâda 2. *Mûlârka*⁸ śrîyatis âstirê sarvakalyâna-kâranam | adhuna Mûlârâjas-tu chitrañ lûkêshu gîyatis ||

¹ See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1906-07, p 89.

² Compare above, Vol VIII p 264

³ No 19 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

⁴ Read *prathipada*

⁵ It is not stated whether it was the bright or the dark fortnight.

⁶ See above, Vol VII p 6

⁷ See *Ep Caru* Vol IV p 114, No 10.

⁸ I.e. *Mûla-nakshatrêna yuktê'rkaś sūrya*.

138 and 139.—In the Amṛitaghatśvara temple at Tirukkadayūr¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] [Tiru-ma]ga
 2 śi-kōv=Irājarājakēsampaṇmaṇku yāṇdu
 16 vada āgum yāṇdu Pi-
 3 [ra]ttādi=tt[nga]l pū=pakkattu=[p]pakkam [8 ettu]=kka[la]mai² Tīṅgal nāl
 Pū[na]rpūsam
 9 i[v*]v-[āndēy] Tulā-nāyaṇu pū[rva-bha]kshat[tu]
 dvā[da]śiyum Nāya[r]u-kūla[m]a[yum] peṇṇa Iraivadi . . .³

"In the year which was the 16th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Rājarājakēsarvarman,—on the day of Punarvasu, the week-day (being) Monday, (and) the day of the fortnight being [8—eight—] of the second half of the month Purattādi
 on [the day of] Rēvatī which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā in this year"

The first of these two dates regularly corresponds to Monday, the 23rd September A.D. 1000, which was the 29th day of the month Purattādi (i.e. the month of Kanyā), and on which the 8th tithi of the dark half (of Āśvina) commenced 0 h 55 m., while the nakṣatra was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h 20 m, and by the Bṛahma-siddhānta for 21 h 40 m, after mean sunrise

The second date apparently corresponds to Sunday, the 13th October A.D. 1000. This was the 18th day of the month of Tulā, and on it the 12th tithi of the bright half (of Kārttika) ended 1 h 17 m after mean sunrise, but as the nakṣatra was Rēvatī only from 11 h 10 m after mean sunrise, I should have expected the day to be described as the day of (the preceding nakṣatra) Uttara Bhādrapadā

140.—In the Śiva temple at Pēraṅgīyūr⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] śrī-Rāja-Rājarājadēvarku yāṇdu
 2[4]āvaḍu i-yāṇdu⁶ Mṛiśchika-nāyaṇu pū[r]va
 pakshattu=P[pudan]-kūlamayum paṇṇamayum peṇṇa Tī[ru]vō[na]tan nā[li]

"In the 2[4]th year (of the reign) of the glorious Rāja-Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śrāvaṇa, which corresponded to the fifth tithi and to a [Wednesday] of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika in this year."

For the given week-day (Wednesday) and the nakṣatra Śrāvaṇa the date would be wrong for all the ten years from the 20th to the 29th year of Rājarāja's reign. Irrespectively of the week-day, the date for the 24th year would correspond to Saturday, the 6th November A.D. 1008, which was the 12th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 5th tithi of the bright half (of Mārgaśīrṣa) ended 3 h 33 m. after mean sunrise, while the nakṣatra by all systems was Śrāvaṇa the whole day. I have little doubt that this Saturday is the proper equivalent of the date and that the week-day, if not misread, has been wrongly given in the original

¹ No. 27 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

² The letter *la* is engraved below the line

³ Read *Rēvatī-nāli*

⁴ I.e. the *utthāna-dvādāśi tithi* (the tithi of the awakening of Viṣṇu)

⁵ No. 208 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

⁶ Read *Vṛiśchika*.

B.—VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

141.—In the Amṛtagaṭhēśvara temple at Tirukkadayār¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [l*] Pū-mālai m[1]dandu . . .
 16 kō=Pparakēśampatimar-ā[na] Tribhuvana-
 chchakravatti-
 17 gal śrī-Vikrama-Śōladēvarku yāndu 6 ā[ā]vadu V[r]i[ś]chi
 . . .²[y]aiyum [Bu]dan-kīlamaiyum peṇṇa Mṛigaśīrshatti-nāl

“In the 6th—sixth—year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēśarīvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama Chōladēva,—on the day of Mṛigaśīrsha, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [second?] *tithi* of the . . .
 [of the month of] Vṛiśchi[kā]”

The reign of Vikrama-Chōla has been found³ to commence on the 29th June A.D. 1118, and thus date of the 6th year of his reign undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 7th November A.D. 1123. This was the 11th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on it the second *tithi* (of the dark half of Kārttika) ended 4 h 45 m, while the *nakshatra* was Mṛigaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h 13 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h 55 m, after mean sunrise.

C.—RAJARAJA II.

142.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāsūr⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [l*] Pū maiuviya Tina-mādam . . .
 13 kō=Pparakēśam[pa]tmar-āna Tribhuvanachchakravart-
 14 tagal śrī-Rājarājadēvarku yāndu⁵ [1]ṣ[vadu]⁶ Mē-
 15 sha-nāyayru pūrvva-pakshatti ashtami[yu]m Budan-kī-
 16 lamaiyum peṇṇa Pūṣatti-nāl

“In the [1]ṣṭh year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēśarīvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha”

With the result previously obtained⁷ for the commencement of the reign of Rājarāja [II.] Parakēśarīvarman, this date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th April A.D. 1161, which was the 13th day of the month of Mēsha and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 12 h 54 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h 10 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h 12 m after mean sunrise.

143.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāsūr⁸

- 4 kō=Pparakēśarīpanmar-āna
 [Tri]bu-
 5 vanachchakravattigal śrī-Rājarājadēvarku yāndu 1[7]vadu Dha[nu-nāya]ru
 [a]para-pa-
 6 ksha[t*]tu navamiyum Nāyayru-k[ī]lamaiyum peṇṇa A . . .

¹ No 30 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.² Perhaps *devityayum* is meant ³ See above, Vol VII p 8⁴ No 140 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906⁵ The letter *n* is engraved below the line⁶ The letters *vadu* are written in a group⁷ See above, Vol VIII pp 2 and 264⁸ No 129 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

"In the 1[7]th year (of the reign) of king Parakésarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of A . . .¹th corresponded to a Sunday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanu²

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 2nd December A D 1162, which was the 7th day³ of the month of Dhanu, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mārgaśīrsha) ended 16^h 56 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h 47 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h 30 m, after mean sunrise

The result shows that the *nakṣatra*, of the name of which only the initial vowel remains in line 6 of the original, was Attam (Hasta)—The date is the latest one hitherto examined of the reign of Rājārāja II

144 —In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr³

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū maruviya Tiru-mādam . . .

8 P[p]ara[k]ṣaripatmar-āna . . . Tribhuvana[ch]chakra[va]ṅgal . . . śrī-Rājārājadēva[k]
yāpdu 15[vadu]⁴ M[ā]na-

9 nāyaru p[ū]rva-pakṣattu . . . paṇi[jam]y[u]m . . . Tingal-kiṭamayum . . . per[ra]
M[ā]nagaṣi[r]shattu-nāi

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of king Parakésarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Mṛgaśīrsha, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

In accordance with the previously obtained results, this date should fall in A D 1161, some time before the 24th March (the first day of the month of Mēsha), but with the actual reading of the original it would be incorrect. In my opinion, the fifth *tithi* (paṇi[jam]y[u]m) has here been quoted erroneously instead of the seventh (*saptamayum*), and the date corresponds to Monday, the 6th March A D. 1161, which was the 12th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 3 h 41 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Mṛgaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h 36 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h 17 m, after mean sunrise

Of the three dates, the date No 142 would show that the reign of Rājārāja II. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 6th April A.D 1146⁵

D.—RAJADHIRAJA II.

145 — In the Tyāgarājasvāmīn temple at Tiruvārūr⁵

1 Svasti śr[ī] ॐ Kadal śūlnda pār-mag[a]lu[m] . . .

2 . . . kō Rājākṣaripa[nma]r-āpa Tribhuvanachcha[k*]karavattigal . . .
Rājādha(dh)irājadēvaṅku yāpdu 2[āvadu]⁶ Mēsha-nāyaru pūrva-pakṣattu
shashthiyun-Diṅgat-kiṭamayum . . . per[ra] Punarphāsatti-nāi

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of king Rājākṣarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhīrājadēva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha"

¹ The name of the *nakṣatra*, which is lost in the original, may be Āsvatī (Āsvini), Attam (Hasta), Avīṣṭam (Dhanuṣṭhā) or Anuṣam (Anurādhā)

² No 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

³ The letters *vadu* are written in a group

⁴ Compare the date No 106, above, Vol. VIII. p. 264

⁵ No 538 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

⁶ The word *avadu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the figure 2

The five dates Nos 145-149 are of the reign of a king Rājādhīrāja Rājakesarivarman, and are taken from inscriptions every one of which begins with the words *kadal śūṇḍa*. The first four dates work out regularly on the assumption that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A D 1163. With such a commencement of his reign —

This date, No 146, corresponds to Monday, the 30th March A D 1164, which was the 7th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Vaisākha) ended 19 h 3 m, while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the Brahma-siddhānta from 7 h 13 m, according to Garga from 9 h 51 m, and by the equal space system from 21 h. 40 m, after mean sunrise — This equivalent of the original date might perhaps be objected to on the ground that the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu only from 7 h 13 m (or later) after mean sunrise, and in the case of the date No 106, above Vol VIII p 263, where also the *nakshatra* was found to be Punarvasu from 8 h 32 m (or later) after mean sunrise, I have myself stated that that *nakshatra* in the original date might have been quoted erroneously instead of the immediately preceding *nakshatra* Ārdra. But the two dates together now seem to me to show that in either case there was some special reason for quoting the *nakshatra* Punarvasu, instead of the *nakshatra* Ārdra in which the moon was at the commencement of the day¹

146 — In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvaiśāṅgi.²

- 1 Svastu [śrī] [||*] Kadal śūṇḍa pār-mādarum
 5 [kō] Rājakēsarī[vanma]r-ā[na] Tribhuvanaachchakra[va]tta[ti]-
 6 gal śrī-R[ā]jādhīrājadeva[ku] yāṇḍu [Ṣa]vadu Śun[ha] n[ā]ya[ru] [a]para-
 pakshattu [dv]ada[śiyu]m [Ti]-
 7 [ṅga]t-kīlamai[yu]m perra [Puna]r[pū]ṣat[tu] nā[li]

"In the [5]th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhīrājadeva, — on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 10th August A D 1170, which was the 14th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvaṇa) commenced 2 h. 3 m, while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu,³ by the equal space system and according to Garga for 17 h 44 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h 4 m, after mean sunrise

147. — In the Tyāgarājāsvarṇin temple at Tiruvārūr.⁴

- 1 [Sva*] [sta] śrīh ||— Kadal śūṇḍa pār-ā[na]n-dīśai
 7 . kōv-Irājakēsariparmar-āna Tribhuvanaachchakravattagal śrī-Rājādhīrājadeva[ku]
 yāṇḍu 10[avadu]⁵ Mīna-nā[yaṅ]u pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyu[n] Jevvāy-kīlamai-
 yum perra Magattu nāi

"In the 10th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhīrājadeva, — on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna "

¹ For other dates with *nakshatras* which also, if I may say so, commenced some time after sunrise, compare Nos 23, 47, 66, 105, and 121 of this series

² No 627 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

³ A 12th *tithi* joined with the 11th of Punarvasu is called *jayanā*, it is a *mahā-vaddant*. This may be the reason why the 12th *tithi* has been used in the original date (as a current *tithi*)

⁴ No 540 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

⁵ The word *avadu* seems to be added by a flourish added to the symbol for ten

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 27th February A D 1173, which was the 5th *tithi* of the month of Mīna, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) was 10 h 50 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 14 h 27 m according to Garga for 2 h 33 m, after mean sunrise

148 — In the Darbhāranyēśvara temple at Tirunallūr¹

- 1 Svasti śīl [||*] Kadal sūl'n]da [pā]r-mādarum
[k]ṛṇ=111, śa [k]ṣai [i] parmar=a [na Tirubuya] na [ch] chakkara va [t*] tigal śīl
[a*] d[i] a [a*] dēvaiku ya [u]-
2 du padin-orivēnda Sinna na [ya] rru pū[r] va pasha (ksha) itu pañjamy u [r]
Budān kilamai [y] um p[ē]iṛa Sōd[i] nāl

"In the eleventh year (of the reign) of king Rājakesarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponds to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha,"

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 15th August A D 1173, which was the 19th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Bhādrapada) was 13 h 53 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 17 h 44 m, according to Garga for 5 h 16 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h 19 m, after mean sunrise

149 — In the Vṛṣabhapurīśvara temple at Mēl-Sēvūr²

- 1 Svasti śīl [||*] Kadal sūlnda pār-m[ā]darum . . .
2 . . . kō Irāśakā[śa] ripatmar āra
Tribhuvana chakkara vat tīgāl śīl-Rājā[dhīrā*]jadēvaṛku yandu 13th day
Kaṭkadāza nāyaru=ppadimmu (mū) nrān-di (di) yadiy=[ā]-
3 na Budān-kilamai yum=apaia pakshattu ēkāda[ś]iyum peṇṇa R[ō] śān-na

"In the 13th year (of the reign) of king Rājakesarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponds to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to a Wednesday, the thirteenth solar day of the month of Karkātaka "

In the three hundred years from A D 1000 to A D 1300 there are only two days which would satisfy the requirements of this date, *viz* Wednesday, the 8th July A D 1097, and Wednesday, the 8th July A D 1181

In A D 1097 the Karkātaka-samkrānti took place 17 h 26 m, after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 25th June, the first day of the month of Karkātaka therefore was Friday, the 26th June, and the 13th day of the same month was Wednesday, the 8th July. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśādhā) ended 5 h 36 m, and the *nakṣatra* was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h 36 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h. 56 m after mean sunrise

In A D 1181 the Karkātaka-samkrānti took place 10 h 56 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th June which was the first day of the month of Karkātaka; and the 13th day of the same month therefore was Wednesday, the 8th July. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśādhā) commenced 4 h. 24 m after mean sunrise, and the *nakṣatra* was Rōhini, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 1 h 58 m after mean sunrise

¹ No 394 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

² No 222 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

It is clear that if as was assumed above, the reign of Rājādhirāja Rājakesarivarman commenced between the 28th February and the 30th March A D 1163, neither of the two Wednesdays given above could have fallen in the 13th year of his reign. On the other hand I may state that if either of the two days really fell in his 13th year, the other dates would be incorrect. In these circumstances, and assuming that, with the exception of the regnal year, the details of the original date have been given correctly, I can only suggest that the year 13 (which is given in figures¹ only) has been quoted erroneously instead of the 19th year, and that the proper equivalent of the date therefore is really Wednesday, the 8th July A D 1181. It might of course be objected that this day would fall in the reign of Kulottunga III Parakesarivarman, which commenced between the 6th and the 8th July A D 1178. But I have already shown that we have a similar overlapping of two reigns also in other cases. A date (No 94) of the 33th year of Kulottunga III corresponds to the 25th January A D 1217, while the reign of his successor Rājajāja III commenced in June-July A D 1216, and of this king again we have two dates (Nos 96 and 97) of the 7th February and the 22nd April A D 1248, whereas the reign of his successor Rājendra-Chōla III commenced in March April A D 1246.

From the materials available I therefore infer that Rājādhirāja Rājakesarivarman, *re* Rājādhirāja II, commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A D 1163.

E —KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III

150 —In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāsūr²

1. Tūbuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Vīra[ā]jēndira-Śōladēvar[ku] yāndu 6vadu
Māgala nāyaru pūrvva-pakku[h]ittu³ dvit[t]i yāyum Tingat-kulamai[y]um pe[rra
A]jittattā-nāl

"In the 6th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śravishthā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 16th January A D 1184, which was the 22nd day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) commenced 5 h 36 m, while the *nakshatra* was Śravishthā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h 30 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h 10 m, after mean sunrise.

151 —In the Amrītaghatēśvara temple at Tirukkadayūr⁴

1. Srasti śrī [||*] Puyal vāyppa
5 kō=[Ppa]rakēśamparman-āna
Tūbuvanachchakkaravattigal Madu[r]ayum Pāndi[ya]nāyum mudittalai-
kond-aruliya śrī-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvarku yāndu 16 vadu Mēsha-nāyaru pūrvva-
pakshattu [a]ttamiyu[m]
6. Viyāla-kkijamayum pe[rra] Pūṣatti-nāl

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of king Parakesarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the

¹ Mr Venkayya has informed me, about three years ago, that the figures undoubtedly are '13'. I would suggest that 'the thirteenth' solar day, which is mentioned closely to the regnal year, may have misled the writer to put down '13' also for the latter.

² No 158 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

³ No 48 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

⁴ Read *-pakshattu*

⁵ Read *Tribhu*

crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Pushya which corresponded to a Thursday and : the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha”¹

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 31st March A D 1194, which was the 7th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Chaitra) ended 10 h 50 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Ganga for 18 h 24 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 16 h 25 m, after mean sunrise

153 — In the Śivayōganāthasvāmīn temple at Tiruvīśālūr²

- 1 Svasta śīi ||— [Pu]yal vāppa kō=P[pa]ra-
16
17 k[śa]m[pa]rmar=[ā]na T[ā]ibuvā[na]chcha[kka]ravattigal Ma[du]rai[yu]m [P]ān[di]-
18 yan mudī-italaiyūn=gond-aruh[na] śīi-Knīlō]ttunga-Śō[la]-
19 vēvarkku yāndu padine[t]tāva[du] Kum[bha]-nāya[r]ru pūr[va]-pakṣa[ttu]
20 t[ri]tiyāiyum Śānī-kkīlamaiyum p[c]r[ra] [Pā]rattu nā[li]

“In the eighteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakēśarīvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōlādēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha”

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong because on the third *tithi* of the bright half in the month of Kumbha the *nakṣatra* could not possibly be Pūrva-Phalgunī, and the probability would seem to be that either has the first fortnight been erroneously quoted instead of the second or Pūrva-Phalgunī (*Pūrva*) instead of Pūrva-Bhadrapadā (*Pūrattidā*)³ In my opinion, the date corresponds to Saturday, the 3rd February A D 1196, which was the 10th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 5 h 40 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Pūrva-Bhadrapadā, by the equal space system for 4 h 36 m, after mean sunrise

154 — In the Vātāranyēśvara temple at Tiruvāṅgādū⁴

- 1 [Sv]asti [śīi] [||*] Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigal Maduraiyu[m] ī]lamam
P[ān]dī[ya]n mudittalai[yu]n=go-
2 [v]ā-aruh[na] [śīi]-Kulōttunga-Śō[la]d[ē]va[r]kku yān[du] 2]3 vadu
4 Kanni-nāya[r]ru=ppadīnā[ra]n=dīyadī[y]=ā[ra]
Śēvāy-kka(kkī)[la]mai[ya]n[m] pū[ru]va-[pa]kṣa[t]-
5 tu [t]ri[ti]yāiyum per[ra] Śītūrai-nā[li]

“In the [3]3rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōlādēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, īlam and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Chitrā, which corresponded to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight and to a Tuesday which was the sixteenth solar day of the month of Kanyā”

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 12th September A D 1200 The preceding Kanyā samkīrṇti took place 20 h 58 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th August, the first day of the month of Kanyā therefore was Monday, the 28th August, and the 16th day of

¹ Another inscription of the [1]6th year of the same king with apparently the same astronomical details is found in the same temple (No 42 of 1906) But the portion, where the fortnight, the *nakṣatra* and the *tithi* may be expected, is damaged What is actually found is [p] miyūm
P[ā]dī-kkalamaiyum per[ra] P[ā]rattu p[ā]

² No 14 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907

³ Compare the date No 50, above, Vol VI p 283

⁴ No. 456 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

the same month was Tuesday, the 12th September A D 1200 On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Āśvina) commenced 7 h 12 m., and the *nakshatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 2 h 38 m, after mean sunrise —There seems no reason why the second *tithi* (*dvitiya*) should not have been quoted in the original date instead of the third (*tritiya*)

F—RAJARAJA III.

154 —In the Jambukéśvara temple near Trichinopoly ¹

- 1 Svas[ti] śr[i] [i]* [Tr]bhuvanachakravattigal śrī-²Rājarājadēvarkku yāndu
24[āvadu³] Mid[u]na-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum
Śam-kk[am]am[u]m per[ra] Ś[ō]di-nāl

"In the 24th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna "

The reign of Rājarāja III has been found to commence⁴ between (approximately) the 27th June and the 10th July A D 1216 This date of the 24th year corresponds to Saturday, the 2nd June A D 1240, which was the 9th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyaishta) ended 3 h 37 m, while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 5 h 55 m, after mean sunrise

155 —In the Jambukéśvara temple near Trichinopoly ⁵

- 1 Svas[ti] śr[i] [i]* Tribhu[va]nachchakravattigal śrī-⁶Rājarājadēvarkku yāndu
2[9⁷ āvadu⁸] Tulā nāyar[ra]u-ppūrvva-[pa]kshattu prathamaiyum [Ś]ēv[ā]y-
kk[am]am[u]m per-
2 ra Śōdi-nāl

"In the 2[9]th⁷ year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā "

The date, for the 29th year, regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 4th October A D 1244, which was the 7th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the first *tithi* of the bright half (of Kārtika) ended 12 h 53 m, while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 15 h 46 m, and according to Garga for 3 h 17 m, after mean sunrise —For the 26th year of the reign of Rājarāja III the date would be incorrect

156 —In the Jambukéśvara temple near Trichinopoly ⁹

- 1 Svast[i] śrī [i]* Tribhu[va]nachcha[kra]vatigal śrī-¹⁰Rājarājadēvarkku yāndu
2[9¹⁰āvadu¹⁰] Tulā-nāyar[ra]u pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Śēv[ā]y-
kka(kk)[i]a]mayum per[ra] Ś[ō]di-nāl

"In the 2[9]th¹⁰ year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā "

¹ No 508 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

² This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side.

³ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year

⁴ See above, Vol VIII p 260

⁵ No 501 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

⁶ This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side

⁷ The second figure of the date might also be 6

⁸ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.

⁹ No 503 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

¹⁰ See the notes on the preceding date

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244.

157 — In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly ¹

- 1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] [||*] Tr[ī]bhuvanachohakravatt[ī]gal śr[ī]-²Rājarājadēvarku
[y]āndu 2[9] āvadu³ Kumbha-nayarra ppū[r]vva-pakshattu navam[ī]yum
Tingat-kūla[m]aiyum peṭṭa Urōsan[ī]-nāl.

"In the 2[9]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 6th February A D 1245, which was the 14th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 1 h 12 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h 13 m, after mean sunrise.

158 — In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly ⁴

- 1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] [||*] Tr[ī]bhuvanachohakravatt[ī]gal śr[ī]-⁵Rājarājadēva[r]ku
[y]āndu 2[9]āvadu³ Kumbha nayarra-ppū[r]vva-pakshattu navam[ī]yum
k[ī]lā[m]aiyum peṭṭa Urōsan[ī]-nāl

"In the 2[9]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha "

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to Monday, the 6th February A D 1245

G — PERUNJINGADEVA.

159 — In the Jambunātha temple at Jambai ⁶

- 1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] [||*] Śa[galabu]vanachchakravatt[ī]gal śr[ī]-kō-Pperu[n]jingadēva[r]ku
yāndu 16vadu Danu-nayarra pū[r]vva-pakshattu trayōdāś[ī]yum
Tingat-k[ī]lāmaiyu[m*] peṭṭa Urōsan[ī]-⁶nāl

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king Perunjingadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first [fortnight] of the month of Dhanu "

Above, Vol VII p 165, I have found that the reign of Perunjingadēva commenced between (approximately) the 11th February and the 30th July A D 1243. This date, of his 16th year, corresponds to Monday, the 9th December A D 1258, which was the 14th day of the month of Dhanu, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Pausa) commenced 7 h 48 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the Brahma-siddhānta the whole day, according to Garga from 1 h 19 m, and by the equal space system from 13 h 8 m, after mean sunrise.—Instead of the 13th, I should have expected the 12th *tithi* to have been quoted, especially as, joined with Rōhini, this *tithi* is a *mahā-dvādāśī* (*pāpa-nāśini*)

¹ No 500 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

² This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side

³ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year

⁴ No 62 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

⁵ No 96 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

⁶ The syllables *tan[ī]* are repeated by mistake in the original

160 — In the Grāmārdhanāsthēśvara temple at Elvānāsūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śaḡalabuvanachchakkaravattigal
 śrī-kō=²Pparuñ-
 2 jūḡadēyarkku yāndu muppadīvadu Tulā-nāyarṇu apara-pakshattu
 3 tri(ṭṛ)ṭiyayum Tiṅga[1]-kijamayum peṭṛa Kāttaiḡai naḡ

"In the thirtieth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king **Peruṅṅadēva**,—on the day of Kṛttikā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 10th October A D 1272, which was the 13th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) commenced 6 h 40 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Kṛttikā, by the equal space system for 13 h 47 m, by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 0 h 39 m, and according to Garga for 1 h 58 m, after mean sunrise

A LIST OF THE DATES OF CHOLA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

A —Parāntaka I Parakēsarivarman

(Between the 15th January and the 25th July A D 907.)

- No 101 (Vol VIII p 261) —Year 36, Kalyuga 4044 (current) Saturday, the 14th January A D 943
 No 55 (Vol VII p 1) —Year 40 Saturday, the 25th July A D 946

B —Rājārāja I Rājakēsarivarman

(Between the 25th June and the 25th July A D 985)

- No. 137 (Vol IX p 207) —Year 5 Sunday, the 1st December A D 989,
 No 1 (Vol IV p 66) —Year 7 the 26th September A D 991
 No 61 (Vol VII p 169) —Year 11 Sunday, the 14th June A D 996
 No 25 (Vol V p 43) —Year 15 Tuesday, the 29th August A D 999
 No 27 (Vol V p 197) —Year 15 Wednesday, the 15th May A D 1000³
 No 138 (Vol IX p 208) —Year 16 Monday, the 23rd September A D 1000.
 No 139 (Vol IX p 208) —Year 16 Sunday, the 13th October A D 1000
 No. 2 (Vol IV p 67) —Śaka 929 (current) The date is incorrect
 No 140 (Vol IX p 208) —Year 24, Saturday, the 6th November A D 1008⁴
 No. 3 (Vol IV p 68) —Year 28, Śaka 934 The date would correspond to the 23rd December A D 1012, but contains no details for exact verification.

C —Rājēndra-Chōḡa I Parakēsarivarman.

(Between the 27th March and the 7th July A D 1012)

- No 102 (Vol VIII p 261) —Year 5 Tuesday, the 26th March A D 1017
 No 32 (Vol VI p 20) —Year 9, Śaka 943 (current) Thursday, the 7th July A D 1020
 No 4 (Vol VI p 68) —Śaka 943 (current) Wednesday, the 1st March A D 1021.
 No. 5 (Vol IV p 69) —Year 31 (for 21), Śaka 954 Monday, the 23rd October A D 1032

¹ No 159 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

² Read =*Pparuṅṅa* "

³ In the original the week day is wrongly given as Thursday

⁴ The week-day is wrongly given as Wednesday

- No 33 (Vol VI p. 21) —Year 22, Śaka 955 Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1033
 No 34 (Vol. VI, p 22).—Year 26, Śaka 959 The date is incorrect
 No 62 (Vol. VII, p 169) —Year 31 Friday, the 23rd July A.D. 1042¹

D —Rājādhirāja I. Rājakēśarivarman.

(Between the 15th March and the 3rd December A.D. 1018)

- No 15 (Vol IV p 218) —Year [3]2 (for 22) Thursday, the 22nd November A.D. 1039.
 No. 12 (Vol IV. p 216) —Year 25 Wednesday, the 14th March A.D. 1044.
 No 13 (Vol. IV p. 217) —Year 27 Wednesday, the 13th February A.D. 1045
 No 14 (Vol. IV. p 217) —Year 29. Wednesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1046²
 No. 11 (Vol IV. p 216) —Year 30 Śaka 970 (current) The date does not admit of exact verification.
 No 35 (Vol VI. p 22) —Year 35. Śaka 975 —probably Sunday, the 23rd May A.D. 1053.³

E —Rājēndradēva Parakēśarivarman⁴

(The 28th May A.D. 1052)

- No 38 (Vol VI p 24).—The 82nd day of year 4 Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055.
 No. 36 (Vol VI p 23).—Year 6, Śaka 979 Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057.
 No 37 (Vol VI p 23).—Year 12 (for 11 ?), Śaka 984 The date does not admit of exact verification.

F —Virarājendra Rājakēśarivarman⁵

(Between the 11th September A.D. 1063 and the 10th September A.D. 1063)

- Vol. VII, p 9. —Year 5 Monday, the 10th September A.D. 1067

G —Kulōttunga-Chōla I Rājakēśarivarman (Rājendra-Chōla II.)

(Between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070.)

- No 56 (Vol VII p 1) —Year 4 Thursday, the 7th November A.D. 1073
 No 39 (Vol VI. p 278) —Year 7, Śaka 998 Friday, the 10th February A.D. 1077.⁶
 No 63 (Vol VII p. 170) —Year 16 Thursday, the 12th March A.D. 1086
 No 6 (Vol IV p 70) —Year 37, Śaka 1030 (for 1028 ?) The date does not admit of exact verification
 No 9 (Vol IV p 72) —Śaka 1035. Sunday, the 22nd February A.D. 1114
 No 7 (Vol IV p 70) —Year 44 Friday, the 13th March A.D. 1114
 No 8 (Vol IV p 71) —Year 45 Thursday, the 8th October A.D. 1114
 No 40 (Vol VI p. 279).—Year 45, Śaka 1036. Wednesday, the 9th December A.D. 1114.
 No 26 (Vol V p 48).—Year 48 Monday, the 7th January A.D. 1118
 Nos. 20 and 28 (Vol IV. p 262, and Vol V p 198) —Year 48 Friday, the 25th January A.D. 1118⁷

¹ The *śakāvatāra* quoted is intrinsically wrong.

² The 2nd *śaka* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.

³ The 13th *śaka* has probably been wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.

⁴ In No 37 surnamed Rājakēśarivarman

⁵ No 273 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904 contains a date of the 7th year of this king and of Śaka 991 expired (=A.D. 1069/70)

⁶ The month Māgha is wrongly quoted instead of Phālguna

⁷ In No 28 the 12th *śaka* is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd which is correctly given in No 20.

H — Vikrama-Chôja Parakésarivarma.

(The 28th June A D 1118)

- No. 21 (Vol IV. p 263, and Vol. VII p 3) —Year 4 Monday, the 1st May A D 1122.
 Nos 103 and 104 (Vol. VIII p 262).—Year 4 Wednesday, the 10th May A D 1122
 No 22 (Vol IV. p. 264, and Vol VII p 3) —Year 5 Monday, the 31st July A D. 1122.
 No 57 (Vol VII p 3) —Year 5 Thursday, the 31st May A D 1123
 No 10 (Vol IV p 73, and Vol VII. p 4).—The 340th day of year 5 Sunday, the 3rd June A D 1123¹
 No 141 (Vol IX p 209) —Year 6 Wednesday, the 7th November A D 1123
 No 84 (Vol VIII p. 1) —Year 7 Thursday, the 7th August A D. 1124,
 No 105 (Vol VIII p. 263) —Year 8 Tuesday, the 18th August A D 1125
 No 42 (Vol VI p 280) —Year 9, Śaka 1049 the 27th May A D 1127²
 No 59 (Vol. VII p 5) —Year 10 Sunday, the 15th April, or Saturday, the 14th April A D. 1128³
 No 64 (Vol. VII p. 170) —Year 11 Wednesday, the 19th December A D 1128
 No 58 (Vol VII p 4) —Year 11 Saturday, the 5th January A D 1129
 No. 65 (Vol VII p 171) —Year 15 The date does not admit of verification
 No 41 (Vol VI. p. 279, and Vol VII p 3) —Year 16 Monday, the 16th April A D. 1134
 No 43 (Vol VI p 231, and Vol VII p 5) —Year 17, Śaka 1054 (for 1057) Thursday, the 18th April A D 1135

I — Kulottunga-Chôda II⁴

Vol VII p. 9 —Śaka 1056 (for 1065) the 24th March A.D 1143

J — Rājārāja II Parakésarivarma.

(Between the 6th April and the 11th July A D. 1146)

- No 85 (Vol VIII p 2).—Year 4 Wednesday, the 23rd November A D 1149.
 No 86 (Vol VIII p 2) —Year 6 Thursday, the 24th January A D 1152
 No 89 (Vol. VIII p 3) —Year 6 Thursday, the 14th February A D 1152⁵
 No 87 (Vol. VIII p 2) —Year 12. Wednesday, the 26th March A D 1158
 No 88 (Vol. VIII. p 3) —Year 15. Thursday, the 12th January A D 1161
 No. 144 (Vol IX p 210) —Year 15 Monday, the 6th March A D 1161.⁶
 No 142 (Vol IX p 209).—Year 15 Wednesday, the 5th April A D 1161
 No 106 (Vol VIII p 263) —Year opposite to 16 Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162.
 No. 143 (Vol. IX p. 209) —Year 17. Sunday, the 2nd December A D 1162

K — Rājādhirāja II. Rājakésarivarma.

(Between the 28th February and the 30th March A D. 1163)

- No 145 (Vol IX p 210) —Year 2 Monday, the 30th March A D 1164.
 No 146 (Vol IX. p 211).—Year 8 Monday, the 10th August A D 1170
 No 147 (Vol. IX. p 211).—Year 10 Tuesday, the 27th February A D 1173
 No 148 (Vol. IX p 212).—Year 11 Wednesday, the 15th August A D. 1173
 No. 149 (Vol IX. p 212) —Year 13 (for 19 ?) Wednesday, the 8th July A D 1181 (?).

¹ The 7th *śukla* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th² The year *Plava* is wrongly quoted instead of *Plavaṅga*³ In the original date either the *śakshatra* or the week-day is quoted incorrectly.⁴ Perhaps identical with Kulottunga Chôja II Rājakésarivarma, of whom I possess unpublished dates of the regnal years 4, 10, 14 and 15⁵ The month of *Mina* is wrongly quoted instead of *Kumbha*⁶ The 5th *śukla* is wrongly quoted instead of the 7th

L.—Kulóttunga-Chôla III. Parakêsarivarman (Virarâjendra-Chôla,¹ Tribhuvanavira²)

(Between the 6th and the 8th July A D 1178)

- No. 66 (Vol VII p 171) —Year 3 Monday, the 11th August A D 1180³
 No. 67 (Vol VII p. 171) —Year 3 the date is incorrect
 No 107 (Vol VIII p 264) —Year 4 Thursday, the 11th March A D 1182
 No 150 (Vol IX p 213) —Year 6 Monday, the 16th January A D. 1184
 Nos 108 and 109 (Vol VIII p 264) —Year 6 Thursday, the 5th July A D 1194.⁴
 No. 68 (Vol. VII p. 172) —Year 7. Wednesday, the 22nd August A D 1184.
 No 23 (Vol IV p 264) —Year 8 Monday, the 8th July A D 1185
 No 90 (Vol VIII. p 4) —Year 10 Tuesday, the 5th January A D 1188⁵
 No 19 (Vol IV p 220) —Year 12 Monday, the 4th December A D 1189.
 No 60 (Vol VII p 6) —Year 14 Thursday, the 2nd January A D 1192⁶
 No 110 (Vol VIII p 265) —Year 16 Monday, the 17th January A D 1194.
 No 151 (Vol IX. p 213). —Year 16 Thursday, the 31st March A.D 1194
 No 24 (Vol IV. p 265) —Year 16 Saturday, the 4th June A D 1194⁷
 No. 69 (Vol VII p 172) —Year 17 Monday, the 13th February A D. 1195.
 No 70 (Vol VII. p. 172) —Year 17 Thursday, the 8th June A D 1195.
 No. 152 (Vol IX p 214). —Year 18 Saturday, the 3rd February A D 1196⁸
 No 71 (Vol VII. p 173) —Year 19 Monday, the 2nd September A D 1196⁹
 No 17 (Vol IV. p 219). —Year 19 Tuesday, the 12th November A.D 1196.
 No 72 (Vol VII p 173) —Year 19 Wednesday, the 30th April A D. 1197
 No 16 (Vol IV p 219) —Year 19 (for 20), Saka 1119. Friday, the 21st November A.D. 1197¹⁰
 No 111 (Vol VIII p 265) —Year 20 Sunday, the 3rd May A D 1198¹¹
 No 31 (Vol V p. 199) —Year 20 The date is quite incorrect
 No 73 (Vol VII p 174) —Year 21 Wednesday, the 7th April A D 1199
 No 74 (Vol VII p 174) —Year 21 Saturday, the 10th April 1199¹²
 No 153 (Vol IX p 214). —Year 23 Tuesday, the 12th September A D 1200
 No 112 (Vol. VIII p 265) —Year 23 Monday, the 6th November A D 1200
 No 113 (Vol VIII. p. 266) —Year 25 Wednesday, the 24th July A D 1202¹³
 No 44 (Vol. VI. p 231). —Year 27 Thursday, the 5th May A D 1205
 No. 29 (Vol V p 198). —Year 29 Wednesday, the 7th March A D 1207.
 No 114 (Vol VIII p 266) —Year 32 Monday, the 21st December A.D. 1209¹⁴
 No 18 (Vol IV p 220) —Year 34 Monday, the 19th September A D. 1211.
 No. 91 (Vol VIII p 4) —Year 35 Sunday, the 2nd June A D 1213
 No 92 (Vol VIII p 4) —Year 36 Monday, the 14th April A D 1214

¹ This name occurs in the dates of the 6th and 7th years² This name occurs in the dates from the 32nd to the 39th year³ I now take this to be the proper equivalent of the date⁴ The 12th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 11th⁵ The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first⁶ The first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second⁷ The 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th⁸ The *nakshatra* Pûrva Phalguni is wrongly quoted instead of Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ⁹ The *nakshatra* quoted is intrinsically wrong¹⁰ The 15th solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 25th¹¹ The *nakshatra* Uttarâshâdâ is wrongly quoted instead of Uttara-Bhadrapadâ¹² The month of Rishabha is wrongly quoted instead of Mésâha.¹³ The 5th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 4th¹⁴ The 9th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.

- No 93 (Vol VIII p 5) —Year 37 Monday, the 17th November A D 1214
 No 30 (Vol V p 199) —Year 37 Sunday, the 7th June A D 1215
 No 94 (Vol VIII p 5) —Year 39 Wednesday, the 25th January A D 1217

M — Rājārāja III Rājakēśarivarman¹

(Between the 27th June and the 10th July A D 1216)

- No 115 (Vol VIII p 267) —Year 2 Monday, the 29th January A D 1218
 No 75 (Vol VII p 174) —Year 4 Monday, the 22nd June A D 1220
 No 76 (Vol VII p 175) —Year 5 Wednesday, the 19th August A D 1220²
 No 77 (Vol VII p 175) —Year opposite to 6 Thursday, the 13th October A D 1222
 No 95 (Vol VIII p 6) —Year opposite to 8 Monday, the 7th October A D 1224³
 No 116 (Vol VIII p 267) —Year opposite to 8 Sunday, the 23rd February A D 1225⁴
 No 117 (Vol VIII p 267) —Year 10 Friday, the 17th April A D 1226
 No 78 (Vol VII p 175) —Year 10 Tuesday, the 21st April A D 1226
 No 118 (Vol VIII p 268) —Year 12 Monday, the 2nd August A D 1227
 No 119 (Vol VIII p 268) —Year 16 Thursday, the 10th July A D 1231
 No 120 (Vol VIII p 268) —Year 16 Saturday, the 22nd May A D 1232
 No 45 (Vol VI p 281) —Year opposite to 16 Saturday, the 25th September A D 1232
 No 46 (Vol VI p 282) —Year 17 Tuesday, the 18th January A D 1233
 No 47 (Vol VI p 282) —Year 18 Tuesday, the 23rd August A D 1233
 No 121 (Vol VIII p 269) —Year 18 Sunday, the 13th November A D 1233
 No 48 (Vol VI p 282) —Year 18 Wednesday, the 7th December A D 1233
 No 122 (Vol VIII p 269) —Year 18 Sunday, the 25th December A D 1233
 No 49 (Vol VI p 283) —Year 18 Monday, the 2nd January A D 1234
 No 125 (Vol VIII p 269) —Year 19 (for 18) Sunday, the 11th June A D 1234,
 No 50 (Vol VI p 283) —Year 19 probably Sunday, the 13th August A D 1234⁵
 No 124 (Vol VIII p 270) —Year 19 Sunday, the 5th November A D 1234
 No 125 (Vol VIII p 270) —Year 19 Thursday, the 25th January A D 1235
 No 128 (Vol VIII p 271) —Year 27 (? for 21) Monday, the 12th January A D 1237⁶
 No 51 (Vol VI p 284) —Year 22 Tuesday, the 16th March A D 1238⁷
 No 52 (Vol VI p 284) —Year opposite to 22 Monday, the 28th February A D 1239
 No 53 (Vol VI p 284) —Year opposite to 22 Wednesday, the 2nd March A D 1239
 No 54 (Vol VI p 285) —Year opposite to 22 Friday, the 4th March A D 1239
 No 154 (Vol IX p 215) —Year 24 Saturday, the 2nd June A D 1240
 No 126 (Vol VIII p 271) —Year opposite to 24 Saturday, the 12th January A D 1241
 No 127 (Vol VIII p 271) —Year 27 Wednesday, the 30th July A D 1242
 Nos 155 and 156 (Vol IX p 215) —Year 29 Tuesday, the 4th October A D 1244
 Nos 157 and 158 (Vol IX p 216) —Year 29 Monday, the 6th February A D 1245
 No 129 (Vol VIII p 271) —Year 29 Monday, the 26th June A D 1245
 No 130 (Vol VIII p 272) —Year 30 Sunday, the 17th December A D 1245.⁸

¹ This surname occurs only in the date No 45

² The 5th *tithi* may have been quoted erroneously instead of the 4th

³ The 9th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th

⁴ [The last day of] the month of Kumbha has been quoted erroneously instead of [the first day of] the immediately following month of Mīna

⁵ In the original date either the *nakṣatra* Uttaraśāḍī (Uttara Bhādrapadā) has been wrongly quoted instead of Uttara (Uttara Phalgunī), or the first fortnight instead of the second

⁶ If the published reading of the original date is correct, the second fortnight has been wrongly quoted instead of the first

⁷ The 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th

⁸ The 13th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 12th

- No 96 (Vol VIII. p 6) —Year 32 Friday, the 7th February A D 1248
 No 97 (Vol VIII p. 6).—Year 32 Wednesday, the 22nd April A.D. 1248

N —Rājendra-Chôla III.

(Between the 21st March and the 20th April A D. 1246)

- No 79 (Vol VII p 175) —Year 3 Saturday, the 20th March A D 1249
 No 98 (Vol. VIII p 6) —Year 4 Sunday, the 12th September A D 1249
 No 131 (Vol VIII p 272) —Year 4 Wednesday, the 5th January A D 1250.
 No 80 (Vol VII p 176) —Year 7 Wednesday, the 25th December A D 1252
 No 83 (Vol VII p 177) —Year opposite to 7 The date is intrinsically wrong.
 No 132 (Vol VIII p 272).—Year 9 Tuesday, the 12th January A D. 1255.
 No 133 (Vol VIII p. 273) —Year opposite to 11 Monday, the 9th July A D 1257
 No 134 (Vol VIII p 273) —Year 16 (for 17) Monday, the 1st May A D 1262
 No 135 (Vol VIII p 273) —Year 18 Wednesday, the 2nd January A D 1264¹
 No 136 (Vol VIII p 274).—Year 20 Wednesday, the 20th January A D 1266.
 No 81 (Vol VII p 176) —Year 21 Wednesday, the 30th June A D 1266
 No 99 (Vol VIII p 7) —Year 22 Wednesday, the 20th April A D 1267.
 No 82 (Vol VII p 177) —Year 22 Sunday, the 8th May A D 1267

* * * * *

O —Peruñjungadéva.

(Between the 11th February and the 30th July A.D. 1243.)

- Vol VII p 164, B.—Year 7 Friday, the 30th July A D 1249
 No 159 (Vol IX p 216) —Year 16 Monday, the 9th December A D 1258
 Vol. VII p 164, A —Year 18, Śaka 1182 Sunday, the 31st October A D 1260
 No 160 (Vol IX p 217) —Year 30 Monday, the 10th October A D 1272
 Vol. VII p 165, D —Year 31 Saturday, the 10th February A D 1274

* * * * *

P.—Tribhuvanavira-Chôladéva.

(Between the 24th August A D 1331 and the 23rd August A.D 1332)

- No 100 (Vol VIII p 7) —Year 11 Friday, the 23rd August A D 1342.

No 30 —DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F KIELKORN, CIE, GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. page 283)

From the numerous dates of Pāndya kings sent to me by Rāj Bahadur V Venkayya, I here give five (Nos 63-67), the European equivalents of which may be given with certainty. The remaining dates must wait till more dates of the kings to whom they belong have been discovered. Of those here published, Nos 64 and 66 are valuable inasmuch as, taken together with previously published dates, they show that Māravarmān Kulāśekhara I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 2nd and the 27th June A D 1268, and Māravarmān Kulāśekhara II. between (approximately) the 6th and the 29th March A.D 1314.

¹ The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first.

In a postscript I give a date of a king Rājakēśarīvarman Vira-Pāṇḍya, according to Mr Venkayya a ruler of Kongu, which quotes both the Śaka year 1202 and the regnal year 15, both given in words. This date is of considerable interest, because my calculations prove its meaning to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king's reign which (reign) commenced in the Śaka year 1202 (and not, that the day of the date itself fell in the Śaka year 1202). The date thus suggests another point of doubt and uncertainty regarding the interpretation of dates that do not contain sufficient data for exact verification, even when at first sight such doubt seems to be out of the question.

At the end of this article also I give a list of all published dates of Pāṇḍya kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign.

A — MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

63.—In the rock-cut Śiva temple at Tirumaiyam¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Māṇapanmar-āna Trubhuvanachakravattigal śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍya-dēvaṅku yāṇḍu 7vadu [Riṣa]bha[nāy]iṅṇu-ppadim[ā]nān-diyadiyum pūrvva-
² mīkhattu daśamiyum Nāyirru-kkila-³

2 mai[yu]m per[ra*] U[tta]ttu nāl

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, — on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Sunday, to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the thirteenth solar day of the month of Rishabha."

I have previously found⁴ that the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II commenced between (approximately) the 15th June A D. 1238 and the 18th January A D 1239. This date of his 7th year regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 7th May A D 1245. The preceding Vrishabhasamkrānti took place 0 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th April A D 1245, which was the first day of the month of Vrishabha, and the 13th day of the same month therefore was Sunday, the 7th May A D 1245. On this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyāishtha)⁵ commenced 0 h. 43 m. and the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m. and by the Bīṣma-siddhanta for 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

For the reign of Mājarvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

B — MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

64.—In the Arjunéśvara temple at Kilādī⁶

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Māṇava[rma]n-āna Tri[ḥ]bhuvanachakra[ka]vattigal
 [em]mandalamun-gond-aruliyā śrī[ḥ]-Kulasēkharadēvaṅku [y]āṇḍu 23vadu
 Mith[ra]na-nāyaru 6 t[is] pūrvva-pakṣhattu [tri]t[ithi]yā[yu]m Vell[ā]l-kk[ā]lamayum
 porra Pūṣattu nāl

"In the 23rd year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of Pūṣya, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) to the 6th solar day of the month of Mithuna."

¹ No 387 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

² Read *pakṣattu*

³ The whole of this line is engraved over an erasure

⁴ See above Vol VI p 305

⁵ I.e. the *tithi* of the *Daśaharā*

⁶ No 447 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

⁷ Read "*chakra*"

⁸ The syllable *tri* here stands for *trāṣṭi*

I have previously found¹ that the reign of Māra-varman Kulasēkhara I commenced between (approximately) the 19th March and the 27th June A D 1268. This date of his 23rd year regularly corresponds to Friday, the 1st June A D 1291. The preceding Mithuna-samkrānti took place 7 h 16 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th May A D 1291, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna; and the 6th day of the same month therefore was Friday, the 1st June A D 1291. On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Āshādhā) ended 3 h 3 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h 27 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h 29 m, after mean sunrise.

The date reduces the period, during which Māra-varman Kulasēkhara I. must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 2nd to the 27th June A.D. 1268

65—In the Arjunēśvara temple at Kiladī.²

1 Svasti śrī [||*] . . . śi-kō
Mārapanmar-āna Tribhuvanachchakavatiga³ e]mmandalamun-gon[d-a]rūhya
śrī-Kulasēgaradēvaṅku yāndu 30vadn edurām-āndu Ka[r]kkataka-nāyaṅru 8 t'm
apara-pakshattu ē[k]āda[śi]yum peṅṅa Rōhin[ī]-nāl.

"In the year opposite the 30th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māra-varman *ahas* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to the 8th solar day of the month of Karkataka."

For the year opposite the 30th, *i.e.* for the 31st year, of Māra-varman Kulasēkhara I this date regularly corresponds to [Saturday], the 5th July A D 1298. The preceding Karkataka-samkrānti took place 17 h 19 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 27th June A D 1298. The first day of the month of Karkataka therefore was Saturday, the 28th June, and the 8th day of the same month was Saturday, the 5th July A D 1298. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshādhā) ended 18 h 55 m, and the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h 38 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h 59 m., after mean sunrise.

C—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II

66—In the Bhūmīśvara temple at Gudimallūr⁵

1 Suvasi⁶ [śrī] [||*] Kō Mārapanmai Th[ra]buvanachchakkarava[t]ti śrī-Kula-
[ś]ēgaradēvaṅku yāndu 12[ā]vadū⁷ paṅṅ[ī]raṇ[ā]va[da]n [M]ēsha-nāyaṅru
pupu[r]u⁸va⁹ pakshattu chatutteṣiyum Vellī-kkīlamaiyum peṅṅa Avitat[ā] n[ā]l.

"In the 12th—twelfth—year (of the reign) of king Māra-varman (*ahas*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasēkharadēva,—on the day of Dhanishthā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

This date is intrinsically wrong because the *nakshatra* cannot possibly be Dhanishthā on the 14th *tithi* of a first fortnight in the month of Mēsha. Irrespectively of the *nakshatra*

¹ See above, Vol VIII p 273

² No 449 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

³ Read "chakra"

⁴ No 419 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁵ Read *svasti*

⁶ The word *avadu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to 2

Read *pāra*—

⁷ The syllable *ti* here stands for *tiyadīyam*

the date would be wrong for the 12th year of the reign of Māvarman Kulasekhara I. But for the 12th year of the reign of Māvarman Kulasekhara II (which has been found¹ to commence between approximately the 6th March and the 23rd July A D 1314) the date would regularly correspond to Friday, the 29th March A D 1325, which was the 4th day of the month of *Mēsha*, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 7 h 9 m, while the *nakshatra* was *Hasta*, by the equal space system and according to Gaiga for 10 h 30 m and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h 13 m, after mean sunrise—I have no doubt that this is the true equivalent of the date and that the concluding words of the original date ought to be *Atittu nāl*, 'the day of *Hasta*,' instead of *Atittu nāl*.

The date would prove that Māvarman Kulasekhara II. could not have commenced to reign later than (approximately) the 29th March A D 1314.

D — JATAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA

67 —In the Satyagrinātha-Perumāl temple at Tirumaiyam²

- 1 Svasti śī [||*] Śrī-ko-[Chchadai]panmai=āna Ti[ai]buvanaśa[kia]vatt[ai]gal śi[ai]
 Parakk[ai]ama-Pā[ndiyade]varkku [a]udu vva[ai]n
 2 edir vādu -n[ai]yayū apai pakshattu dvādisiyum Nayanū kk[ai]-
 lamaiyum perpa Uttarādattu nāl

"In the 7th (year) opposite the 5th year (of the reign) of the glorious king [Jatā]-varman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parakrama-Pandya-deva,—on the day of Uttarasnadha, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of "

I have previously found³ that Jatavarman Parākrama Pandya commenced to reign between (approximately) the 10th January A D 1307 and the 9th January A D 1358. This date of the 7th opposite the 5th year, i.e. of the 12th year of his reign, undoubtedly corresponds to Sunday, the 4th February A D 1383, which was the 11th day of the month of [Kumbha], and on which the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 21 h 7 m after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Uttarashādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 6 h 34 m after mean sunrise.

The date shows that Jatavarman Parākrama-Pandya could not have commenced to reign before (approximately) the 5th February A D 1357.

POSTSCRIPT

RAJAKESARIVARMAN VIRA-PANDYA⁴

In the Kariyamānikka-Perumāl temple at Vijayamangalam⁵

- 1 Svasti śī [||*] Nān mangalañ=parakka [||*] [Śaga]i-yāndu āynatt=iru-nūṟ=naṇḍil
 [kō]v=[irā]śa[k]śarpa[n]mai=āna [Ti]bhuvanachcha[kravat]-
 2 tugal śrī-Vīra-Pandiyadevarku yāndu pa[d]nāṇḍāvu⁶ Tu[l]ā-nāyayū apara-
 pakshattu="Ttingat-kilamai[u]m daśamiyum po[r]ra Ut[t]uattu n[ā]l

¹ See above, Vol VI p. 315

² No 385 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

³ See above, Vol VII p. 17

⁴ This king is neither a Pāṇḍya nor a Chōla, but a ruler of Kongu, see Rā Bahadur V Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1905-06, page 79

⁵ No 544 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

⁶ The *akshara tu* is engraved above the line

⁷ The guttural *n* is engraved above the line

"In the Śaka year one thousand two hundred and two, the fifteenth year (of the reign) of king [Rā]jakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva**,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to the tenth *tithi* and to a Monday of the second fortnight of the month of Tula "

The meaning of this date would naturally be taken to be that the day of the date fell both in the 15th year of the king's reign and in the Śaka year 1202, either current or expired, but for either of these Śaka years the date would be incorrect

For the current Śaka year 1202 the date might be taken to correspond to Monday, the 2nd October A D 1279, which was the 4th day of the month of Tula, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) ended 2 h 37 m after mean sunrise. But the *nakshatras* on this day were Maghā and Pūrva-Phalguni

For the expired Śaka year 1202 it would correspond to Saturday, the 19th October A D. 1280, which was the 22nd day of the month of Tula, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) ended 18 h 25 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phalguni, by the Brahmasiddhānta for 11 h 10 m, according to Garga for 15 h 46 m, and by the equal space system from 3 h. 17 m, after mean sunrise

The date would be incorrect also for the Śaka year 1200 (current or expired) and for all years down to Śaka 1214 expired. It would be correct for Śaka 1215 expired (= 1216 current). For this year it would correspond to Monday, the 26th October A D. 1293, which was the 29th day of the month of Tula, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārtika) ended 6 h 52 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* by all systems was Uttara-Phalguni during the whole of the day

I have no doubt that Monday, the 26th October A D 1293, is the proper equivalent of the date; and, in accordance with this result, I take the true meaning of the original date to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king's reign which commenced some time during the (current) Śaka year 1202 (= A D. 1279-80) that is quoted at the beginning of the date. For dates that have to be similarly interpreted, I may refer to Nos 261, 262 and 269 of my *Southern List*

A LIST OF THE DATES OF PANDYA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

A.—Jatāvarman Kulāsēkhara

(Between the 30th March and the 29th November A D. 1190)¹

- No 2 (Vol VI p 302)—Year opp to 13 Thursday, the 26th February A D 1204.
 No. 1 (Vol VI p 301)—Year 12 opp. to 13 Saturday, the 29th November A D 1214.
 No. 45 (Vol VIII p 275)—Year 13 (for 13 ?): Thursday, the 6th October A D 1216(?)
 No 44 (Vol VIII p 275)—Year 14 opp to 13: Wednesday, the 29th March A D. 1217

B.—Mājavarmā Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

(Between the 29th March and the 4th September A.D 1216.)

- No 6 (Vol VI p 304).—Year 7 Monday, the 13th March A D 1223
 No 5 (Vol VI p. 303)—Year 9 Friday, the 28th March A D 1225
 No 46 (Vol VIII, p 276)—Year 15: Tuesday, the 3rd December A D 1230.

¹ Or perhaps Between the 7th October and the 29th November A D 1190

No 3 (Vol VI p 302) —Year opp to year opp to 17 Monday, the 4th September A D 1234

No 4 (Vol VI p 303) —Year opp to year opp to 17 Monday, the 19th February A D 1235

C —Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya II

(Between the 15th June A D 1238 and the 18th January A D 1239)

No 63 (Vol IX p 223).—Year 7 Sunday, the 7th May A D 1245

No. 10 (Vol VI p 305) —Year 11 Sunday, the 25th April A.D 1249

Nos 7 and 8 (Vol VI p 304) —Year opp to year opp. to 11 Wednesday, the 18th January A D 1251

No 9 (Vol. VI p 305) —Year opp to year opp to 11, Wednesday, the 14th June A D 1251.¹

D —Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I.

(Between the 20th and the 28th April A D 1251)

No 11 (Vol VI p 306) —Year 2 Thursday, the 27th March A D 1253

No 12 (Vol VI p. 306) —Year 2 Saturday, the 19th April A D 1253

No 13 (Vol VI p. 306) —Year 3 Wednesday, the 29th October A D 1253

No 17 (Vol VI p 307) —Year 7 Sunday, the 7th October A D 1257²

No 14 (Vol VI p 307) —Year 9 Tuesday, the 29th April A D 1259

No 15 (Vol VI p. 307) —Year 9 Sunday, the 15th June A D 1259

No 16 (Vol VI p 307) —Year 10 Wednesday, the 28th April A D 1260.

No 18 (Vol VI p 308) —Year 11 Tuesday, the 19th July A D 1261³

E —Vira-Pāndya.

(Between the 11th November A D 1252 and the 13th July A D 1253)

No 32 (Vol VII. p 11) —Year 7 Sunday, the 13th July A D 1259

No 31 (Vol VII p 10) —Year 15 Thursday, the 10th November A D. 1267.

F.—Māravarman Kulasekhara I.

(Between the 2nd and the 27th June A D 1268)

No 20 (Vol VI p 309) —Year 10 Wednesday, the 5th January A D 1278

No 48 (Vol VIII p 277).—Year 22 Monday, the 27th June A D 1289

No 64 (Vol IX p 223) —Year 23 Friday, the 1st June A D 1291

No 21 (Vol VI. p 309) —Year 26 Wednesday, the 18th November A D. 1293⁴

No 19 (Vol VI p 308) —Year 27 Friday, the 10th December A D 1294.

No 49 (Vol. VIII p 277) —Year 30 Wednesday, the 31st July A D 1297

No 65 (Vol. IX p 224) —Year opp to 30 · Saturday, the 5th July A.D 1298

No 50 (Vol VIII p 277).—Year 34 Saturday, the 8th July A D 1301.⁵

No 51 (Vol VIII p 278) —Year 29 (for 39) Saturday, the 9th July A.D. 1306

No. 22 (Vol. VI. p 310) —Year 40 Saturday, the 24th February A D 1308.

No 47 (Vol. VIII p 276) —Year 40, Śaka 1229 Monday, the 18th March A.D. 1308

¹ The month of Mīna is wrongly quoted instead of Mithuna

² In the date, which is intrinsically wrong, the month of Kanyā is quoted instead of Tula

³ Thursday appears to have been wrongly quoted instead of Tuesday

⁴ The 2nd *śukla* is wrongly quoted, or misread, instead of the 3rd.

⁵ The 3rd *śukla* is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd

G.—Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II

(Between the 13th September A D. 1275 and the 15th May A D 1278)

- No 25 (Vol VII p. 311) —Year 6 Monday, the 21st July A D 1281.
 No 52 (Vol VIII p. 278) —Year 10 Monday, the 23rd July A D 1285
 No 54 (Vol VIII p 279) —Year 12 Wednesday, the 27th August A D 1287¹
 No 26 (Vol VI p. 311) —Year 12 Friday, the 12th September A D, 1287²
 No 53 (Vol VIII p 279) —Year 11 (for 12) Wednesday, the 29th October A D 1287
 No 23 (Vol VI p 310). —Year 13 (for 14) Monday, the 1st August A D 1289
 No 24 (Vol VI p 310) —Year 13 (for 14) Friday, the 5th August A D 1289.
 No 27 (Vol VI p. 312) —Year opp to 14 Monday, the 15th May A D 1290
 No. 55 (Vol VIII p 280) —Year 2 opp to 13 Monday, the 28th August A.D 1290³
 No 56 (Vol VIII p 280) —Year 9 for 10(?) Friday, the 29th March A D 1286(?)⁴

H.—Māraavarman Kulāśekhara II.

(Between the 6th and the 29th March A D 1314.)

- No 29 (Vol VI p 313) —Year 4 Saturday, the 23rd July A D 1317
 No 30 (Vol VI p 313) —Year 5 Monday, the 5th March A D 1319⁵
 No 28 (Vol VI p 312) —Year 8 Saturday, the 14th November A D 1321
 No. 66 (Vol IX p 224) —Year 12 Friday, the 29th March A.D 1325⁶

I.—Māraavarman Parākrama-Pāndya.

(Between the 1st December A D. 1334 and the 1st November A D. 1335.)

- No 33 (Vol VII p. 11) —Year 6, Śaka 1262 Wednesday, the 1st November A D 1340
 No 34 (Vol VII p 11) —Year 8 (for 18) Friday, the 30th November A.D. 1352.

J —Jatāvarman Parākrama-Pāndya.

(Between the 5th February A.D. 1367 and the 9th January A.D. 1358.)

- No 67 (Vol IX p 225). —Year 7 opp to 5 Sunday, the 4th February A D 1369.
 No. 35 (Vol VII p. 12) —Year 10 opp to 5, Śaka 1293 Friday, the 9th January A.D 1372.

K —Kōṭṭeraṇṇaikkondāp Vikrama-Pāndya.

(Between the 13th January and the 27th July A D. 1401)

- No 59 (Vol VIII p 282) —Year 4 Sunday, the 15th February A D 1405 (?).⁷
 No 58 (Vol. VIII p 281) —Year 8 Friday, the 27th July A D 1408.
 No. 57 (Vol. VIII p. 281) —Year 15, opp to 2, Śaka 1339 Wednesday, the 12th January A D 1418

¹ The 31st solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 30th² The 13th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd³ The [first day of the] month of Kanyā is wrongly quoted instead of [the last day of] Simha.⁴ This date may possibly be one of the 8th year of J Sundara Pāṇḍya I, corresponding to Friday, the 29th March A D 1259⁵ The date is intrinsically wrong The month of Simha is wrongly quoted instead of Mīna, and the *nakṣatra* Pushya (*Pāṭṭu nāl*) instead of Pūrva Phalguni (*Pāratu nāl*)⁶ The *nakṣatra* Dhanishṭhā (*Aṇṇittu nāl*) is wrongly quoted instead of Hasta (*Aṇṇittu nāl*).⁷ In the original date, which is intrinsically wrong, the first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second, and the 3rd *tithi* instead of the 2nd.

L.—Jatīlavarman Parākrama-Pāndya Arīkēsarīdēva

(Between the 18th June and the 18th July A D 1422)

No 37 (Vol VII p 13) —Year opp to 31 Thursday, the 19th July A D 1453¹

No 36 (Vol VII p. 12) —Year 2 opp to 31, Śaka 1377 Monday, the 24th March A D 1455

No 38 (Vol VII p 13) —Year 4 opp to 31 Wednesday, the 16th March A D 1457

No 39 (Vol VII p 13) —Year 8 opp to 31, Śaka 1381 Wednesday, the 17th June A D 1461²

M.—Māpavarman Vira-Pāndya

(Between the 13th March and the 28th July A D 1448)

No 60 (Vol VIII p 282) —Year 11 opp to 2 Monday, the 28th July A D 1455

No 61 (Vol VIII p 283) —Year 14 Sunday, the 16th January A D 1457.

No. 62 (Vol. VIII p. 283) —Year 14 Saturday, the 12th March A.D 1457

N.—Jatīlavarman Parākrama-Pāndya Kulasēkhara

(Between the 15th November A D 1479 and the 14th November A D 1480)

No 40 (Vol VII p 14) —Year 20, Śaka 1421 Thursday, the 14th November A D 1499

O.—Māpavarman Sundara-Pāndya III.

(Between the 2nd June A D. 1531 and the 1st June A D. 1532.)

No 42 (Vol VII p 15) —Year 22 opp to 2, Śaka 1477. Saturday, the 1st June A D 1555

P.—Jatīlavarman Śrīvallabha.

(Between the 29th November A D 1534 and the 28th November A.D. 1535)

No 41 (Vol VII p 15) —Year 3, Śaka 1459 Wednesday, the 28th November A.D. 1537

Q.—Jatīlavarman Śrīvallabha Atīvirarāma.

(Between the 23rd August A D. 1562 and the 22nd August A D 1563)

No 43 (Vol VII. p 16) —Year 5, Śaka 1489 Friday, the 22nd August 1567

No. 31 — TIRUMALAI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRA-CHOLA I

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D , HALLE (SAALF)

When, more than twenty years ago, I started epigraphical work in the Madras Presidency, I prepared with my own hands an inked estampage of the inscription which is here re-edited. After Mr Venkayya had joined my office in Bangalore, we spent a considerable time in reading and translating this record — one of the first early Chōla documents we tried to make out in a reliable manner. The Tamil text of it as printed in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol I p 98, does not contain any misreadings¹. But the translation on p 99 needs revision in the light of the other Chōla inscriptions which were published later on, and a facsimile of this beautifully

¹ Monday is wrongly quoted instead of Thursday

² Śaka 1381 is wrongly quoted instead of 1383, and the 23rd solar day wrongly instead of the 21st

³ Only the date in line 12 should be '13' (instead of '12'), the same correction has to be made in the heading of the Plate facing p 292 below

engraved and well preserved rock inscription was hitherto missing. I therefore republish it now in Roman characters with a fresh translation, and with a colotype of a careful inked estampage which was prepared recently under Rai Bahadur Venkayya's personal supervision.

The inscription is engraved on a smooth piece of rock near a rock-cut Jama figure on the top of the hill of Tirumalai near Pôjûr in the North Arcot district. The language is Tamil, and the alphabet is likewise Tamil, interspersed with a few Grantha words and letters (*svasti*, *sri*, *l*, *shai* of *vishaya*, *l* 9, *Mahî*, *l* 10, *Sri-Râjendra-Chôladêva* and *ja* of *Jayangonda*, *l* 12, *sri*, *Jena* and *dêva*, *l* 13, *vyâpâra*, *l* 13 f.)

The inscription is dated in the 13th year of the reign of the Chôla king Parakésarivarma *alias* Râjendra-Chôladêva I (*l* 12), who ascended the throne in A D 1012¹. Its first eleven lines consist of a passage in Tamil verse which describes the conquests of the king, and the first words of which (*Tiru manai*, etc.) are quoted — as pointed out by Mr. Venkayya — in Perundévânâr's commentary on the *Vîrasôlîyam*².

The list of conquests opens with Idadupai-nâdu (*l* 1 f.), i.e. the country of Yedatore in the Mysore district, and Vanavâsi, i.e. Banavâsi in the North Canara district. The next item, the city of Kolliupâkkai, must have been included in the Western Châlukya kingdom. For it was set on fire by Râjâdhirâja I. in the course of a war against Sômêśvara I and Vikramâditya VI,³ and it is mentioned as Kolliupâke in an inscription of Jayasimha II⁴. Mannai-kataka is identified by Mr. Rice with the city of Manne in the Nelamangala talûka of the Bangalore district⁵.

Îlam (*l* 2) or Îla-maṇḍala (*l* 3) is the Tamil designation of the island of Ceylon. Râjendra-Chôla I. boasts of having deprived its king of his own crown, the crowns of his queens, and two other trinkets which the Pândya king had previously deposited with the king of Ceylon: a crown and the 'necklace of Indra'. Mr. Venkayya has pointed out that the *Mahâvamsa* (chapter LIII) also refers to the crown of the Pândya, which had been left with the king of Ceylon and was taken from him by the Chôlas,⁶ and that the 'necklace of Indra' is alluded to in several Pândya inscriptions⁷.

The Kêrala (*l* 3) is the king of Malabar. Śândimattivu (*l* 5), i.e. the island of Sântamî (?), is unknown. Musangi is perhaps identical with the fort of Uchohangî in the Bellary district.⁸ Jayasimha of Ratta-pâdi (*l* 6), who was put to flight at Musangi, is the Western Châlukya king Jayasimha II⁹.

Śakkarakôttam, i.e. Chakrakôṭṭa, is shown by the inscriptions of Kulôttunga I. to have belonged to the dominions of the king of Dhârâ¹⁰. Madura-maṇḍala (*l* 7) need not be connected with Madhurâ, the capital of the Pândya king, who has been already accounted for (*l* 3), but may be meant for the district of the northern Mathurâ on the Yamunâ. The three next geographical names cannot be identified.

At Âdinagar (?) Râjendra-Chôla I. captured Indraratha of the race of the Moon (*l* 8). As suggested by Prof. Kielhorn,¹¹ this prince may be identical with that Indraratha who is mentioned in the Udaypur inscription as an enemy of Bhôjadêva of Dhârâ.

¹ *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 196, above, Vol. VIII p. 262.

² Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 197.

³ *Ibid.* p. 52.

⁴ Above, Vol. III p. 281. Compare also Vol. VI pp. 224, 225 and 227 (*Kolliupâkkai*).

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III p. 10 of the Introduction.

⁶ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p. 73.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 63 f.; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII p. 72 and note 78.

⁸ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II p. 94, note 4.

⁹ *Ibid.* Vol. I p. 96.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 132.

¹¹ *List of Southern Inscr.* p. 120, note 3.

Odda-vishaya (1 9) is the province of Orissa, and Kōsala-nādu is probably *Southern Kōsala*.¹ Tandabhukti, i.e. Dandabhukti and its ruler Dhaṃpala are unknown from other sources. The same is the case with Rāvasua, who ruled over Tukkanalādam (1 10), i.e. *Dakshina-Virāṭa*² or Southern Berar, and with Gōvinda-chandra,³ the ruler of Vangāla-dēśa, i.e. the Bengal country. Mahipala, whom the Chola king deprived of his elephants and women, is identified by Prof. Kildheim with the Pāla king Mahipala I.⁴

The list of conquests closes with Uttalādam (1 11), i.e. Uttara-Virāṭa or Northern Berar, and the Gāṅgā, i.e. the river Ganges.

The short passage in Tamil prose with which the inscription ends (ll. 12-14) records its actual purpose — a gift of money for a lamp and for offerings to the Jaina temple on the hill by the wife of a merchant of Malliyūr in Karaivali, a subdivision of Perumbanappādi. The temple was called Sri-Kundavai-Jinalaya (1 13), i.e. the Jina temple of Kundavai. This name suggests that the shrine owed its foundation to Kundavai, the daughter of Paṇḍitaka II, elder sister of Rājārāja I (and consequently the paternal aunt of Rājendra-Chola I) and wife of Vallavaraiyā Vandyadōvai.⁵ The sacred hill (Tirumalai) is stated to have formed part of Vaiguvūr, a *pallichchalandam*, i.e. 'a village belonging to a Jaina temple,'⁶ in Mugai-nādu, a subdivision of Pangala-nādu, a district of Jayangonda-Chōla-mandala. Malliyūr is the modern Gudimallūr near Arcot.⁷ The remaining geographical names mentioned in this paragraph have been discussed in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 89, and above, Vol. VII p. 192.

In conclusion I would like to add a few words on the later conquests of Rājendra-Chōla I which are registered in the Tanjore inscription No. 20. Mr. Venkayya has shown that my former identification of Kadāram with a place in the Madras district⁸ must be wrong, because the Chōla king despatched an expedition to it on ships by sea, and because two of the localities mentioned in connection with this expedition, Nakkavaram and Pappālam, are, respectively, the Nicobar Islands and a port in Burma.⁹ Among the remaining items we read in line 9 of the Tanjore inscription *niṣaiśi-viśayamum*, and in line 11 *kalai-ttakhor gṇaḷai talai-ttakholamum*. The second of them, Takkōlam, may be identical with Ptolemy's *Takwala ἐμπόριον* which Colonel Gerini places at Takōpa on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula.¹⁰ Instead of the first, which I had translated by 'Vijayam of great fame,' an inscription at Kandiyūr near Tanjore reads *niṣaiśi-śrīviśayamum*, 'the prosperous Śrīviśaya'.¹¹ This may be the correct reading, for according to the larger Leiden grant (1 80) Śrīviśaya was the name of the country ruled over by the king of Kataha or Kadāram.

¹ *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I p. 97.

² In his *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p. 87 f., Mr. Venkayya has shown that the Tamil term *Ilāda* does not correspond to the Sanskrit *Lāṭa* (Gujarāt), but to *Varaṭa* (Berar).

³ Page 34 of Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palaeography* (2nd ed.) contains the following note:—"The great inscription at Tanjore (11th century) mentions a Śērāmān, but also a king of Karuvai (or Karūr) and a Gōvinda chandra (king of Kannāḍa)."—Kannāḍa (= Kannada or Karnata?) is nothing but a misreading of the word *Takkanalādam*, which happens to precede the name *Gōvindaśandan* (1 10), and *Karuvai*, here represented as referring to Karuvūr, is probably derived from *Adinagar-avai* (1 8). I am not drawing attention to these mistakes in order to gloat over them, but to prevent their being quoted as reliable facts.

⁴ *List of Southern Inscr.* p. 120, note 4.

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II p. 68. For three other princesses named Kundavai see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII p. 298, note 13, and *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 100.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII p. 116, note 1.

⁷ See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-1906*, p. 36 f., Nos. 418, 416 and 419.

⁸ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II p. 106.

⁹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1898-99*, p. 17. Compare *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 194 f.

¹⁰ *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1904, p. 247.

¹¹ See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1894-95*, p. 4.

TEXT

- 1 Svasti sīḥ [||*] Tiru manai valarav=ira-nila-madand=iyum pōr-chchaya-ppāvaiyuñ=
ju ttani-chchelvaiyu=dan poi-un-dēviya=agi i b=uru ned=udiyal ūḥyul
Idaidu-
- 2 rai-nādun=dudai-vana-vēli-ppadai Vanavāsīyuñ=julh-chchūl-madit-Kolippākkaiyu=
nānark=ai-munan Maṇaikkadakkamum poi-u-gadal ilatt=araś=da=mudiyum
ānga-
- 3 var dēviya=ōṇy-ehin-mudiyu=mun=avai pakkal-Ttēnnavar varitta śundara=
mudiyum Indiran=āramun=den-dirai Īla-mandala-muluvadam eṇi-badai=
Kkeralar
- 4 muraimeiyi=chūḍun-gula-danam=āgiya palar pugai mudiyuñ=Jengadur-mālaiyuñ=
jang-a lu-vol n=tol-b=run-g'ivai=pal-balan-di(di)vuñ=jervu=chena-
- 5 viḥ¹ mubatt-on-gul=aiasugalai katta Paraśurāman mēv=aiuñ=Jāṇimattivv=aran²
kanḍi anttiya śem-boṇ-Rura-ttagu-mudiyum bayan=goḍu pal mugā
Musangiyil mu-
- 6 dūg-itt-olitta Śayaśi(śi)ngan āla-pperum-bugalodum pid=iyal Irattabādi ēl=arai
ilakkamu=nava=vedu-kkula-pperu-malaigalum vikkūma-vīrar Śakkaragōttamu-
- 7 mudira bada-v illai Madura-mandalamum kā-midai-valaiya=Nāmanaikkōnamum
veñ-jul n=aiṇa Pañjappalliyum pās=udai-ppala=nan-Māṣuni-dēśamum ayaivi-
- 8 l-van-gi(rittiy)=Ādinagar-avaiyir=Chandiran=ol-gulatt=Iradarana³ vilaiy=
amaikkalatt=kkulayodum pid[it]tu=ppala-danattolu nīrai kula-dana-kkuvai-
- 9 yuñ⁴ itti=aiuñ=jeri-milay=ōtta-vishaiyumu būsurai śēr nal-Kkōsalai-nādun=
Ṭanmabālanai vem-munai=aḥittu vand=urai-sōlai-Ttandayū(bu)ttiyum=
Itana-
- 10 sūṇṇai mura=ura=ttākki=thkk=anai-gi(ritti)=Ttakkanalādamun=Gōvindaśandan
piv=ilind=oda=ttangāda-sāral Vangāla-dēśamun=dōdu-gadai-changugottai⁵
Mahibalanai
- 11 veñ-jama[r*]-valāgatt-āṇjvitt=aiuli on-dīyal yānaiyum pendir-bandāramu=
nittala-nedun-gadal=Utti[rā]lādamum veṇi-manar-pirtta-tteṇi-bunai=Kangaiyu=
mā-p-
- 12 poi-u-dandār=konda kō=Pparagōśarbanmar=āna udaiyār Śri-Rājendra=
Chōlādēvarku yāndu 13āvadū [Ja]yangonda-Sōla-mandalattu Pangala=
nāttu naduvil
- 13 va[g]ai Mugai-nāttu-ppalichchendam Vagavūr-Ttirumalai Śri-Kundavai=
Jinālayattu dēvaṇku=Pperumbānappādi=Kkaraivali Malliyūr irukkum vyā-
- 14 pūri Nannappayan manavātti Śāmundappai varitta tūvanandavilakku onnukku=
kkōśu mubadam [tiru]vamudukka varitta kōśu pattum [||*]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Hail! Prosperity!

(L 12) In the 13th year (of the reign) of king Pa. akēśarīvarman *alias* the lord
Śri-Rājendra-Chōlādēva, who,—

¹ Read =*chinai*

² Read =*ito-aran*

³ Other inscriptions read *aṇṇarum*, see *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p 93, note 5

⁴ Read =*Javaradana*. That this is the original reading, becomes more than probable in the following manner — (1) The doubtful word may be expected to rhyme on *Chandya*, the third word before it (2) The Tanjore inscription No 20 reads =*Indraratha* (3) *Indraratha* is the only correct Sanskrit name I can think of, which would account for both corrupt readings

⁵ The Tanjore inscription No 20 reads *itt-aruñ-jeri minai*

⁶ Read, as in the Tanjore inscription No 20, *iḍḍu galar-changuv ottai*

2
4
6
8
10
12
14

சுந்தரபாண்டியன்
சுந்தரபாண்டியன்
சுந்தரபாண்டியன்
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சுந்தரபாண்டியன்

(L 1) in *(his)* life of high prosperity, while Thru (Lakshmi), having become constant, was increasing, *(and)* while the goddess of the great earth, the goddess of victory in battle, and the matchless goddess of fame rejoiced to have become his great queens,—

(L 11) seized by *(his)* great, warlike army *(the following)* :—

(L 1) Idairurai-nādu, Vaṇavāsi, *(round which)* a fence of continuous forests was spreading,¹ Kollippakkam, whose walls were surrounded with brushwood,² Mannai-kkadakkam, whose strength was unapproachable,³ the crown of the king of Īlam *(on)* the tempestuous ocean, the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens of that *(king)*, the beautiful crown⁴ and the necklace of India, which the king of the South *(i.e.* the Pāṇḍya) had previously deposited with that *(king)* of Īlam, the whole Īla-maṇḍala *(on)* the transparent sea, the crown praised by many and the garland of the Sun, family-treasures which the arrow-shooting *(king)* of Kēraḷa rightfully were, many ancient islands, whose old, great guard was the ocean which makes the conches resound, the crown of pure gold, worthy of Thru (Lakshmi), which Paraśurāma, having considered the fortifications of Śāṇḍimattivu impregnable, had deposited *(there)*, when, in anger, *(he)* bound the kings twenty-one times in battle, the seven and a half lakṣas of Irattabādi, *(which was)* strong by nature, *(and which he took)*, together with unmeasurable fame, *(from)* Jayasimha, who, out of fear and full of vengeance, turned his back at Muṣaṅgi and hid himself, the principal great mountains *(which contained)* the nine treasures *(of)* Kuvēra,⁵ Śakkaragōttam, whose warriors were brave, Madura-maṇḍala, whose forts *(bore)* banners *(which touched)* the clouds, Nāmaṇai-kkōṇam, which was surrounded by dense groves, Pañchappalli, whose warriors *(bore)* cruel bows, the good Māṣuni-dēsa, whose fruits were fresh, a large heap of family-treasures, together with many *(other)* treasures, *(which he carried away)* after having captured Indraratha of the old race of the Moon, together with *(his)* family, in a fight which took place in the hall *(at)* Ādinagar, *(a city)* which was famous for unceasing abundance, Odda-vishaya, which was difficult to approach, *(and which he subdued in)* close fights, the good Kōśalai-nādu, where Brāhmanas assembled, Tandabuthi, in whose gardens bees abounded, *(and which he acquired)* after having destroyed Dharmapāla *(in)* a hot battle, Takkanalādam, whose fame reached *(all)* directions, *(and which he occupied)* after having forcibly attacked Ranaśūra, Vangāla-dēsa, where the rain-wind never stopped, *(and from which)* Gōvindhachandra fled, having descended *(from his)* male elephant,⁶ elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, *(which he seized)* after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field Mahipāla, decked *(as he was)* with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets, Uttiralādam, as rich in pearls as the ocean, and the Gaṅgā, whose waters dashed against bathing-places *(tīrtha)* covered with sand,—

(L 12) Chāmundappai, the wife of the merchant Nannappaya, who resided *(at)* Malliyūr *(in)* Karaivali, *(a subdivision)* of Perumbānappādi, deposited twenty *kāṣus* for one perpetual lamp and ten *kāṣus* for offerings to the god of the Śrī-Kundavai-Jinālaya *(on)* the holy mountain (Tirumalai) of Vālgavūr, a *paṭṭachandam* in Mugai-nādu, a subdivision *(vagai)* in the middle of Paṅgala-nādu, *(a district)* of Jayangonda-Chōla-maṇḍala

¹ It seems most natural to take *padar* as a verb. It may also mean 'a road' or may be the nom. plur. of the Sanskrit *bhāta*, 'a wall or'.

² This was perhaps done by the besieging Chōla army when setting fire to the city. Among the meanings of *śulṭi* the *Dictionnaire Tanouli-Français* notes the following — 'brouilles, menu bois sec pour brûler'.

³ Other inscriptions read *nannayk-aram-aram*, 'whose fortifications were unapproachable'.

⁴ It seems more simple to take the first member of *śūṇḍara-muḍa* as an adjective, than to translate the compound by 'the crown of Sundara'.

⁵ See *South-Ind. Inscrip.* Vol II p. 95, note 1.

⁶ Compare *paṅgaḍai-ṇḍa-bōra*, *ibid.* Vol II¹ p. 34, text line 7 f.

No 32—MAMBALLI PLATE OF SRIVALLAVANGODAI, KOLLAM 149.

By T A GOPINATHA RAO, M A, MADRAS

The copper plate on which the subjoined inscription is engraved, belongs to the Mamballi bhandāratil of the Mamballi *matha* and was secured for me for publication by Mr S (Srinivanda Pillai, High Court Vakil, Trevandrum. Besides this plate, there are five other odd plates belonging to the same *matha*, which bear fragments of inscriptions of the Kijappérūr¹ dynasty of the Vēnādu kings. In one of them occurs the name Śrī-Vīra-Dēvaḍaiaṇ-Kēralavarman of Kijappérūr².

The plate measures $10\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ and has a hole on the left margin. It does not appear to have possessed a ring or seal. At the left end of the plate, the owner has engraved, in modern Malayālam characters, the word Mamballi. Excepting this single word and a few Grantha letters interspersed in the document, the inscription is written in the Vatteluttu alī habet. The words *svasti* and *śrī* in line 1, the letter *śrī* occurring in the name Śrīvallavangōḍai in lines 7, 18 and 19, *rakshā*³ and *rakshā*⁴ occurring in the words *rakshichchu* and *rakshābhū* in line 12 are in Grantha characters. The consonant *k* retains the earlier form, without a loop at the bottom, this form differs from the later ones which are scarcely distinguishable from the symbol for *ch*. The letter *pū* (of *pāṇḍu* in line 3), whilst it has the common form in all other instances, looks like the Grantha letter *hra*. The language of the inscription is Tamil, tinged here and there with the colloquialisms of the Malabar Coast e.g. *irundaruvy-ēdattu vaichchu*, (= at the place where they were pleased to be seated), in line 5, *paṭṭāra-gaḥolla* for *paṭṭāragarkk-aḥla* (= belonging to the *bhaffāraka*) in lines 6 and 12, *ari* for *arisi* (= rice) in line 9, *Murungayūr* for *Murungayūr* in line 21, *Sannaran* for *Sangaran* in line 22, *rakshichchu* for *rakshitu* in line 12. The phrase *nāṇḍichcheydu* is contracted in the modern Malayālam language into *nāṇḍiche*.

This is the earliest known record dated in the Kollam era, and belongs to the reign of the Vēnādu king Śrīvallavangōḍai⁵. It is dated in the 149th year of the Kollam era,

¹ [Kijappérūr is annexed as the house-name of the Vēnād (Travancore) princes in later inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV p 190). It is a village about 8 miles to the north-east of Āṅṅal, which is the hereditary domain of H H the Senior Bani of Travancore (Mr Nagamaj's *Travancore Manual*, Vol III p 579). The country round Āṅṅal seems to have been known as Kupaḍāśa in ancient times. The late Mr Sundaram Pillai was of opinion that Vēnādu and Kūpaḍāśa were two distinct principalities and that the latter was at some stage of its history annexed by the rulers of the former. The Vēnādu Kings are said to have assumed the family name Kijappérūr after this annexation.—V Venkayya.]

² [This name occurs without the title *vīra* in a Vatteluttu inscription from Vīranam in the Travancore State. The late Professor Sundaram Pillai has called the king Kēralavarman II and assigned A.D. 1193 for his date (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV p 283).—V V.]

³ [In the name Śrīvallavangōḍai *kōḍai* was perhaps an epithet of the rulers of Vēnādu. The first part of the name, *vē* Śrīvallavā (Śrīvallabha) may be that of the king to whom Vēnādu was feudatory. Such a combination of names is frequently met with in Tamil inscriptions. If the name Śrīvallavangōḍai be a similar compound, Śrīvallavā or Śrīvallabha might be the name of a Pāṇḍya king. The Pāṇḍya king, who probably reigned about this time, was Vīra-Pāṇḍya, with whom the Chōla Āḍitya II is said to have fought in his youth. Vīra Pāṇḍya himself claims to have taken "the head of the Chōla (king)", and a number of his inscriptions have been found at Suchindram in South Travancore. But we have at present no reason to suppose that he bore the name Śrīvallabha, although the designation was common enough among the Pāṇḍyas. On the other hand, the Sinhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* refers to an invasion of Ceylon in the period A.D. 975-981 by Vallabha, the Chōla king (Mr. Wijesinha's *Translation*, Chapter LIV, p 86). It is, however, doubtful if the Chōlas were powerful enough to undertake an expedition against Ceylon at the time of which we are now speaking. And as the chronology of the Sinhalese chronicle is not beyond question, we cannot suppose that the ruler of Travancore mentioned in the Mamballi plate was a Chōla feudatory. The history of the Chōlas is very little known. At present it is uncertain to which dynasty the Śrīvallabha, whose feudatory the Vēnādu ruler might have been in A.D. 978, belonged.—V V.]

on a Sunday corresponding to the *Āsvati*-*nakshatra* in the month *Vṛścika* when the planet Jupiter stood in the constellation *Tulā*. Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on the date —“If the date were correctly recorded, it would correspond, for the year 149 of the Kollam era, to Sunday, the 9th November A.D. 973, which was the 15th day of the month of *Vṛścika*, and on which [the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of *Mārgasīra* ended 11 h 12 m, while] the *nakshatra* was *Rēvati* for 16 h 25 m, after mean sunrise, and *Āsvini* (*Āsvati*) for the rest of the day. On the same day Jupiter's mean longitude was $191^{\circ} 44'$, and his true longitude $195^{\circ} 27'$, i.e. in either case Jupiter was in the sign *Tulā*”

“The difficulty here is, that the day should have been described as the day of the *nakshatra* *Āsvini*, when this *nakshatra* only commenced 16 h 25 m after mean sunrise, and I have no doubt whatever that either *Āsvini* (*Āsvati*) has been quoted erroneously instead of *Rēvati*, or Sunday instead of Monday. If the week-day were Monday,¹ the date would regularly correspond to Monday, the 10th November A.D. 973, the 16th day of *Vṛścika*, when the *nakshatra* was *Āsvini* (*Āsvati*) for 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise, and when Jupiter of course still was in the sign *Tulā*”

The inscription informs us that *Umayammai* of *Tirukkalaṅṅapuram*, daughter of *Āḍichchan*, set up a *bhaṭṭāka* (image) in the temple at *Ayūrūr*. The king *Śrīvallaṅṅodai* made a gift of land to *Umayammai* for the purpose of keeping up the services of the *bhaṭṭāka* set up in the *Ayūrūr* temple, and she, in her turn, made over the subject matter of the gift to the *Tiruchchengunrūr* temple, in order that it might be placed under the management of the *Poduvāls* of that temple. From the produce of the land so given, the *Poduvāls* of the temple of *Tiruchchengunrūr* had to supply to the temple daily 4 *nāḷis* of rice for daily offerings and annually 200 *paraṅis* (of 9 *nāḷis* each) of paddy.² If the word *uḍar* used in l. 18 was really meant to be used in the sense of ‘of or belonging to,’ the inscription would warrant us to draw the conclusion that *Umayammai* was a near relation of *Śrīvallaṅṅodai* — either mother or wife. It would then be more probable to consider her as his wife than as his mother, as the passage *Śrīvallaṅṅodaiy-uḍar Āḍichchan=Umayammai* means *Āḍichchan Umayammai belonging to Śrīvallaṅṅodai*. She might perhaps be the daughter of the *Chōḷa* king *Āḍitya II*,³ to whose time this record belongs. If, on the other hand, *uḍar* be a mistake for *ṣḍar* then no sort of relationship need exist between the two.⁴

The inscription employs several peculiar terms which require some explanation each. The word *aṭṭupēru* (ll. 8 and 19) implies ‘acquisition by the pouring of water.’ This mode of acquisition differs from others, such as purchase, etc.⁵ The meaning of the expressions *kīḷidu* and *ṣḍay=iḍu* is not definitely known. *Kīḷ-iḍu* literally means ‘that which is placed under,’⁶ and *ṣḍay=iḍu*, ‘that which is placed in the middle.’ A piece of land placed under the management of a person was perhaps called a *kīḷidu* with reference to that person. If this person sublet to a third party, the person subletting seems to be the *ṣḍay=iḍan*, i.e. he is the middle man between the owner of the property and the sub-tenant. It is in this sense that the passages of the inscription, in which these terms occur have been translated. The name *poduvāl* was given to a class of people who were eligible for service in temples. It has now

¹ [According to the Editor's footnote 4 on p. 236, the name of the week day is engraved over an erasure — F K.]

² [See below, p. 238, note 3 — V V.]

³ [The record may belong either to the reign of *Āḍitya II* or of his successor *Madhurāntaka*. If *Umayammai* was the daughter of the *Chōḷa* king *Āḍitya II*, it is difficult to understand why he is described as a native of *Tirukkalaṅṅapuram*. In all probability she was a private individual — V V.]

⁴ [See below, p. 238, note 10 — V. V.]

⁵ [See below, p. 237, note 12 — V. V.]

⁶ [Compare Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX, p. 292 — V V.]

become the name of a sub-caste among the Ambalavāsi section of the Malayāls. Then again, the word *ādikāri* is explained variously as a trustee of an endowed temple, *magistrat de la ville*, or a patron or founder of a temple. I believe it is used here in the first two meanings. The term *ādikāri* occurs in the inscriptions of the Tamil and Malayālam countries, and is used in the sense of 'an officer in charge of a division,' and it is in this sense the term is used in line 23 of the present record. The phrase *mukkulvattam* implies, according to Dr. Gundert, a Bhagavati temple. If this be the sense in which it is employed in our inscription, then the *bhattāraha* set up by Umayammai might be taken to be Bhagavati. But its literal meaning, 'the three-fourths of a *vattam* (encut or group of villages),' and the use of the *bhattāraha* instead of *bhattāri* preclude the possibility of its being a Bhagavati temple in the present instance. How *mukkulvattam* came to mean a Bhagavati temple is not known. The meaning of the expressions *Śīrūrñadas* and *Śīrūrñada-ttandam* is not clear. Hence they have been tentatively translated as "the custom obtaining in small towns" and "the fine levied in accordance with the custom obtaining in small towns."

The places mentioned in this inscription are—Kollam, Tirukkallayapuram, Ayūr, Tiruchchengunūr, Idaiyāmanam, Murunnayūr, Manalmūku, Pupalūr and Kudagottūr. Of these Kollam, Ayūr and Tiruchchengunūr are the modern Quilon, Ayūr and Chengunūr³ (the head-quarters of the tāluka of the same name) in North Travancore. Idaiyāmanam might be identified with Edaman, a station on the Maniyachi-Quilon branch of the South Indian Railway, and Punalūr is another station on the same line. I am not able to identify the rest.

TEXT³

First Side

- 1 Svasta śrī [||*] Kollan=dōnri nūṭṭu-nāṭṭonbadām=āndu Tul-
- 2 ttal Viyāla=nūṭṭa Munchchiga āyūr [Nāyū=ānda]⁴
- 3 Achechuvadi ranna[!]⁵ Kollattu=p[ū]ngāvīn kōyilul=uya-
- 4 rya kottilul Tiruchchengunūr=pparudai=pperu-makkal kūtta-
- 5 n=gūdi irundaruṭiy=edattu⁶ vaichechu Tirukkallayapūatti=Ādichechan=
- Umayammai
- 6 Ayurunṭi=pirāṭṭai=śeyda pattāragarayum pattāragarkolla⁶ pūmyum
- Ādi-
- 7 chechan=Umayammaikku [nī]rōd=atti-kkoduttān Vēṇāḍ=udaiya Śrīvallavangōḍai
- [||*] Ādich-
- 8 chan=Umayammai tāt=attipṭṭu kondadu Tiruchchengunūr=ppattāraga-
- 9 rkkū=kkīl-īḍāy=chechuyūr naday=odu kūda nānāḷi=chechey[da]rū tiruva-
- mudi-
- 10 nukkum [o]nbadū=ṇāli=pparayāl irunṭu paṇai=cheche[y]du nel āndu-
- 11 varai kuduppiḍāga=ppoḷuvāl kaiyyil nīrōd=atti-kkoduttāl [||*] Ayūrūr
- mu-
- 12 kkāl vattamum pattāragarkolla⁷ idaiy-īdum rakshichechu koduttu rakshā-
- pōgan=

¹ [The word *ādikāri* is also used in the sense of 'minister,' *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II, p 92, and above Vol VII p 196.—V.]

² [According to Mr. Nagamaya the village is called Chengannur (*Travancore Manual*, Vol III p 681) and there is a large and famous pagoda dedicated to the goddess Bhagavati, in which there is celebrated annually a festival lasting for 28 days.—V.]

³ From the original copper plate.

⁴ Read *irundaruṭiyay edattu*

⁵ Read *pattāragarkkūḷa*

⁶ This portion is engraved over an erasure

⁷ Read *pattāragarkkūḷa*

First Side

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

Second Side

16 18 20 22 24 26

STEN KONOW

SCALE 0.80

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH

- 13 gollakkadaviyar poduvālmāi [||*] i-ppariśu śeyda kil ittil ūrālaiāga i-
 14 day-idaiāga pukku vilakkavum porul kavavavum perār [||*] ¹idā[nnāli]l-onju

Second Side

- 15 śeyyumavan ²yeppēru-vagai chohirūr-nadai-ttandam irunūru-kkalaṅju
 16 pon tanda-ppada-kkadaviyan [||*] avanku³ pādu iāngumavānum ippari-
 17 śē tandappaduvidu [||*] i-ppariśu mēṛ-chollappatta Ayurū mukkā-
 18 l-vattamum pattāragarkk-olla⁴ iday-iduñ=Śrīvallavangōday=udai-
 19 Âdichchan=Umayammai attā-pṇēru kondadu [||*] Śrīvallavangōday=u-
 20 dan-irukka=Turuchchengunrūr=ppattāragarkku kil-idāga atthy-e.⁵
 21 datt=ariyūñ=jādūkkal Muiunnayūr=Titvam=Bavittaran nānum=ari-
 22 van [||*] Idaiyāmanattu Śannaran=Gandan nānum=arivan [||*] Manalmūkk[n]
 23 Kandan=Dāmōdaran nānum=aṇivan [||*] Vēnāttarkku adigāiāñ=jeygi-
 24 nṇa Punalūr(i) Iravi Parandavan nānum=aṇivan [||*] Kṇagōttūr=
 Pparan.
 25 davan=Gandan nānum=aṇivan [||*] iravi Turuchchengunrūr=ppoduvā-
 26 i Śāt[ta]ñ=Jadayān-eluttu [||*]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1 to 7) Hail! Prosperity! In the year one hundred and forty-nine after Kollam appeared, on a Sunday corresponding⁶ to the Aśohuvadi (*āśvati-nakṣatra*) in the month of Mīrīchigam (Vīśchikā), when Jupiter stood in Tula—while⁷ the great men of the *parudai*⁸ (assembly) of Turuchchengunrūr were pleased to be assembled⁹ on this day in the high hall of the palace (situated) in the flower garden of Kollam, Śrīvallavangōdai, (the king) of Vēnādu gave, by the pouring of water, to Âdichchan=Umayammai of Tirukkalayapuram, the *baṭṭārakar*¹⁰ set up by Âdichchan-Umayammai at Ayurūr, and the lands belonging to the *baṭṭārakar*.

(Ll 8 to 11) Âdichchan=Umayammai gave, as *kil-īdu* to the *baṭṭārakar* of Turuchchen-gunrūr, by pouring water in the hands of the *poduvāi*,¹¹ what she acquired by gift,¹² so that (he)

¹ [The reading seems to be *id[ai] nāyil onru* If *nai* has to be taken as *nd* it would be quite different from the other *nds* which occur in the inscription and resemble the modern Tamil *nd*—V V]

² [The reading seems to be *yeppēru*—V V]

³ Read *avanukku*

⁴ Read *pattāragarkkuḷḷa*

⁵ Read *aṭṭiyay-idattu*

⁶ [The original has *Nāyir-ānda Aśohuvadi*, which would mean in Tamil 'the (*nakṣatra*) *Āśvati* (*Āśvini*) which was governed by Nāyiru (the Sun)'. If then the week day be Sunday, *Nāyir-ānda* would correspond to the modern *Nāyir-dīcha* and the word *dīcha* which Dr Gundert derives from the root *dīu* 'to sink' may, in that case, be derived from the root *dī* 'to rule'—V V]

⁷ [The expression *idattu varichchu* of the original seems to be used in the sense of the modern Malayālam *idattil varichchu* which appears to be almost synonymous with the Tamil *idattil*—V V]

⁸ [The word *parudai* occurs also in the form *parada* and is a *taḍbhava* of the Sanskrit *pariśat*—V V]

⁹ [The original has "were assembled and were pleased to be seated"—V V]

¹⁰ [It was evidently the image of the god that was made over to Âdichchan Umayammai, see below, p 238, note 10—V V]

¹¹ [According to Dr Gundert, *poduvāi* means "a class of half-Brahmans, temple servants" and *agappoduvāi* with *pānundil* officiate as priests and administrators of temple property—V V]

¹² [*Āṭṭirpṇu* is evidently the same as *āṭṭēpṇu* which, according to Dr Gundert, means "complete purchase of a free h. l." Mr Nagamaya defines the term as 'the out and out surrender of the jenmi's rights by sale (*Travancore Manual*, Vol III, p viii.)—V V]

might supply, according to the rate current in small towns,¹ four *ndli* of rice² for (daily) offerings, and two hundred *para*s of paddy at nine *ndli* per *para*, annually.³

(Li 11 to 13) The *poduvils* shall protect the mukkal-vattam⁴ of Ayurūr and the *idaiyidu* of the *bhaṭṭarakā*, and take (a fraction of the produce) as remuneration for the protection (afforded).⁵

(Li 13 to 14) The *ūṭṭars* shall not enter as ⁶ *idaiyidars* in the *kiliḍu* (which is the subject of) this transaction,⁷ and shall neither dismiss (the *kiliḍars*) nor collect the rent

(Li 14 to 16) He that reduces this to a fourth⁸ shall, consistently with the custom obtaining in small towns, be subject to the general fine of two hundred *kalaṇju* of gold.⁹

(Li 16 to 17) He that abets the former shall also be subject to a fine in the same way

(Li 17 to 19) Both the *mukkalvattam* of Ayurūr and the *idaiyidu* belonging to the *bhaṭṭarakā*, mentioned above, are thus the acquisitions in gift of Ādichchan-Umayammai (of, or) related to Śrīvallavangōḍai.¹⁰

(Li 19 to 22) (The following are the signatures of) the *siddhus* who were present at the time when Ādichchan-Umayammai, while she was with Śrīvallavangōḍai, made this gift of

¹ [I take *chirār nadaiyōḍu kūda* as meaning "together with the shrine at Sirkūr." *Nadai* (*nada*) is used for 'temple' in South Malabar according to Dr. Gundert, and there is a temple at Quilon called Gaṇapatiśrī meaning 'shrine or temple of Gaṇapati'—V. V.]

² [I would read in the original *chēvad-arī* (l. 9) and *chēvadu nel* (l. 10) and take *chēvadu nel* as equivalent to *sennei* which occurs in the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa Mahārāja (above, p. 90) and which according to Winslow means "superior kind of rice, of a yellowish hue—as *teṇḍal*."—V. V.]

³ [As the dative *tiṇṇamudai-nukkuṁ* is used and as the purpose for which the 200 *para*s of paddy had to be supplied is not stated, it looks as if the paddy was to be converted into rice and used for offerings. In this case, there is something wrong in the calculation here made. At the rate of four *ndli* of rice per day the quantity required for a year or 360 days comes to 1,440 *ndli* of rice or 160 *para* according to the equivalent of the *para* given in line 10. How 160 *para* of rice can be obtained from 200 *para* of paddy it is difficult to understand. According to the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājārāja I, 2½ times the quantity of paddy was required to obtain a given measure of rice, and 3 times the quantity according to the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja—V. V.]

⁴ [The word *mukkalvattam* occurs in the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman, where Professor Holtzsch has translated it by 'tempel' (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX p. 292). According to Dr. Gundert the term denotes in Travancore 'a temple of Konganūmar.' An inscription at Tiruvāliśvaram near Ambāsamudram in the Tinnevely district mentions *Tirugurāḍṇa* (*ḍaṇanam*) *paṇṇina śivagandir tirumukkalvattam*, where *tirumukkalvattam* appears to mean 'the holy shrine' of the god Śiva (No. 120 of the A. A. Superintendent's collection for 1905)—V. V.]

⁵ [According to Dr. Gundert *rakeḍ-bhōgam* is synonymous with *rāja-bhōgam*, which denotes the ruler's share. From certain Tellicherry records (1796-1799) it appears that this share amounted to one fifth (of the revenue)—V. V.]

⁶ [The word *dga* here translated 'as' occurs in a similar context in the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX p. 290, text line 17). It is apparently synonymous with the Tamil *adadu* or *adai* and the Malayālam *agaḍḍi*—V. V.]

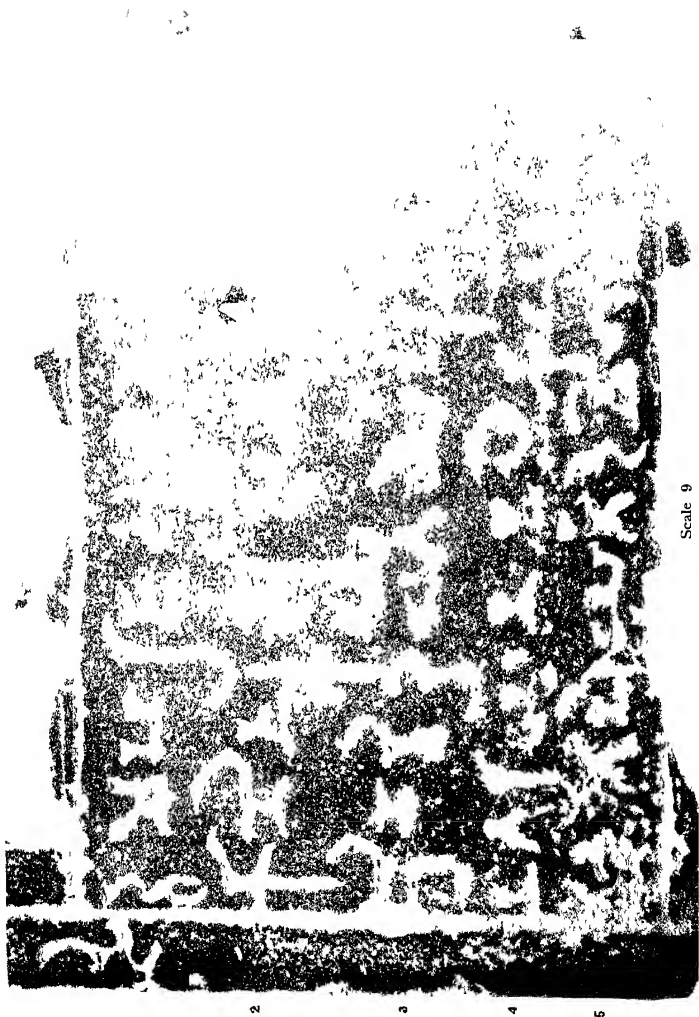
⁷ [*Ipparidu* means 'in this manner, thus.' I would translate the passage thus "Neither the *ūṭṭars* nor the *idaiyidars* shall be entitled to interfere and disturb the *kiliḍu* thus settled or to seize (any) property"—V. V.]

⁸ *I.e.* he who contributes to the dwindling of this charity

⁹ [I would translate the passage as follows "He who does any injury to this (contract) shall individually pay a fine of two hundred *kalaṇju* (to) the shrine at Sirkūr." See notes 1 and 2 on p. 237 and note 1 above—V. V.]

¹⁰ [Instead of *Ayurūr-ṭṭaradittai teyda patṭṭarag* of line 6, we have here *Ayurūr mukkalvattam* which to a certain extent confirms the meaning 'shrine' of *mukkalvattam*. Instead of *patṭṭaragarkkoḷla pāmi* in line 6, we have here *patṭṭaragarkkoḷla idaiyidu*, which denotes the interest which the Ayurūr shrine possessed in the land acquired by Ādichchan-Umayammai from Śrīvallavangōḍai. Consequently, the sentence repeats the statement made in lines 6 to 7 that Ādichchan-Umayammai had obtained the concession from Śrīvallavangōḍai. Accordingly, it seems to me that *Śrīvallavangōḍaiy-udai* at the end of l. 13 is a simple clerical mistake for *Śrīvallavangōḍaiy-ida*. If any such relationship as would be implied by the use of the word *udai* were intended, it would be more natural to expect it noted when Ādichchan-Umayammai is mentioned for the first time. Besides, it would be unusual for the mother or wife of Śrīvallavangōḍai to enter into a transaction of this nature with him.—V. V.]

British Museum inscription of Kanishka.



Scale 9

2

3

4

5

land as *vdayiḍu* to the *bhattāraḥa* of Truchchengunṇūr —¹ I, Dēvam-²Pavittiraṇ of Murunnaiyūr, also know,³

(L 22) I, Sannaran Kandan of Idaiyāmanam, also know,

(Ll 22 to 23) I, Kandan Dāmōdaran of Manalmūḍu, also know,

(Ll 23 to 24) I, Iravi-Parandavan⁴ of Punalūr, the *adnikāru* of Vēnādu, also know,

(Ll 24 to 25) I, Parandavan-Kandan of Kudagōttūr, also know

(Ll 25 to 26) This is the writing of Śāttan-Śadaiyaṇ, the *poḍuḍi* of Truchchengunṇūr

No 33 —THREE EARLY BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

By PROFESSOR H LUDERS, PH D, ROSTOCK

I —BRITISH MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KANISHKA

On the occasion of a visit to the British Museum in the autumn of 1906, I discovered in one of the cases of the Northern Gallery the stone bearing the subjoined inscription, which, as far as I know, has never been published before. At my request impressions were taken, from which I have prepared the transcript. Subsequently Dr Fleet kindly sent me the photograph of the stone reproduced in the accompanying plate

Nothing seems to be known about the origin of the stone, but the characters, the language and the date of the inscription prove that it comes from Northern India

The sculpture at the top of the stone represents a man and a woman sitting on a bench. The woman to the left, wearing a loin-cloth and a girdle and the usual ornaments round the neck, the wrists, the ankles and in the lobes of the ear, rests her left elbow on the knee of her left leg which she has placed on the top of the bench, and turns her laughing face to the spectator. The male person also is wearing a necklace, bracelets, ear-drops, and a *dhōṭi* covering the knees. He is sitting astride, and with the right hand he touches, or points to, a sort of stand placed between the two persons on the bench and bearing what would seem to be a cushion adorned by three small square marks and supporting some bell-shaped object. Right over the head of the man there appears something which at first sight looks almost like a club, but which in my opinion probably is the mutilated head of a cobra. As the stone is broken off immediately above the head of the female person, it is quite possible that her head also was overshadowed by a similar representation of a serpent's head, and it seems to me very probable therefore that the sculpture represents a Nāga and his wife.

The writing is Brāhmī of the earlier Kushaṇa type. The subscript *ya* is expressed by the full sign, and the *sha* shows the old form with the small cross-bar. The language is the usual mixed dialect. The inscription, which is dated in the tenth year of mahārāja dēvaputraḥ Kanishka, records the gift of a temple. Details will be discussed below.

¹ [In the original the name *Ādichchaṇ-Umayammai* is not repeated as it is represented in the translation. It looks as if *Śrīvallavangōḍai* was seated with the members of the assembly of Truchchengunṇūr in the palace at Kollam (ll 4-5) while making the gift to *Ādichchaṇ Umayammai*. Accordingly I would translate this sentence as follows:—“(The following are) the *adnikāru* who know (the transaction entered into) at the place at which (*Ādichchaṇ Umayammai*)—while *Śrīvallavangōḍai* was sitting with (the assembly?) — granted the *kūḍu* (of the land?) to the lord (*bhattāraḥa*) of Truchchengunṇūr.” The same fact is referred to in lines 8 and 9 — V V.]

² [The name of the man was apparently *Dēvaṇ Pavittiraṇ* — V V.]

³ [As the terms of this transaction and bear witness to the same]

⁴ [Parandavan is apparently a *taddhava* of the Sanskrit *Paramāṇa* — V V.]

TEXT.

- 1 Siddha[m]¹ maharājasya dēva[putiasya]²
 2 Kānīshkasya savatsaiś [10]³
 3 grā 2 dī 9 ātāyē purvay[ā]⁴
 4 [n]tarāyam⁵ na[va]rākāyam⁶ [h]ā-
 5 [īmya]n=[d]jata[n]⁷ priyatām dēvi⁸ grā[masya]⁹

REMARKS

1 The *anusvāra* is indistinct because it is crossed by the line forming the base of the sculpture — 2 The reading of the bracketed characters is certain, though the surface of the stone has peeled off at the corner — 3 This figure also has suffered from the peeling off of the surface, but the reading is beyond doubt — 4 The *ā* is very indistinct, and the correct reading may possibly be *purvaya* or *purvayān* — 5 At first sight one might feel inclined to read *nitarāyam*, but the base-line of the first letter is quite straight, whereas *na* has a distinctly curved base. I feel therefore sure that what appears to be the continuation of the base-line to the left, is merely due to a flaw in the stone — 6 The two convergent side-lines of the *va* are not very distinct, just as in the same letter in line 3, and there appears a vertical in the middle which makes the letter look almost like *na*. But this line is far too thin to really form part of the letter and must be accidental — 7 The bracketed letters of these two words are more or less damaged, but the reading seems to be sure — 8 The *ā*-stroke is added to the top of the letter, whereas in *dā* in the first line it is added in the middle — 9 The last two letters are damaged, but only the *ya* can be said to be conjectural

TRANSLATION

Success¹ In the year 10 of the *mahārāja dēva-putra* Kānīshka, in the second (month of) summer, on the tenth day,—on that (date specified as) above a temple was given in the northern *navamukhi* (?) May the goddess of the village be pleased¹

NOTES

The orthography of the inscription is very irregular, double consonants, long vowels and the *anusvāra* being frequently not expressed in writing. A long *ā* appears in the word *hārmya*. According to the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* the same form is found also in the *Taittīrīyār VI*, 6, 2 instead of the ordinary *harmya* occurring in the corresponding verse in *Aitharvay XVIII*, 4, 55. In *hārmyan=datam* the final *m* is converted into the nasal before the following *m*, which is rare in inscriptions in this dialect. Another instance is found in the concluding words of the Mathurā inscription, above Vol I p 386, No 8 *priyatām=bhagavān=Rishabhakṛīh*, which at the same time help us to understand the phrase found at the end of the present record *priyatām dēvi grāmasya*.

Of greater interest is the spelling of the king's name, *Kānīshka*, with a long vowel in the first syllable and a lingual *n*. With regard to the latter point, the seven Brāhmī inscriptions that have preserved the name are in perfect agreement¹. In the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Suś Vihār² and Zeda³ the name is read as *Kanishka*, in that of Mamkyāla as *Kaneshka*,⁴ but I am by no means sure whether in the two last mentioned inscriptions the readings *Kanishka* and

¹ Mathurā inscr. of S 5, *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 34 ff, No 4, Mathurā inscr. of S 7, above Vol. I p 391, No 19, Mathurā inscr. of S 9, *Vienna Or Journ* Vol I p 178, No 2, and *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 37, No 6, Mathurā inscr. of S 10, *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 149, No 25, Sarnāth inscr. of S 3, above Vol VIII p 176 No 3*, Sarnāth inscr. of S 3, above Vol. III p 179, No 3*

² *Ind Ant* Vol X p 326

³ *Journ As* Ser VIII Vol XV p 187

⁴ *Journ As* Ser IX Vol VII p 8



E. Hultzsch

Collotype by Gebr. Pfäffner

From a photograph supplied by Dr. Fleet.

Kaneshka would not be preferable. On the whole, contemporary records certainly are in favour of the spelling with the lingual *n*, and I would therefore propose to use *Kanishka* as the common form of the name. The spelling with the long vowel in the first syllable as in the present inscription is unusual, but it does not stand quite alone. In the Sârâth inscription, No 3^a, the editor, it is true, reads *Kanishkasya*, but the photo-lithograph¹ distinctly shows *Kânishkasya*.

Turning to the special object of the inscription, we may infer from the concluding words that the temple was dedicated to a goddess, and the representation of the two Nâgas above the inscription makes it not unlikely, I think, that the goddess intended was a Nâgî. That during the Kushana period there existed temples for the worship of serpents in Northern India, is well attested by the two Mathurâ inscriptions² which mention the temple (*st[h]âna*) of the *nâgêndia* Dadhikarna and a servant at the temple of the same Dadhikarna (*Dadhikarînnadâvikulika*).

The most difficult words of the inscription are *utariyam navamikâyam*. I have thought for some time that they might be part of the date and mean 'on the following (i.e. intercalated) month (lunar day)', but for two reasons this idea must be given up. Firstly, such a statement would be in the wrong place after *âyasya pûrvarjê*, and secondly, as Professor Kulhörn informs me, *utari* is never used in the sense of *adhika* or *dvitîya*³. The words must therefore be connected with *udriyam=datam*, and as a form ending in *-âyam* can hardly be anything else but the locative singular of a stem in *â*, *utariâ navamikâ* would seem to denote either the locality where the temple was erected or, possibly, the goddess to whom it was dedicated. However, these explanations are far from satisfactory. Neither has *navamikâ* the appearance of being the name of a locality, nor does *utariâ navamikâ* in the least sound like the name of a goddess or a Nâgî. I am at present unable to solve this difficulty.

II.—MATHURÂ STONE INSCRIPTION, DATED SAMVAT 74.

This inscription is engraved on a stone-slab discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in the Jail Mound at Mathurâ. It was first edited in 1870, together with facsimiles, by Rajendralala Mitra in the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX, Part I, p. 129, No. 15 and by Dowson in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V, p. 183, No. 4. In 1873 Cunningham published it again with a facsimile in the *Aick. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III, p. 32, No. 8, and in 1904 I have treated it myself in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII, p. 106, No. 20. I edit it here again for a special reason. When I was in Oxford in 1905, Professor Hoernle kindly made over to me the collection of impressions, rubbings and drawings of inscriptions formed by him when preparing the second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, which was to contain the 'Indo-Scythian' inscriptions. In this collection there is also the impression which I have used for the present edition. It cannot be said to be first rate and, as unfortunately most of the impressions of this collection, it has been tampered with in some places by pencilling out parts of letters that in the impression itself are more or less effaced. Nevertheless the impression is of the greatest value as shown by the following note written on the margin, probably by General Cunningham himself: 'The only impression now available—The stone has been lost at Agra.' Under these circumstances it seemed to me desirable to publish the accompanying reproduction of the impression, which in spite of its shortcomings naturally is far superior to the drawings published hitherto. Professor Hoernle's collection contains besides two facsimiles. The one is an eye-copy in red and blue pencil on a slightly reduced scale, made according to a marginal note by Captain Watts, Royal Engineers, the other is a pencil-tracing on transparent paper, perhaps made from the stone itself, but afterwards gone over with China ink, blue and red pencil, and practically of no value.

¹ [I have some weeks ago examined the original and the *â* is quite certain.—S. K.]

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 390, No. 18, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII, p. 103, No. 13.

³ Professor Hultsch writes to me that he is never heless inclined to connect *utariyam navamikâyam* with the date, but he would take *utariya* in the sense of *uchyamâna*, *upari-lîkhita*, 'above-mentioned.'

The inscription is divided by a blank space into two parts. The upper portion, containing eight lines, is complete with the exception of some letters at the end of the first two lines, which have disappeared by the breaking off of the right corner of the stone. Of the lower portion which in Dowson's and Cunningham's facsimiles has been omitted altogether, nothing is left but faint traces of some characters in the first line. The characters are Brahmi of the Kushana type. The *sha* appears in the older form with the small cross-bar, but the subscript *ya* shows the cursive form. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is dated in the year 74 of a mahārāja rā[jātrāja] devaputra whose name began with Vāsu, but owing to its fragmentary state its real purport cannot be made out.

TEXT.

- 1 Mahārājasya¹ r[ā]² .³
- 2 sya devaputrasya Vāsu. . .³
- 3 savatsarī⁴ 70⁵ 4 vaisham[ā]⁶
- 4 śe prathamē divasē
- 5 tris[ā]⁷ 30 asyam⁸ purvayam⁹
- 6 Talakīya[ya]¹⁰ mahādānda-
- 7 nāya¹¹ Vā-
- 8 lina[ya]¹² k[shā]¹³t[rā]¹⁴ Mih-
- 9 . . [mahādānda]¹⁵.

REMARKS

1 The *ā*-stroke is distinctly visible in the impression, although it does not appear in Capt. Watts' eye-copy — 2 The *ā*-stroke is uncertain. Restore *rājātrāja*. — 3 The *ā*-stroke is quite distinct though here again it is omitted in Capt. Watts' eye-copy. As regards the restoring of the line, I refer to the remarks below — 4 The *ā*-stroke, omitted in Capt. Watts' eye-copy, is quite distinct — 5 Owing to a flaw in the stone, a small portion of the lower left cross-bar of the symbol has disappeared. In the impression somebody has tried to restore the missing portion by adding in pencil a hook turning upwards, but there is nothing to warrant this restoration. There can be no doubt that the symbol had the shape of a plain St. Andrew's cross, just as in other inscriptions. The lower right cross-bar also has been pencilled over in the impression, but this is of no consequence as it is perfectly distinct. The meaning of the symbol will be discussed below — 6 The upper portion of the *m* and the *ā* are not quite distinct — 7 The *ś*-stroke is indistinct, and the *śa* has suffered from a hole in the paper — 8 The apparent curving of the tail of the *a* has been caused by pencilling. In Capt. Watts' eye-copy the tail is quite straight — 9 Above the *pu* there is a distinct stroke which must be accidental — 10 There are some strokes behind and below the *ta*, but they are not noticed in Capt. Watts' eye-copy and may be accidental. The *ā*-stroke is not very distinct, and the reading *Talakīyam* would be possible — 11 Capt. Watts expressly states that there are no traces of letters before the *nā* of line 7 and the *l* of line 8. The *nā* has been pencilled over so as to look almost like *śā*, but there can be no doubt that it is *nā*, and as such it appears also in Capt. Watts' eye-copy — 12 The *ya* is damaged, but certain — 13 The *l* of the first and the *r* of the second syllable are damaged, but certain. The *ś* of *kshā* is very faint and not given in Capt. Watts' eye-copy. The last syllable may also be *trā* as in Capt. Watts' eye-copy — 14 Of this word only faint traces are visible in the impression, and the reading rests almost entirely on Capt. Watts' eye-copy. Instead of *da* Capt. Watts gives *dā*.

TRANSLATION.

In the year 74 of the mahārāja rājātrāja devaputra Vāsu . . . , in the first month of the rainy season, on the thirtieth day, 30,—on that (date specified as) above, in the field (?) of the great general Vālina at Talakīya (or Talakī?) Mih . . .

Mathura inscription of Samvat 74.



NOTES.

The orthography shows the usual features. The lengthening of the vowel in *dāṇḍa* appears again in the same word in the Set-Mahet inscription, above Vol VIII, p 181, and we may further compare such forms as *āntāśvāsa* and *āntāśvāsiyē* in the Mathurā inscriptions, *Ep. Ind* Vol II p 198 f, Nos 1 and 4.

As regards the date, the first symbol of the date of the year requires a fuller consideration, as it has been differently interpreted. As already stated above, it has the shape of a St Andrew's cross. Cunningham¹ originally read it as 40, and he was followed by Dowson, who in editing the Mathurā inscriptions everywhere adopted Cunningham's readings of the dates.² In 1891 Buhler expressed his belief that the sign really represented 70,³ and this opinion was endorsed in the following year by Cunningham in his paper on the coins of the Kushanas in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser III Vol XII p 50, note 6.

I accordingly read the symbol as 70 when I published the inscription in the *Indian Antiquary*, and I am still convinced that Buhler was right, but in order to settle this question definitely, it will be necessary to examine the other Northern Brāhmī inscriptions where the same sign occurs. They are the following seven, all of which come from Mathurā or its neighbourhood —

(1) Mathurā inscription of the time of *śvāmī mahāśatrapa Śodāsa*, *Ep. Ind* Vol II p 199, No 2, and Plate. In the *Vienna Or Journ* Vol V p 177, Buhler read the symbol as 40, adding 70 in brackets. In the *Ep. Ind*, *loc cit*, Buhler again gave 40 in the text, but added in a note that the symbol might possibly be 70. And lastly in *Ep. Ind* Vol IV p 55, note 2, he stated that he would now remove the alternative reading 42, which he had thought admissible at first.

(2) Kāman inscription, *Ep. Ind* Vol. II. p 212, No. 42, and Plate. Here Buhler rendered the sign by 70 in the text, but added in a footnote that it might also be read as 40.

(3) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol XXXIX. Part I. p 130, No. 17, and Plate, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol V p 183, No 5, and Plate, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol III p 33, No 11, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind. Ant.* Vol XXXIII p 102.

(4) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol XXXIX. Part I p 127, No 1, and Plate, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol V p 182, No 1, and Plate, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol III p 33, No 12, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have adopted this reading in *Ind. Ant.* Vol XXXIII p 101, No 11.

(5) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol XXXIX. Part I p 127, No 2, and Plate, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol V p 183, No 2, and Plate, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol III p 34, No. 13, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind. Ant.* Vol XXXIII, p 102, No 13.

(6) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol XXXIX. Part I. p 130, No 18, and Plate. The facsimile is very poor. In the *Ind. Ant.* Vol XXXIII p 101, No 12, I have read the sign as 40, but I have pointed out also that the inscription is possibly identical with that referred to under No. 3.

(7) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol V p 184, No 7, and Plate, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol III. p 34, No. 14, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40.

¹ The absurd opinions of Rajendralala Mitra may be passed over in silence.

² Compare Cunningham's remarks, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol V p 194.

³ *Ep. Ind* Vol I p 873, note 7.

It thus appears that the symbol has hitherto been treated sometimes as 40 and sometimes as 70, but it will be readily conceded, I think, that it is impossible to assign two different values to the same sign in inscriptions of the same locality and the same period. But before we can decide which of the two interpretations is the correct one, we shall have to examine also the other symbols supposed to represent either 40 or 70 in the early Brāhmī inscriptions of Northern India. The following inscriptions, which for convenience sake I number in continuation of the list given above, must be taken into consideration —

(8) Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja* Huviksha, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 387, No 9, and Plate. The symbol resembles the ligature *pta* and was read by Bühler as 40.

(9) Mathurā inscription, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 387, No 10, and Plate. The general appearance of the symbol is the same as in No 8, but its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo-lithograph. Bühler read the sign as 40.

(10) Mathurā inscription, *Arch Surv Rep* Vol III p 33, No 10, and Plate, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 396, No 30, and Plate. The symbol generally has the same form as that in No 8, but its lower part is a little more cursive. Cunningham and Bühler read it as 40.

(11) Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja* Huviksha, *Arch Surv Rep* Vol III p 34, No 15, and Plate. The symbol is the same as in No 8. Cunningham read it as 40, and I have followed him in my treatment of the record in the *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 103, No 14.

(12) Mathurā inscription, *Ep Ind* Vol II p 204, No 20, and Plate, p 321, and Plate. The upper part of the symbol is the same as in Nos 8—11, but its lower part is a distinct loop. Bühler read the sign as 70.

(13) Mathurā inscription, *Ep Ind*, Vol I p 387, No 11, and Plate. As Bühler expressly states in a footnote that the symbol is a plain *pta*, it may have been so in the impression before him. In the photo-lithograph, however, it does not bear the slightest resemblance to that sign, but looks exactly like the letter *bra*. Bühler read the symbol as 40.

(14) Sāichū inscription of the time of *mahārāja rājātūāja* *dēvaputra* Shāhi Vāsashka, *Ep Ind* Vol II p 369 f, and Plate. The symbol found here has quite a peculiar shape. Provided that the vertical standing behind it does not belong to it, but is part of the following sign for 8, it resembles the usual sign for 20. As such it was read also at first by Bühler, but at Cunningham's suggestion he afterwards took it to be 70. The reading of the sign was then discussed at length by Dr Fleet in a paper in the *Journ Roy As Soc* 1903, p 326 ff, and he came to the conclusion that it was 20. But later on, when Mr Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India*, p 238, had suggested that the symbol might be read as 60, Dr Fleet admitted the possibility of this interpretation, see *Journ Roy As Soc* 1905, p 357¹.

Leaving aside for the present the symbols found in the last three inscriptions, it appears that there are two symbols, the St. Andrew's cross and the *pta*, one of which must represent 70 and the other 40. Now in the inscription which forms the subject of this paper the St. Andrew's cross cannot represent 40, as in that case the inscription would be dated in the year 44 in the reign of a king whose name begins with Vāsa, whereas we know that from 33–60 Huviksha was the reigning monarch in this part of the country. Here, therefore, the St. Andrew's cross must represent 70, and we must accordingly assign the same value to the symbol also in the inscriptions enumerated above under Nos. 1–7. We thus get the dates S. 72 for No. 1, S. 74 for

¹ Another sign that originally was read 40 by Bühler, is found in the Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja rājātūāja* *dēvaputra* Huviksha, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 386, No 8, and Plate. Later on Bühler declared that on further consideration he read the symbol as 60, and as such it has been treated since then everywhere; see *Ep Ind*, Vol. II, p 204, note 61.

No 2, and S 77 for Nos 3-7. The inscriptions themselves contain nothing to contradict this result. No 4, it is true, mentions the *mahādāya vīgātavya dāraputra* Huvishka, but not in connection with the date, the inscription simply recording a gift to the *vihāra* of that king. As to the date S. 72 for the *mahāvīkshatrapa* Solasa, I refer to the remarks of Dr Fleet in the *Journ Roy Asi Soc* 1907, p 1024 ff.

If the St Andrew's cross represents 70, the sign resembling *pta* must be 40. The inscription No 8, therefore, would be dated in S. 44, No 9 in S. 45, No 10 in S. 47, and No 11 in S. 48, which is in accordance with the statements of Nos. 8 and 11 that their dates fall into the reign of Huviksha or Huvishka.

The symbol occurring in No. 12 undoubtedly differs from either of the two symbols found in Nos. 1-11, but whereas it bears no resemblance whatever to the cross-shaped sign, it is easily intelligible as a cursive development of the *pta* sign¹. In my opinion therefore this sign also must be taken as 40, and the inscription as being dated in S. 49, not S. 72. There is another point in favour of this interpretation. The inscription records a gift made at the request of the venerable Vridhahastin (*Vṛddhabastin*), a preacher in the *Kottiya* (*Kottila*) *gana*, the *Vanā* (*Vaṇi*) *sikhā*. There is another Mathurā inscription dated in S. 60,² recording a gift made at the request of the *gana*, the venerable Khama, a pupil of this same Vridhahastin. If Vridhahastin in S. 60 had a pupil who had acquired the dignity of *gana*, he must have been a man advanced in years at that time, and although, of course, it is not impossible that he was still alive in S. 79, it would certainly seem more natural to find him as a spiritual adviser in S. 49 and his pupil in the same capacity eleven years later on, in S. 60.

Little can be said about the symbol occurring in No. 13. The form appearing in the photograph is quite peculiar and unlike any other symbol in the inscriptions from Mathurā or elsewhere, but in accordance with Bühler's statement, it may be provisionally taken as 40.

As regards the symbol in No. 14, I agree with Dr Fleet that there is no reason whatever why it should be 70, as even the sign in No. 12, which Bühler cited in support of this interpretation, is to be read not 70, but 40. On the other hand, I feel sure that it is not 20. I have lately received through Dr Konow impressions of an inscription running round the base of a pillar preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription, which is in Brāhmī characters of the Kushana type, is partly worn, but the date is quite distinct. Now the sign for the tens in the date of the year is the same as that in the Sāucī inscription, showing again the vertical, which is thus proved to be an integral part of it and not to belong to the following sign. And although unfortunately the text of the inscription contains nothing that would enable us to form a positive opinion on the value of the symbol, we may safely assert that it cannot be 20, as we find this number expressed by the usual sign in the date of the day. Lastly also the proposal to treat the symbol as 60 cannot be said to be convincing, the sign that has hitherto been read as 60 in the inscriptions of the Kushana period³ certainly being entirely different. I do not want to offer a new hypothesis. In my opinion we shall have to wait for fresh materials before we can hope to arrive at a satisfactory result in this question. In how far the restoring of the king's name in our inscription of S. 74 is influenced by this uncertainty, will be shown below.

I know that the results arrived at above are partly not in harmony with those deduced from the coins of the Western Kshatrapas. The numeral signs occurring in the legends of those coins are given in table IX, col. V, of Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie* from Professor Rapson's table in

¹ Perhaps the symbol found in No. 9 forms the intermediate stage between the *pta* and the looped sign. As I have stated above, its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo lithograph, but it does not seem to me impossible that here also it consists not of the usual fork, but of a loop, though a much smaller one than in No. 12.

² *Ep Ind Vol I* p 386, No 8, and Plate.

³ *Ep Ind Vol I* p 386, No 8, and Plate, Vol II p. 204, No 19, and Plate, *Arch. Surv. Rep Vol. XX*, p 87, and Plate V, fig 6.

the *Journ Roy As Soc* 1890, Plate to p 6-9 Here the St Andrew's cross has been entered as 40, and a sign much resembling the *pta* and another looped sign almost exactly like that of No 12 as 70 I do not wish to throw any doubts on the correctness of these readings, but I content that for such questions inscriptions must be treated separately according to time and locality

[Rajendralala Mitra, Dowson and Cunningham agreed in restoring the name of the king as *Vāsudēvaśāśya*] When I edited the inscription from the facsimiles published by my predecessors I drew attention to the circumstance that the available space is hardly sufficient for the three *aśāśyaśāśya*, and I proposed to restore the name as *Vāsushkasya*, as this name of the king seemed to be attested by two other inscriptions of S 76 and S 78,¹ whereas the first undoubted record of Vāsudēva's reign was dated in S 80 What I said about the difficulty of supplying three syllables is confirmed by the impression now before me, although owing to the frequent irregularity of the writing in these inscriptions it is impossible to speak on this point with absolute certainty But the evidence for the existence of a king Vāsushka in S 76 and S 78 is not so strong as it seemed to be formerly As I have tried to show above, the date of the Sāñchi inscription mentioning a king Vāsahka² is quite uncertain, and the Mathurā inscription mentioned by Führer as being dated in S 76 and recording repairs in the reign of Vāsushka has not yet been published As Dr Konow informs me, it cannot even be found now, Führer's trenches having been filled up again a long time ago and the exact spot where the inscription was found being no more known Under these circumstances a decision is of course impossible for the present If Führer's statement after all should prove correct, I should unhesitatingly restore *Vāsu* to *Vāsushkasya*, otherwise the reading *Vāsudēvasya* will have to be accepted.

The rest of the inscription calls for few remarks *Talakiya* or *Talaki* seems to be the name of a locality, but I am unable to identify it The title *mahādandandiyaka* is frequent in the inscriptions of the Gupta period and later times In the Kushana inscriptions it has not yet been found before, but the subordinate title of *dandandiyaka* occurs in the Manikyāla inscription,³ where the correct reading in l 2 is, not *Laladada-nayago*, but *Lala-dadamayago*

III—MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ŚONDĀSA.

This inscription was first published, together with a facsimile, in 1870 by Professor Dowson in the *Journ Roy As Soc* New Ser Vol V p 188, No 29 In 1873 it was published again with a facsimile by Cunningham in the *Arch Surv Rep* Vol III p 30, No 1 And in 1904 I have tried to edit the text from those two facsimiles in the *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 149, No 24 For the present edition of the record I have made use of an impression found in Professor Hoernle's collection described above

Cunningham states that the stone bearing the inscription was found in the Jail Mound at Mathurā. According to Dowson, it has been cut through and the first part of it has been carried off On the other hand, the facsimiles distinctly showed that something was missing at the right end, and thus I was led to suppose that the stone was damaged on both sides This, however, is not the case Nothing is missing at the beginning of the writing on the left, and on the right also only one letter has been cut off at the end of the first two lines With this exception the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation

¹ Mathurā inscription of S 76, mentioned by Führer, *Progress Report* for 1895-96, Sāñchi inscription of S 78, edited by Bühler, *Ep Ind Vol II* p 369 f

² This is the reading suggested by Dr Fleet, *Journ Roy As Soc* 1903, p 326, but he is himself inclined to look upon this form as a mere variant of Vāsushka, if the existence of such a name should be proved, see *Journ. Roy As Soc* 1905, p 357 f

³ *Journ. As Ser. IX. Vol VII* p 8 f

The characters are of the so-called archaic type of the Mathurā inscriptions, see especially the letters *da*, *śa* and *sha*, and the subscript *ya*. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is not dated. It records various gifts of a Brahman of the Śāgrava (Śaṅgrava) *gōtra*, the treasurer of *śūmān mahākshatrapa* Śomdāsa. For details I refer to the remarks below.

TEXT.

1 Svāmīsyā mahākshatrapasya Śomdāsasya¹ gamjavarēna brāhmaṇēna Śāgrava-sagōtrēna [p]²

2 raṇi imāśām yamada-pushkaraninam paśchamā pushkaranī udapānō āramō³ stambhō¹

3 [śilā]pattō⁴ cha-

REMARKS.

1 As to the reading of this name see the remarks below.—2 Little is left of the *pa*, but the reading is certain. Restore *pushka*.—3 The outlines of the letters *ni udapānō āramō* are more or less touched up with pencil, but the reading is perfectly certain.—4 The reading *śilā* is certain, although the letters are entirely spoiled by being gone over with pencil.

TRANSLATION

By the treasurer of the lord, the *mahākshatrapa* Śomdāsa, a Brāhmaṇa of the Śāgrava (Śaṅgrava) *gōtra*, a tank, the western tank of these twin tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar and this stone-slab (*was caused to be made*)

NOTES

As regards the language, the most interesting form is *imāśām*. Apparently in the dialect of Mathurā the genitives plur. of the pronoun were, as in Pāli, *imāsaṃ* and *imāsaṃ*, and the author of the inscription translated the latter form into *imāśām* as he was wont to render *imāsaṃ* by *imāśām*. The nominative sing. masc. of the same pronoun is found at the end of line 2, but unfortunately nothing is left of it but the initial *i*. The word *pushkaranī* shows in the third syllable the vocalisation of the Pāli *poṭṭharani*. *Yamaḍa* corresponds to Skt *yamala* or *yamala*, as the word would be written in Southern manuscripts. The construction of the inscription is rather peculiar, the verb or participle on which the instrumentals *brāhmaṇēna*, etc., depend, being omitted.

The first point to command attention is the name of the *mahākshatrapa*, which is generally supposed to be Śomdāsa. In the present inscription there is a distinct sign above the *so*. It must have been found also in the impressions used by Dowson and Cunningham, as the former reads *Śomdāsasya* (for *Śamdāsasya*) and the latter *Somdāsasya* (for *Sauḍāsasya*), although the facsimiles show no trace whatever of *anusvāra* or *au*. The sign cannot be the stroke denoting *au*, as it does not touch the upper line of the *so*, but is separated from it by a distinct blank space. It can only be an *anusvāra* of the same bulky shape as that in *gamjavarēna* and in *pushkaraninām*.

The form Śomdāsa has not yet been recognised anywhere else. In the second Brāhmī inscription at Mathurā mentioning this *mahākshatrapa*¹ Bühler read *Soḍāsasa*, but the photograph by no means excludes the reading *Somdāsasa*. Right above the *so* there is a white spot scarcely less distinct than that above the *ma* of *hamaṣṭamāś* which Bühler read as *anusvāra*. In the Mathurā lion-capital inscription² Mr Thomas reads the name as *Suḍasa* and *Suḍasa*, and with regard to coins, Professor Rapson has stated in the *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.* 1903, p. 289, note 3, that whenever the name is legible, the first *akṣara* seems to be *so*, and that the alternative forms *Su*^o and *Sau*^o, given by Bhagvanlal and Cunningham respectively, cannot be

¹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 190, No. 2

² *Adcock*, Vol. IX pp. 143, 144.

certainly read on any of the specimens of the British Museum. But even if a re-examination should prove the readings *Sodṣa* and *Suḍṣa* to be correct, this would not invalidate the reading of the present inscription. Everybody familiar with the records of this period knows how often an *anusvāra* is omitted in writing, and that on that account the reading *Somḍṣa*, even if found once only, carries more weight than the reading *Sodṣa* occurring ten times. In my opinion therefore *Somḍṣa* must be accepted as the general form of the name.

Scarcely less interesting is the designation of the donor. Dowson and Cunningham read *gaṇavaiśna*, and Bühler, *Vienna Or Journ* Vol V p 177, proposed to alter the unintelligible syllables *gaṇa* into *raṣṭ*, 'during the reign'. The new reading *gaṇavaiśna* shows that *gaṇavaiśna*, 'treasurer,' which hitherto was known only from the *Rājatarāṅgī* V, 177 and Kshēmaśāstra's *Līlāprakāśa*, was an official title in India already in much earlier times. As recognised by Beaufey,¹ *gaṇavaiśna* is the Persian *ganjwāz*, and the use of this title is a new proof of the strong Parthian influence that made itself felt in Northern India from the time of Aśoka to the beginning of the Gupta empire.²

The donor calls himself by his *gotra* name Śāgrava, which in correct Sanskrit would be Śaigraṇa. According to the *Gṛapīṭha* the Śaigraṇa *gotra* is referred to by Pāṇini in II, 4, 117 and IV, 1, 104. I have also no doubt that Professor Kern is right in identifying *Saigraṇa* with Pāli *Siggava*,³ the name of the patriarch who conferred the *upāsampadā* ordination on the great Tissa Moggallaputta.⁴

No 34.—PATHARI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF PARABALA, [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 917

By THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, CIE, GÖTTINGEN⁵

Pathari in Long 78° 15' and Lat 23° 56', is the chief town of the Native State of the same name in the Bhopāl Agency of Central India.⁶ Its antiquities were first described, in 1814, by Captain J. D. Cunningham, in the *Journal As Soc Bengal*, Vol XVII, Part I, p 305 ff. After stating that the locality of which he is treating includes two good-sized reservoirs or *tahas*, and that the present town of Pathari and the smaller lake are distinguished by a single pillar and a solitary temple, Captain Cunningham on page 310 proceeds thus:—'Near to the western end of the smaller lake stands the wand or pillar, now called of Bheem Sen. It is composed of a single block about 36 feet in height and 2½ thick. The shaft is square in section for a height of 8 feet, and it then becomes circular. On one side of the square portion of the shaft there is a long inscription, much obliterated, and of which I failed to make even a tolerable impression.'

The pillar and its inscription were again noticed in 1880, by General Sir A. Cunningham, in his *Archæol Survey of India*, Vol X, p 70, thus:—'Inside the town, on the top of the slope, there is a tall monolith with a bell-shaped capital. The shaft is circular, rising from a base 8 feet

¹ See the *St Petersburg Dictionary* s. v.

² In the *Journ Roy As Soc* 1903, p 289 ff., Professor Rapson has described a coin that shows a general similarity to those of *Somḍṣa*. With the exception of the last three *akṣaras* the inscription is not quite certain. Professor Rapson reads *brāhmaṇa ga(?)ḍa ra(?)ṭha(?) na*. Would it be too bold to conjecture that the *brāhmaṇa* mentioned here may have some connection with the *brāhmaṇa* Śaigraṇa, the *gaṇavaiśna* of *Somḍṣa*, and that the reading must be altered accordingly?

³ *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indie*, Vol II p 266.

⁴ See *Dīpaṇ* V, 57, 69, etc.

⁵ [The proofs of this and all subsequent papers by the late Professor Kielhorn have been read by me.—S. K.]

⁶ Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27 D.

3 inches high and 2 feet 9 inches square. On the northern face there is a long inscription of 38 lines of small letters. It opens with an invocation to Lakshmi-Nariyana,¹ but the greater part of the record is so much worn as to be quite illegible. Many of the letters here and there are in good order, and from their shapes I would assign the monument to somewhere about A D 600. Close by this pillar there is a small temple, with Vishnu sitting on Garud over the door-way.

In October 1894 I received from Professor Hultzsch two impressions of the inscription, prepared by Mr H Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, and an excellent photograph² of it, taken by the same gentleman, was given to me two or three years afterwards by Dr Fleet. From these materials I have already published a short account of the contents of the inscription and the tentative text of nine verses of it, in the *Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* for 1901, Part I, p 519 ff. A repeated examination of the same materials now enables me to place before the reader, with some confidence, by far the greater part of this record, which, though troublesome to read, is not so illegible as it may have seemed to be on the original stone.

The inscription contains 38 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2 feet broad by 2 feet 7 inches high. It has certainly suffered greatly from exposure to the weather, especially in the middle and at the end of the lines all the way down, and for nearly the whole length of the last seven lines. But fortunately³ all proper names of importance may be read with absolute certainty, at any rate all those that occur in lines 1—31, and the same remark applies to the date of the inscription at the end of line 31. The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in the topmost lines, but less in the lower part down to line 31, while it is somewhat larger again in lines 32—38. The inscription was written and engraved with great care and skill. The characters belong to the northern alphabet such as, speaking generally, we find it in the Gwalior inscription of the reign of Bhôjadêva of the [Vikrama] year 913, published with a facsimile in *Ep. Ind.* Vol I p 159 f. With our present knowledge of Indian epigraphy, we should assign them at once to about the 9th century A D. They include the rare sign for *jh*, which has not come out well either in the impressions or in the photograph, in the word *jhaiti* towards the end of line 15. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The text is remarkably correct, and in respect of orthography the only points worth noticing here are that the sign for *v* is used for both *v* and *b*, and that the words *aihsa* and *dhvansa* are written *ans* and *dhvansa*, in lines 2 and 8.

The inscription consists of two parts. The first (and chief) part comprises lines 1—31, the second lines 32—38. This second part appears to be really a separate inscription, added by way of a postscript, which may record the installation of an image of Vishnu, but the exact purpose of which, owing to the damaged condition of lines 32—38, I have not been able to ascertain. What I may state with confidence is that, after the words *Om namah* at the commencement of line 32, there are five verses, two in the Sragdharâ metre, one in the Vasantatûlakâ metre, one in the Upajâtî metre, and the fifth perhaps in the same metre. So far as I can judge, the first and probably the second of these five verses contain some historical information, and it would therefore seem desirable to have a cast taken of this part of the inscription, which would enable one to decipher more of the text than I have succeeded in making out from the impressions and the photograph.⁴

¹ The first verse of the inscription commences with the words *Lakshmi-nramdhrapina*, which were apparently misread as *Lakshmi-Nariyana*.

² The accompanying facsimile has been prepared under the superintendence of Prof. Hultzsch from Mr Cousens' photograph. A facsimile of the impressions would have been quite useless.

³ Exposed as the pillar has been to all the effects of the Indian climate for more than a thousand years it seems wonderful that of these small letters, which were not deeply engraved, many should have been preserved so well as we find them to be.

⁴ I am sanguine enough to hope that it will indeed some day be possible to make out the names which are hidden now in the second part of our inscription. It will then perhaps also be found that this part likewise ends with a date in the 9th century of the Vikrama era, of which in my opinion there are traces in the second half of line 38.

The first part (lines 1—31) also commences with *Om namah* and ends with a date which will be given below. Between the two there are 32 verses, the text of more than two-thirds of which may be given with perfect certainty, while there is no doubt about the general meaning of any of the rest. The verses form a *prastāva*, the main object of which is to record (in verses 25 and 26) that the king Parabala of some Rāshtrakūṭa family founded a temple of Śaṇu (Haṇ, Viṣṇu), before which he erected the Garuḍa-crested pillar on which the inscription is engraved. The *prastāva* opens with four verses which invoke the protection of, and glorify, the god Viṣṇu, under the names of Murāri, Kṛṣṇa and Haṇ. It then (in verses 5—7) relates that formerly there was a king Jējja, under whom 'this Rāshtrakūṭa *vamśa*' was flourishing, and whose (unnamed) elder brother, after defeating thousands of Kārṇāṭa soldiers with their arrays of elephants, obtained the Lāṭa kingdom. Jējja's son was Karkarāja (v 11), who put to flight¹ the king Nāgavalōka and invaded his home (vv 14 and 15). And Karkarāja's son was Parabala, represented as ruling the land when the inscription was composed (V 18). The rest records that the pillar was actually set up by the king's chief minister, whose name is not clear in the impressions, and that the *prastāva* was composed by Haṛṣa (v 29) and engraved by the *sūtradhāra* Sāhila (v 31), while the last verse 32 contains the usual prayer that the king's pious work and his fame may endure for ever. — The date at the end of line 31 is *śamvat 917 Chaitra-śuḍi 6 Śukrā, va* "Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra of the year 917". In this date the numeral figures for the year are particularly clear, and cannot be read in any other way. The figure for 9 is the same as *e g* in line 6 of the Dēḡgadh pillar inscription of the time of Bhōjadēva of the [Vikrama] year 919 (*Archæol Surv of India*, Vol X, Plate xxxiii 2), and in line 22 of the Garmha plate of Jayādityadēva II of the [Vikrama] year 927 (*Journ As Soc. Beng* Vol LXX Part I Plate 1). The date must of course be referred to the Vikrama era. It is one of the earliest dates of that era which admit of exact verification and corresponds regularly, for the expired *Kārttikāśī* Vikrama year 917, to Friday, the 21st March A.D. 861, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra ended 16 h 44 m after mean sunrise.

The *prastāva* will, I think, be admitted to contain some rather pretty verses.² Its author, so far as I can judge, was well acquainted, amongst other poetical works, with Māgha's *Susupta vadha*, and in the composition of at least one verse he undoubtedly drew his inspiration from that poem.³ I refer to verse 16, which may be compared with *Śis XIX 52*. The former is —

Śakalīkṛta-sarvāṅgā nānūbharanabhūṣitāḥ |
drīṣyanti ripavō yasya nānūbharanabhūṣitāḥ ||

"With their limbs all cut to pieces (and thus)⁴ decorated with manifold ornaments (*ābharana*), his enemies are seen to abide on various battle-fields (*raṇa-bhū*)"

And Māgha's verse is —

Śastravranamaya-śrīmāḍ-alamkaranabhūṣitāḥ |
dadṛśē śyēḥ Rāvanavād-alamkaranabhūṣitāḥ ||

"Decorated with glorious ornaments (*alamkaraṇa*) which consisted in the wounds inflicted by weapons, another looked like Rāvaṇa, though abiding on a battle-field (*raṇa-bhū*) that was not connected with Lankā."⁵

¹ The original apparently mentions the place where Nāgavalōka was put to flight, but the name of it cannot be read with confidence. See verse 14 and the translation of it below.

² Compare *e g* verses 13, 16, 20 and 30.

³ The *prastāva* somewhat pointedly ends with the word *śrīmatt*, which, in the case of an author who had studied the *Śṛṅgaṇa mahākāvya* does not seem to me to be without significance.

⁴ Compare the following note.

⁵ Mallinātha explains *sarvāṅgāṇa-rahāṣṭhāṇa-vaśa* *Ravana* *śvādyam* *Lankāśaṁbhaṇḍa-virahitā* *vyaśṛjka* *ity-arthah* | *upamā vyaśṛjka-gamakāṇām samkaraḥ* |

Here we not merely have, at the end of each half verse, the synonymous words *dharaṇa-bhūṣita* and *alamkaramabhūṣita*, either of them similarly used in a double meaning, but we also find a form of the same verb (*drśyante* and *dadṛśe*) in exactly the same position in both verses. At the same time the manner in which the verse of the *Sūyādāvadhā* commences, clearly shows how we ought to interpret the first half of Harsha's verse the ornaments with which the enemies were decorated consisted in the wounds inflicted on them when their limbs were cut to pieces. I am aware that what I have pointed out here is not of any great value now, because we have lately learnt from another inscription that Māgha lived long before the middle of the 9th century A D

Among the contents of the *prasti* there are three points of particular interest. The first obviously is, that the inscription is one — the only one hitherto discovered — of a Rāshtrakūṭa king Parabala, for whom it furnishes a date in A D 861. The second point is, that Parabala's father Karkarāja defeated, and invaded the territory of, a king Nāgavalōka. And to these may be added the statement that an unnamed elder brother of Karkarāja's father Jājja, after defeating certain Kārṇāṭas, took possession of the Lāṭa kingdom.

As regards the first point, we knew indeed from the very earliest Sanskrit inscription brought to the notice of European scholars — the Mungur plate of Dēvapāla¹ translated by Sir Charles Wilkins in 1781 — that the Pala king Dharmapāla married 'Ranpādēvi, a daughter of the glorious Parabala, the ornament of the Rāshtrakūṭa family,' but as the name Parabala could not be traced in any subsequent inscription, scholars conjectured that it was a *viruḍa* of one of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhēd, perhaps of Gōvīndarāja III or Amōghavarsha I, according to the notions which they had formed regarding the time of Dharmapāla. Now there can not remain any reasonable doubt that the Rāshtrakūṭa Parabala of our Pathari inscription is identical with the Parabala of the Mungur plate, a daughter of whom was married by Dharmapāla. But it does not follow that Dharmapāla's reign must therefore be taken to have commenced so late as the middle of the 9th century. Many Indian kings have had unusually long reigns, and at present we know nothing about the length of Parabala's reign, while all that we know for certain in this respect regarding Dharmapāla is that he reigned for at least 32 years. The zeal and activity displayed by the officials of the Archaeological Survey in the search for epigraphical documents encourage us to hope that before long we shall be in possession of materials that will definitely fix both the exact time of Dharmapāla's reign and the chronology of events generally which took place in Northern India during the 8th and 9th centuries.

The king Nāgavalōka² who was defeated by Parabala's father Karkarāja seems to have been a ruler of some importance. I have no doubt that he is identical with that Nāgavalōka who is mentioned in verse 13 of the Harsha inscription of Vīgraharāja,³ in terms which would imply that he was the overlord, and who certainly was a contemporary, of the Chāhamāna Gūvaka I of Śākambhari, whom in my Synchronistic Table for Northern India I have roughly placed at the commencement of the 9th century. There has lately been discovered a copper-plate inscription of a Chāhamāna *Mahādāmanidādhupati*, which records a grant that was made at Bhīgukachchha in the increasing reign of victory of the glorious Nāgavalōka, and which apparently is dated in the [Vikrama] year 813 (corresponding to about A D 756).⁴ I owe a photograph of it to the kindness of Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, but would wait for impressions before expressing an opinion regarding its genuineness and value.

¹ See *As Res* Vol. I. p. 138, and *Ind Ant* Vol. XXI p. 253

² I need hardly point out that this name looks like the well-known *viruḍas* ending in *avalōka* of certain Rāshtrakūṭa kings (*Khadgavalōka*, *Vikramavalōka*, etc.)

³ See above Vol. II. p. 121, line 12 of the text, where the actual reading of the original is *śrīman-Nāgavalōka-pranaranyapa*

⁴ If the grant is genuine, the donation recorded in it was probably made on the 28th October A.D. 756

Nor can I say anything definite at present regarding the conquest of the Lāta kingdom by the elder brother of Parabala's grandfather Jēṣa. The known names of chiefs connected with Lāta from about the middle of the 8th century and the available dates will be found above, Vol VIII App II p 4. It will be seen there that we have no date, and know little about Lāta, between A.D. 757 and A.D. 812, which is just the period in which, judging from the date of the present inscription, we should have to place Jēṣa and his elder brother.

In the text which follows I have indicated by marks of interrogation all passages about which I am myself doubtful, and have left blanks where I could have put in only a purely conjectural reading. Others may be able to supply what is wanting or to find the correct readings where I have failed to do so. I know that I have shunned no trouble and may perhaps be permitted to say—

Harshēna nūnam rachitā prāsastir=
vidhēr=vaśād=asīma-talē viltā |
prakāsīt=ēyam pramadāch=chhramēṇa
satām mudam samtatam-ātanoṭu ||

TEXT 1

- 1 Om¹ namah || ²Lakṣhmī-nīramdhrapīna[sta]nakalāśa-la[sa]t-pallavā Vritra-śatrōs=
ttrālōkyasvāmya-dīkshāvidhi-varaguravō=[r]i-
- 2 shtanāśa-prachandāh | dōrdandāh Kēsikēsāgraha-ruchiraru[t-ā]ghushta
h[?]marānsadāśā³ Daityēbha-sthūlakumbha[stha]-
- 3 ladalana-d[ri]ghāh pāmtu vas-tō Murārēh ||[1*] ⁴Vā(bā)lārka[chohbay]i-
chakrav[āka]vimala-vyāl[ā]hat-āvēśhitah⁵ karna[ā]lamvi(mba)ta kumdalā⁶
jaladhara-
- 4 chohhēdāvadāta-chohbayih | satkārtaśvarakūta-nirggata iva snigdhēndranilōpala-
stambhah⁸ skandhaga-padmarāgayugalah Krishnō=stu
- 5 vah śrēyasā ||[2*] ⁹Tribhuvanaabhavana-stambhō nabhasalāmbhōdhi-satur=agha-
dahansh | vra(bra)hmāmdamanda(da)lāmva(bu)jadanda-ruchir-ṣṣayati¹⁰ Ha-
- 6 ri-charanah ||[3*] ¹¹Ahimakarachakra-kualayavilasatkamal-ālayah sa-dāna[vakā]yah |
jalāndhir-iva Harir=avatāt=purāna-purushō=pi yah sadā nava-kā-
- 7 yah¹² ||[4*] ¹³Rāj=āsīd=varachakrālāchhita-karō lakshmi-sanāthah purā dṛiptāri-
prava(ba)lavishat-pramathanas=ch-ā[dhā]ra-bhūtō bhuvah | vā(bā)hūdasta-
mahidharō [nara]-
- 8 ka-hā tungadvipadhvasakrit=¹⁴Kamsārātu-samō=py=akṛishnatānubhrich=chhri-Jēṣa
āryyah stu[ta]h ||[5*] ¹⁵[Ra]mya-prasūtur=achchhūdras=tungabh
prithur=akamtakah | śrī-Rāshṭra[kū]-
- 9 ṭa-vamśō=yam sampiddhō yattra bhūbhṛti ||[6*] ¹⁶Jitvā [vikata]karighatā-
pra[bhuta]ra-Karnāṭābhāsaahasā[ra] | [prithu] L[ā]ṭ-ākhyam rāshtram
lavdham(bdham) yasy=āgrajen=ājau ||[7*] ¹⁷[Vana]-

¹ From impressions and a photograph supplied by Mr Cousens

² Metre Śragdharā

³ Read ⁴śrānsadāśā

² Denoted by a symbol

⁵ Metre. Śārdūlavikṛitā.

⁶ Compare *Śārngīvēśha-phamkāñchuka*, above Vol II p 4, v 22

⁷ Originally *kundalō* seems to have been engraved.

⁸ Compare *Śituplavadhā* III. 11

⁹ Metre Āryā

¹⁰ Originally *-ruchir-* was engraved.—Compare above Vol I p 40, verse 2 *vra(bra)hmāmdamanda-lamāṭpalandīa-lām va(ṣi)bhṛat*.

¹¹ Metre Āryāgiti.

¹² Compare *Śituplavadhā* XIV 70: *navatū budhā yam purāna-purusham prochakshat*

¹³ Metre Śārdūlavikṛitā

¹⁴ Read ¹⁵*āhasakrit-*

¹⁶ Metre. Śloka (Anushtubh).

¹⁷ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁵ Metre Mālinī.

- 10 mahisham-asahyam vāṇō lōla-nēttā madagalita-kapōlā dantīnah samham=
ngram | [jvalitapavana?] -kirnā vauri-viśāh Kṛitāntam raua-sīrasī yam-ekam
mōirē naika-[rūpam ||] [8*]
- 11 ¹Eko-p-itas-tatah kurvvann-arāta-[ku]lam-ākulam | chāruchāmīkar-ōpē[tō n]ilā-
rūpam vi-(b)ha[rta] yah ||[9*] ²[Prāpt-ōchchhaya?] ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
prakampā[n]-mukt-āl[bb]ih svamahima-pratāpādanāya | [dāsī?]nta[rānyu-]
12 paratā vikālā dāsū yasya dhvajā iva sadā ripa[vō] bhramanti ||[10*]
Tasy-ātmanjō ripuva(ba)l-[ā]nta ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ h³ sri-Karṅkarāja itī
samayati lavdha(bdha)-kittih | P[ārth-āgran ?]i-
13 r-iva va(ba)bhūva⁴ nirasta-salyō duśāsana-iva(ba)la-sāsana-bhīmasā[na]h ||
[11*] ⁵Vī[kshipta ?]-[va?]m- . . . ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ nā | ya[t-ka]rēna
ranāmbhōdhi-mathan⁶ Mandarāyitam ||[12*] ⁷Vidhvasta[va]-
14 riva[nitā]-nayanapranāli-samsakta-kajjalayutāsruja-pra[vāha]h | sēshochyamānam=api
chandramarīchi-[hāri] sphītam va(ba)bhūva [nann] yasya yasō-tichitram ||[13*]
⁸Durvārārāta-mattadvī[rada]-
15 ghaughatātōpasamghatta-chandō samgrāmō [hrishta-yō]dhō [tura]gakhurajāś-
chhanna-dikohakrav[ālō I] [valga ?]t-pādhvaj[ālau] kshatarudhī[rasa]ritprājya-
sāmanta-chakrē chakrē Nāgavalōkam [jha]tita ~
16 lav[a]nē¹⁰ yah parāvritta-mūrtim ||[14*] ¹¹Durvāravaurivaravācana-
kumbha[mukta]-muktāphalapra[kara]-nirmaladantamālā | Nāgavalōkanripa-
[vāsma]u viprakīrnō yasy-ōddhatam prahasat-iva kripāna-p[āl] ||[15*]
17 ¹²Sakalikṛita-sarvvāṅgā nānābharanabhūshitāh | drīsyantē rīpavō yasya
nānābharapabhūshitāh [16*] ¹³Yasy-ōtpalochchhavi[mu]shā s[v]ajal-ōnnatēnā¹⁴
khaḍgēna tumgastara-bhū[mibhri]-
18 [tām sū]rasu | dhārānīpāta-janītar-asṛjām¹⁵ pravāhair-yuddhō
mahāpralaya[kāla ?]ghaua-[pratitih ¹⁶] ||[17*] ¹⁷Ahimakara iv-ādya tyakta-
dōshānushamgō himakara iva jā[ta]h
19 sūddha-mūrtih kalāvān | parava(ba)ladalan-ōgrō=nugra-chakshuh pratāpī
Parava(ba)la itī puttras-tasya [sāst]=īha bhū[mim] ||[18*]
¹⁸[Tyaktvā ?]māyām-adambhāū=cha sakta-kārttasvarāh sadā | bhūm[jatō] sri¹⁹

¹ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

² Metre of verses 10 and 11. Vasantatilakā

³ The original possibly has 'lāntaka śva mūrtih'

⁴ Originally *elbhāsa* or *vdbhāsa* was engraved

⁵ Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh) — I am unable to restore the first half of this verse with any confidence, but the meaning probably is that the king's hand in battle took away fortune from his adversary Compare *Gupta Inscrip* p 203, l 7

⁶ Originally *raṇāmbhōdhi-* was engraved

⁷ Metre Vasantatilakā. — Compare *Śiṣupadavāḍha* XV 80

⁸ Metre Sragdharā

⁹ The *akshara* which is missing here I am unable to restore with confidence

¹⁰ Of these three *aksharas* the first and the last seem to be certain, and the second is either *va* or *sv*

¹¹ Metre Vasantatilakā

¹² Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh) See above, p 250

¹³ Metre - Vasantatilakā.

¹⁴ The water of the sword-blade (*andhārd-jala, khadgadhārd-payas, khadgadhārdmbhas*) is often spoken of by poets, compare *eg Khedaal*, pp 64 and 168, and above Vol II, p 307, v 21

¹⁵ The plural of *asṛj* is similarly used in *Śiṣupadavāḍha* xvii, 55 (*asṛjāḥ*)

¹⁶ I have little doubt that this is the correct reading; in the original a medial *s* was originally engraved before the *akshara* which I read as *gra*, but it has clearly been struck out

¹⁷ Metre Mālinī.

¹⁸ Metre. Ślōka (Anushtubh).

¹⁹ This word, being repeated at the commencement of the next line, is superfluous here. *Śrīphala* is used in the double sense of 'the fruit of his prosperity' and 'Silva fruit.'

(V 18) Now his son Parabala rules here the land, he who has discarded addiction to sin and is therefore like the sun which has severed its connection with the night, who is born of pure body and is versed in all arts, and is therefore like the moon when she has risen with a bright form and with all her digits, who, terrible in cutting up the forces of adversaries, is gentle-looking, and full of prowess

(V 24) At the head of battle the fortune of royalty—her garland of pearls covered with the blood streaming from the temples of elephants that were split by the round-pointed shafts of her strong bow drawn with a twang of the string, and with rows of arrows resting on her creeper-like arms—conquered for him *piliadhvaṇa* banners

(V 25) He caused to be built this temple of Śaṇi,¹ resembling the peak of the mountain of snow, the white flag on the bright top of which bears the lustre of the river of the gods

(V 26) And like the pillar which was formerly (erected?) on the mountain of Garudadhvaṇa(?),² exactly so was this large Garuda-bannered pillar caused to be erected by that king before (the temple of) Hari³

(V 27) Repeatedly deliberating whether this is Vishnu's foot making three strides, or the body of Śihānt⁴ shaped like a post, or (the serpent) Śēsha pulled out of a hole in the ground by the enemy of the serpent-king,⁵ the gods on viewing it find out that it is a pillar of pure stone proclaiming the fame of king Parabala

(V 28) His prime minister was [Kṣh⁶] . . . , administrator of all laws, bright like gold and true of speech, to be saluted with (bowing of) the head by king Parabala. He set up before (the temple of) the destroyer⁷ of Madhu this Garuda-marked pillar, which with its stone arm raised aloft defies all ages—a pillar of him who has paralyzed his foes⁸

(Lane 31) The year 917, Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra.

NO. 35 — ANMAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF PROLA,

The Chalukya-Vikrama year Forty-Two

By H KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

On a hillock to the south of Hanumkondā⁷ (Anmakonda) near Warangal in the Nizam's State, stands the small temple of Padmākṣaṇi which, unlike other buildings attributable to the Kākatiya period,⁸ is devoid of any architectural pretensions. The rock close to which the temple stands, bears on a portion of its dressed surface, sculptures of

¹ I.e. Vishnu

² I am not sure about the meaning of these words, the text of which is doubtful in the original *Garuda dhvaṇḍrī* might be equivalent to *Kṛṣṇaguru*

³ I.e. Śiva

⁴ These words clearly indicate that there was a figure of Garuda on the top of the pillar

⁵ I.e. Vishnu

⁶ In my opinion, this might refer either to the king or to the god Vishnu

⁷ This is the form given in Mr. Cousens' *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories*, p. 46

⁸ The thousand-pillared temple in the middle of the village of Anmakonda was built by Prola's son Rudra in or about A.D. 1162-63 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 9 f.) and contains some excellently sculptured door posts. The four gateways which now stand in the open air at Warangal might have belonged to the palace of the Kākatiya kings at that place (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1901-2, p. 4). Mr. Cousens, however, thinks that the gateways must have belonged to a great temple in the centre of Warangal (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the*

some **Jaina** images seated in a row. In front of the temple is an inscribed quadrangular pillar of black granite bearing in relief within a countersunk square, at the top of each of its four faces, the figure of a squatting Jaina ascetic with his arms folded over his lap crosswise. On the east face of the pillar this figure is flanked by a cow and calf on one side and a dagger and shield (?) on the other. The north face of the pillar bears representations of the sun and moon on the right and left sides, respectively, of the squatting Jaina figure. From these sculptures and from the inscription on the pillar, which is published below, it appears that the Padmakshi temple was originally dedicated to the Jaina goddess **Kadalalāya** and that the pillar was set up there by the lady who built the *basadi* (Jaina temple). At present the Brāhmanas of Anmakonda, who have somehow got possession of the temple, worship the goddess in it under the name Padmakshi, which they believe to be synonymous with Durgā.² It is not clear how or when the ownership of the temple passed from the Jainas to the Brāhmanas.

Anmakonda, or, as it is called in the subjoined inscription, Anmakundā (l 16) or Ammakunde (l 75), was originally the capital of the Kākatiya kings and was situated in the **Andhra** country.³ The neighbouring town of Warangal (Ōrumgallu in Telugu or **Ēkasālānagara** in Sanskrit) became the seat of government about the end of Ganapati's reign and continued as such until the collapse of the Kākatiya family.⁴ Anmakonda and Warangal are now stations

Nizami's Territories, p 47) The temples near the Rāmappā Lake in the Warangal district are (*ibid* p 49) of the same type as the great temple at Hanumakondā, but more profusely sculptured. The principal temple of this group appears to have been built in A D 1213-14 by Rudra of Recharla, who was a dependant of the Kākatiya king Ganapati. The village Upapalle in the Yelandal district, is also reported to contain some ruined temples attributable to the Kākatiya period (*ibid* p 74). The *vimāna* of the Tripurantakēśvara temple at Tipurāntakam in the Kurnool district was constructed in A D 1254-55 under the orders of the Kākatiya king Ganapati (Epigraphical collection for 1905, No 169). The Padmakshi temple at Anmakonda is the earliest known structural monument of the Kākatiya period and this may account for its being plain and devoid of the display of art which is quite characteristic of the later structures of the dynasty.

¹ Jaina remains are mostly to be seen in the western portion of the Nizam's Dominions, which borders on the Bombay Presidency. Anmakonda is almost on the eastern border; see the map accompanying Mr Cousens' *Liste of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories*.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1901-2, paragraph 7. The goddess Padmakshi to whom the temple is dedicated must be one of the twenty-four *Śasana-devīs* of the Jaina mythology. Ambā or Ambikā, the *Śasana-devī* of the 22nd Thāṅkara Neminātha, is supposed to be a form of Durgā. Padmāvatī was the *Śasana-devī* of Pārśvaṇtha (Dr Burgess' *Archaeol Surv of Western India*, Vol V p 45 f and p 46, note 2). It might, therefore, be supposed that the goddess consecrated by Mallama in the *basadi* at Anmakonda was either Ambikā or Padmāvatī—called, in Kanarese, Kadalalāya, the meaning of which I have not been able to trace.

³ Above, Vol III, p 82, and footnote 4.

⁴ The Ganapēśvaram inscription of the time of Ganapati states (v 9) that Rudra, son of Prōla, destroyed many towns and founded quarters named after these towns in the city of Ōrumgallu and peopled them with their respective inhabitants, while in the devastated towns he built celebrated temples of Rudrēśvara and settled fresh inhabitants. If there be any truth in this statement, it may be inferred that Warangal, which was already in existence as an important city (see l 95 of the subjoined inscription also), was greatly improved by Rudra. Rēcharla Rudra, a general of Ganapati (see above, p 256, note 3) is said to have put to flight king Nāgati and founded the temple of Rudrēśvara at the city of Ōrugallu (Warangal)—perhaps after his own name Ōrumgallu or Ōrugallu, which was thus improved by the Kākatiya king Rudra, appears to have occupied only a subordinate position in the time of Prōla, Rudra and Ganapati, while Anmakonda was the capital. No 278 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905-06 which belongs to the time of Rudra and is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1107, Viśvānu (= A D 1185-89) states that the *mahāmāndalēśvara* Kākatiya Rudradēva-Mahārāja was "the lord of Anmakonda, the best of towns." Nos 195 and 223 of the same collection belong to Ganapati and are both dated in Śaka-Samvat 1174, Paridhāvin (= A D 1252-53). The former refers to Ganapati as "the lord of Anmakonda, the best of towns." In Śaka-Samvat 1175 Ganapati still called himself the lord of Anmakonda (Mr Butterworth's *Nellore Inscriptions*, O 28). But N° 231 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1176, Ānanda, distinctly states that Ganapati was ruling with Ōrugallu as his capital. Whether his successor Rudradēva (or, as she is called in inscriptions, Rudradēva-Mahārāja) reigned from the newly established capital Warangal or not, it is difficult to say. Her successor Pratāparādya ruled over almost the whole of the Telugu country and portions even of the Tamil country from his throne at Ōrugallu. He is generally known as Ōrugapati Pratāparudrāya, or Pratāparudrādēva of Ōrugallu.

on the Hyderabad-Beryada section of the Nizam's State Railway and seem to have been included about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. in the district of Sabbi-sāyina 'the Sabbi one thousand,' which formed part of the Western Chālukya empire, and to have been conferred by Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI on his feudatory the Kākatiya chief Tribhuvanamalla-Bēta¹. Sabbi-sāyina is not mentioned in other published records and, consequently, its extent cannot be defined until more lithic records from that part of the Nizam's Domains are published.²

The subjoined inscription³ engraved on the four faces of the pillar above referred to, is written in bold and clear Kanarese characters of the twelfth century A.D. The written surface measures roughly in breadth 1' 3½" on the east and west faces and 1' 2½" on the north and south faces, while in height it is 3' 6", 3' 5½", 3' 7", and 3' 3½" respectively, on the east, north, west and south faces. The sculptures which the four faces of the pillar bear have been noted already. Verse 1, which contains the invocation, and the imprecatory verses (11 and 12) are in the Sanskrit language. Lines 89 to 91 contain an incomplete Sanskrit verse which is evidently meant to be a quotation. The rest of the inscription is in Kanarese prose (ll 6 to 24, 70 to 88, 91 to 93, and 111 and 112) and poetry (verses 2 to 10). The writing calls for very few remarks. The *anusvāra* is sometimes, as in ancient records, written at the top of the right side of the letter (ll 1, 3, and 4), and sometimes, as at present, written on the right side of the letter (ll 86, 98, 100 and 102). The *virāma* occurs once in l 62 where it is marked by a wavy vertical line added to the top of the letter. The *ś*-sign, which is almost similar in form to the *virāma*, is also attached to the top of the letter, but is horizontal. In ll 40 and 55, however, the *ś* of *śa* in the word *perggade* and *ś* of *yē* in the word *hridayasvart*, are marked differently by a curved line attached to the left bottom corner of the letter and drawn horizontally to its right. In other cases this sign along with the *ś*-sign first described, marks the *at*-sign. An attempt is made to distinguish the long *ē* from the short *e* but it is not throughout kept up. Among consonants it may be noted, that the length of the horizontal stroke in the middle, which in the case of *pa* ought to be shorter than in that of *sha*, is in some instances lengthened so far as to make *pa* look almost like *sha*. The forms *kramā*^o for *kramā*^o in l 20 and *yējā*^o for *yājā*^o in l 103 are due to the peculiarities of Kanarese pronunciation.

The record begins with an invocation addressed to the feet of Jinendra (v 1) and refers in ll 6 to 24 to the reign of the mahārājādhirāja, paramēśvara and paramabhāṣṭūra, the [Westein] Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla-deva [Vikramāditya VI] and his feudatory the mahāmāṇḍalēśvara Kākati Bēta (l 19), who had acquired the five great sounds (*pañcamahāśabda*) and who was 'the lord of Anmakundā (l 16), the best of towns'. The hereditary minister of Kākati Bētarasa (l 30) was the *dandādhipātī* Varja (v 2). Verse 3 states that Varja brought his master the *maṇḍalika* Kākati Bēta (ll 32 and 37) to the feet of the Chālukya (l 33) emperor⁴ (*chakrva*) (*viz* Vikramāditya VI) and made him rule the district of

¹ See verse 3 below.

² Sabbi or Chhebbi thirty, a small district over which the Western Ganga king Pañchaladeva was ruling in A.D. 971, and which took its name from the village of Chaboi or Chhabbi in the Hubli taluka of the Dharwar district (Dr Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 307) seems to be different from the Sabbi-sāyina district which was ruled by the Kākatiya chief Bēta.

³ No 106 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902. Mr Cousens refers to this as No 4 of the inscriptions at Hanumkonda and Warangal (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in II of the Nizam's Territories*, p. 48).

⁴ In footnote 7 on p. 91 of Vol VI above, Professor Linders questions the propriety of the title *chakrva* (*chakravartin*) as applied to Vikramāditya VI, in an inscription at Sravana-Belgola, dated in Śaka Samvat 1081. He presumes that the title *chakrva* is based on the analogy of the epithets *aravajyachakravartin*, *prastapachakravartin* and *Chālukyachakravartin* assumed respectively by three of Vikramāditya's successors, *viz* Sōmēśvara III, Jagadēkamalla II and Taila III. The title *Chālukya chakrva* applied to Vikramāditya VI in the subjoined inscription leaves no doubt that this imperial *virāma* originated with him,

Sabbi-sāyina (l 34 f) as a feudatory of that monarch. According to verses 4 and 5 Vajra's son by Yākamabbe (l 38 f) was the *pergade* Bēta, who became the minister of Kākatī Prōla (l 43). The only act of this Bēta which the inscription records, is that he constructed ten houses for gods (i.e. temples) in his native village (v 5). The wife of this minister Bēta—the son of Yākamāmbikā (l 53 f)—was Māilama (vv 6, 7 and 8). Lines 70 to 87 state that she built the Kadalālāya-basadi on the top of the hill (v 4) and that—in the Chālūkyā-Vikrama (l 76) year forty-two, which corresponded to the cyclic year Hēmalamba, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti, which fell on Monday, the 15th day of the dark half of Pausya, while the king Kākatīya Polalarasa (l 73), son of the *mandalika* Tribhuvanamalla (l 72) was ruling at Ammakunde (l 75),—she gave for the benefit of that temple six *matṭar* (l 86) of land below the tank built and named after herself, by her husband Bētana-*pergade* (l 81).¹ The pillar that bears the inscription was also set up by Māilama on the same occasion (l 87). Lines 88 to 99 register a gift of ten *matṭar* (l 98 f) of land to the same temple by the *mahāmandalāsvara* Mēlarasa of Ugravādi (ll 92 to 94), a member of the family of Mādhava[va]rman (l 91)² (who possessed a fabulous army) of eight thousand elephants, ten crores of horses and numberless foot-soldiers'. The land which Mēlarasa granted was situated below the Kūchikere tank, which belonged to Ōrūngallu (l 96). This town was under the control of Mēlarasa at the time of the grant. Lines 111 to 112 record the assignment of a *pāga* (*hāga*) coin to the temple sweeper Bōya-Padda, to be paid, apparently from the proceeds of either of the two grants mentioned above.

The late Professor Kielhorn kindly contributed the following remarks on the date of the inscription—"Ch V 42= Ś 1039 exp = Hēmalamba. The date regularly corresponds to Monday, the 24th December A D 1117. On this day the Uttarāyana-samkrānti took place 14 h 55 m after mean sunrise, during the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of Pausya, which commenced 0 h 38 m after mean sunrise, and ended 0 h 13 m before mean sunrise of the following day."

Seven inscriptions of the Kākatīya dynasty have been published so far.³ The earliest of these belongs to the time of Rudra,⁴ five to that of Gaṇapati,⁵ and one to that of Prātāparudra. The first of these and the Kāñchi inscription of Ganapati⁶ supplement one another in supplying the full name of the first historical person of the Kākatīya dynasty, viz. Tribhuvanamalla Bēta. The Chēbrōlu record of Ganapati⁷ and the subjoined inscription give, instead of Bēta, the form Bēta. The former of these two records and the unpublished Pākhal inscription of about the time of Ganapati⁸ mention a certain Durjaya in the Kākatīya ancestry—the one, as the father of Bēta and the other as the father of Prōla. The Pākhal inscription further states that

chakrva is also used in the sense of 'provincial chief,' above, Vol IV, p 90

¹ This tank is, perhaps, to be identified with the one at the foot of the hillock on which the Padmākhil temple is situated.

² Nos 534 to 589 and No 1066 of Appendix to Vol VII above

³ This is his Anmakonda inscription of Śaka Samvat 1084, published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI pp 9 ff. An unpublished record at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district (No 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) gives for him the date Śaka Samvat 1107. The initial date of the next king Ganapati being now fixed at Śaka-Samvat 1121 (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 43) it follows that Rudra must have ruled from at least Śaka 1084 to 1121. However, the events recorded in the Anmakonda inscription of Rudra presume a much earlier date for his accession than Śaka 1084.

⁴ These range in date between Śaka 1135 and Śaka 1173. The earliest inscription of Gaṇapati found at Tripurāntakam is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1181 which was probably his 10th year. He must have been ruling the country round Bezvāda already in Śaka 1123, see below, p 262, note 3.

⁵ *Ind Ant* Vol XXI p 197 ff

⁶ Above, Vol V p 142 ff

⁷ No 82 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902-03. This is not dated, but records the construction of the (Pākhal) tank by Jagadāla Mummaḍi, son of Bayyana-Nāyaka, a minister of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati. One is tempted to connect Jagdalpur, the capital of the Bastar State in the Central Provinces, with the chief Jagadāla-Mummaḍi. The tradition that the kings of Bastar trace their descent from the Kākatīya king Prātāparudra (above, p 154 f) lends further support to the chief's connection with Jagdalpur.

Karikāla-Chōla of the solar race was one of the predecessors of Durjaya. The Kāñchi epigraph quoted above, which also traces the Kākatīyas, as the Chēbrōlu and the Pakhal inscriptions do, to the Sun, Manu, Ikshvāku, and other mythical kings of the Raghu family, does not give the names of either Karikāla-Chōla or of Durjaya. The appearance of these two names in the Kākatīya genealogy is at present difficult to explain satisfactorily. But two facts which may be of some use in this connection have to be registered before passing on to the historical portion of the genealogy. As regards the mention of the mythical king Karikāla-Chōla as an ancestor of the Kākatīyas, attention may be drawn to the fact that the Telugu-Chōdas who invariably claim connection with this mythical Chōla king, became feudatories of the Kākatīyas in the time of Ganapati¹. With regard to Durjaya, the name occurs among the ancestors of two of the contemporary local families of the Telugu country². The first historical ancestor of the Kākatīya family was Tribhuvanamalla-Bēta. He appears to have been a powerful chief who held sway over some portions of the Andhra country before he became a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas and the governor of the Sabbi one thousand district. The surname Tribhuvanamalla which occurs here as well as in the Kāñchi and Anmakonda inscriptions, was probably borrowed from his overlord Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI.

Bēta's son and successor was Prōla, Prōlarāja, Prōdarāja or Polalarasa, whose surname Jagatikēśarin is known to us from the Kāñchi inscription of his grandson Ganapati. The importance of the subjoined epigraph consists in its being the earliest Kākatīya record and the only one of Prōla found so far. Like his father Bēta, Prōla appears to have continued as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI³. The Anmakonda inscription of his son⁴ Rudra and the Ganapēsvaram record of his grandson Ganapati, mention in detail the military exploits of Prōla. These have been fully discussed by Dr. Fleet and Professor Hultzsch⁵. One of the opponents of Prōla was Tailapadēva called "the crest-jewel of the Chālukyas" in the Anmakonda inscription. Dr. Fleet has identified him with the Western Chālukya king Taila III (A.D. 1150-51 to 1162-63). This implies a pretty long reign for Prōla from at least the Chālukya-Vikrama year 42 (= A.D. 1117), the date of the present record, to at least A.D. 1150-51, the first year of Taila III, unless we suppose that Prōla fought with Taila while the latter was yet a prince⁶. That Rudra, son of Prōla, successfully averted a usurpation of the Chālukya throne after the death of Taila III, by a certain Bhīma

¹ See *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1899-1900, p. 18, Genealogical Table of the Chōdas of the Telugu country, remarks under Ōpilsiddhi II and paragraph 53.

² The Kondapadmatī chief Buddhārāja and the mahāmandalēśvara Nambaya—two petty chieftains of the Telugu country on the southern side of the Krishna river—bore the surname 'the lion of the mountain—the Durjaya family' (above, Vol. VI p. 268 and footnote 6, and p. 269). We know from Telugu records that a family of chiefs known by the name Chāgi was contemporaneous with the Kondapadmatīs. Nos. 253 and 271 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897 give two or three names in the ancestry of this family and call it the Durjaya-kula born from the feet of Vishnu. No. 265 of the same collection, which is dated in Śaka Samvat 1145 and which belongs to the time of Chāgi Ganapaya Mahārāja who was probably a member of this Chāgi Durjaya-kula, quotes a verse at the beginning in praise of the king which is almost identical with verse 7 of the Yenamadala inscription describing the Kākatīya king Ganapati (above, Vol. III p. 97 f., text ll. 31 to 34). Unfortunately the inscription is seriously damaged, otherwise, it might, perhaps, have been possible to prove that the local chiefs of the Chāgi Durjaya-kula were borrowing from the royal Kākatīya family of Warangal not only names, but some times even the description of the members of its family.

³ This may be inferred from the use of the Chālukya-Vikrama era in the date portion of the subjoined record.

⁴ The Pakhal inscription referred to above, states that Rudra was born in the family of Prōla, which is quite against the testimony of other Kākatīya inscriptions.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 10 and above, Vol. III p. 83.

⁶ The second alternative seems to be the more probable one, for Prōla is actually stated to have captured Taila in battle and to have released him out of 'loyalty and love' (*bhakti-danuragati*). This may imply the existence of a sovereign on the Chālukya throne different from Taila. (*Chālukya-chōdamana* seems to have been a title of Western Chālukya princes who, before succeeding to the throne, generally served as governors of provinces.

whose capital was at Vardhamānagari,¹ shows the extent of the power wielded by this feudatory family in the last days of the Chālukyas. Prīla's other enemies referred to in the Annamakonda inscription were Jagaddēva, Gōvinda (or Gōvindadandēsa, as he is called in the Ganapēśvaram inscription), Gunda and Udaya or Chōḍōdaya. Jagaddēva has been identified with Tribhuvanamalla Jagaddēva, the Śāntara chief of Patī-Pombuchchapura, who was a feudatory, first of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. and then of his grandson Jagadēkamalla II. He must have "stood encompassing the city of Anumakonda" on behalf of the Chālukya emperor in order to avenge himself upon Prīla, who, it may be supposed, was trying to throw off his allegiance to the Chālukyas. It was, probably, as the first step in this direction, that Prīla inflicted the defeat on prince Taila III as stated above. Indeed, Prīla appears to have extended his military operations into the modern Kistna district as well. For, the next opponent of his was Gunda, the lord of the city of Manthana or Mantrakūta which is probably identical with the village of Mantana² in the Nuzvid Zamindārī of the Godavari district. Gōvinda or Gōvindadandēsa, I would identify with the Gōvindarāja of the Abūir inscriptions,³ who was the nephew of Anantapāla, the general of Vikramāditya VI.—and with the *dandandayaka* Gōvindarasa, who in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 51, corresponding to A D 1126-27 was ruling the Kondapalli three hundred district according to an unpublished inscription at Tripurāntakam.⁴ Here we are told that this *dandandayaka* Gōvindarasa "burnt Bengipura (Vēngi?)" and conquered Gonka.⁵ This Gonka is apparently identical with the Velanāndu chief Gonka II, father of Rājendra-Chōḍa.⁶ Udaya or Chōḍōdaya, whom Prīla first defeated and then reinstated in his dominions, is according to Professor Hultzsch perhaps "to be connected with Kulōttunga-Chōḍa-Gonka

Vira Nolamba Pallava Pirmānūdi Jayasīghadēva, younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI, had such a burden. Perhaps Taila's defeat by Prīla took place while the former was a prince, somewhere in the latter part of the reign of Jagadēkamalla II.

¹ *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 11. Vardhamānagari is said to have been burnt by Rudra after maroing 'a few steps' from his capital Annamakonda. Dr Fleet suggests, accordingly, that it should be looked for somewhere in the Nizam's dominions not far from Annamakonda. There are two places with either of which Vardhamānagari may be identified. One is Vardhanapet, about 20 miles south west of Annamakonda and the other is Waddamarr, about 50 miles south west of Annamakonda in the direction of Kālāna. A later chief of Vardhamānagari is mentioned in an inscription engraved on the fort wall at Raichur, as a feudatory of Pratāparudra. The record is dated in A D. 1294 which is the earliest date for Pratāparudra derived from inscriptions (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 44). I quote this from a brief note on the inscription made by the Officer in charge of Archaeological Researches in Mysore in his Annual Report for the year ending 30th June 1907, paragraph 56.

² There is a place called Mantam in the Yelgandal district of the Nizam's State which is about 60 miles north of Annamakonda.

³ Above, Vol V p 213 ff.

⁴ No 258 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, paragraph 40.

⁶ Above, Vol IV p 35. On p 38 of the same volume, Professor Hultzsch refers to the title *Chālukya rājya-bhavana mūlastambha* of Gonka II and states that he was a tributary to one of the two branches of the Chālukya dynasty. I think that, in spite of the fact that the Velanāndu chiefs became the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas subsequent to the death of Kulōttunga Chōḍa I (*ibid* p 37), the title borne by Gonka II was a formal hereditary title and did refer only to the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. No 227 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district records a gift by Velanāṇṭi Gonka in Saka Samvat 1028 (=A D 1105-07). This Gonka is identical with Gonka I in the Genealogical Table of the Velanāṇḍu chiefs. The inscription states that he bore the title *Chālukya rājya-bhavana mūlastambha*, but does not mention the overlord to whom he was subordinate. No 151 of 1897, however, which is dated in Saka Samvat 998, the cyclic year Nala, corresponding to the [7]th year of Vishnuvardhana Mahārāja [Kulōttunga Chōḍa I] registers a grant by Velanāṇṭi Gonkara (i.e. Gonka I), the commander of all forces (*samasta sēdāśpati*) of the king. This shows that the title *Chālukya rājya-bhavana mūlastambha* assumed by Gonka I when he had become more or less independent in the Telugu country, meant that he was a supporter of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom. We also learn from No 151 of 1897 that Gonka I was the son of Gundambikā. He was a *trīsāśītara sahasāśvānt-nātha* 'the lord of the one thousand and three hundred country' (No 277 of 1905), while his grandson Gonka II was a *trīsāśītara shatsahasāśvānt-nātha* 'the lord of the six thousand and three hundred country' (No 274 of 1898).

of Velanāndu¹ Thus Prōla who, in his early career, was a Chālukya feudatory, appears to have gradually grown powerful and to have thrown off the imperial yoke in the latter part of the reign of the Western Chalukya king Jagadēkamallā II, preparing, thereby, the way for Rudra's extensive conquests, which according to the Annakonda inscription, reached in the east to the shore of the salt sea and in the south as far as Śrīśaila²

The other facts mentioned in the subjoined inscription do not call for any remarks Mēlarasa of Ugravādi who belonged to the family of Mādhavarman, is not known from other inscriptions A feudatory family of the time of the Vijayanagara king Krishnarāya, whose members claim to have been lords of Bezvāda and were ruling a portion of the Udayagiri-rājya, traces its origin to a certain Mādhavarman of the Solar race and the Vasistha-gōtra³ It is doubtful if this Mādhavarman could be connected with the mythical Madhavavarman referred to in the subjoined inscription as an ancestor of Mēlarasa of Ugravādi.

TEXT.⁴

East Face

- 1 Śrīmaṃ Jinēndra-pada-padman-a-
- 2 śēsha-bhavyān-avyāt-trilōka-nr-
- 3 patīndra-munīndra-vamdyam | nī-
- 4 śēsha dōsha-parīkhamdāna chāmda-kā-
- 5 ndam ratna-traya-prabhavam-udgha-

¹ Above, Vol III p 83 If this surmise of Professor Hultzsch is granted, Chōdōlaya may be identified with the Velanāndu chief Kulōtunga Chōḍa-Gonka III (No 17 of the Genealogical Table of the Velanāndu chiefs on p 85 of above, Vol IV) whose inscriptions range between A D 1138 and A D 1157 And the word *Chōdōḍaya*, which literally means 'one who is) born of Chōḍa' may very aptly be applied to Kulōtunga-Chōḍa-Gonka III, whose father Velanānti Bājendra Chōḍa is called Chōḍa of Velanāndu in one of his inscriptions at Pālakōl, dated in A D 1135 (No 524 of the Epigraphical collection for 1893) and is referred to as king Chōḍi in an inscription at Nidubrolu, dated in A D 1132 (No 163 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897, text line 27 f), and probably also in the Ganapēśvaram inscription as king Chōḍi, the overlord of the Ayya chief Nārāyaṇa I who was the grandfather of Jāyana, the general of Ganapati This identification of Chōdōḍaya with Gonka III whose latest date as stated above, is A D 1157, if correct, would render probable the statement made in the Annakonda inscription that Chōdōḍaya died out of fear of Prōla's successor Rudra, who burnt his city

² This is no boast so far as the southern boundary of Rudra's dominions is concerned The existence of an inscription of his time at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district (No 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) clearly shows that the actual southern boundary of his kingdom extended even beyond Śrīśaila Rudra appears to have strengthened his position in the Telugu country by a political intermarriage in the race of Kāndhōḍaya Chōḍa (above, Vol III p 83) Ganapati did likewise by taking to wives Nārāmbā and Pērāmbā, the two sisters of his general Jāyana (*ibid* p 84) A Tripurāntakam inscription (No 204 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) states that Ganapati's sister Mēlāmbikā married Vakkaḍmalla Rudra, the second son of Buddha 'lord of Nītavāti-vishaya' The same relationship is established by an inscription at Bezvāda which is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1123 (above, Vol VI p 159, text line 8) where Nītavāḍi Rudra (not his father Buddha as Professor Hultzsch takes it) is called the *mayand* 'brother-in-law' of Ganapati Ganapati's daughter Ganapāmbā was given in marriage to the Kōta chief Bēta of Amarāvati (above, Vol III p 94) The Kōta chief Kēta II, whose mother Sabbamā was the sister of the Velanāndu chief Gonka III (above, Vol VI p 148), had five queens who were selected from the several petty families which at that time appear to have divided among themselves the country south of the Krishnā river Two unpublished inscriptions from Amarāvati in the Guntur district (Nos 261 and 262 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897) give the names of these five queens as Viñjama of the family of the chiefs of Ongunimārga (perhaps identical with Ongūmārga over which Nambays of the Durjaya family was ruling, see above, Vol VI p 224); Sabbamā of the family ruling the country "to the west of the hill," i.e. the Kondapaḍmaṣa, Pārvaḍi of the family of the chiefs of Kōna-Kāndravāḍi, Āgamā of the family of the chiefs of Kākati and Komaramā, another princess of the Kondapaḍmaṣa family It is doubtful if the Kākati family here mentioned has to be connected with the Kākatiyas of Warangal or if it has to be distinguished as a purely local family which adopted the name Kākati in consequence of its relationship with the Kākatiyas either directly or indirectly

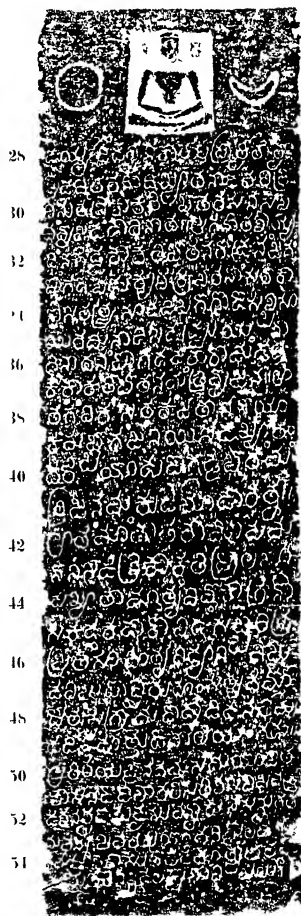
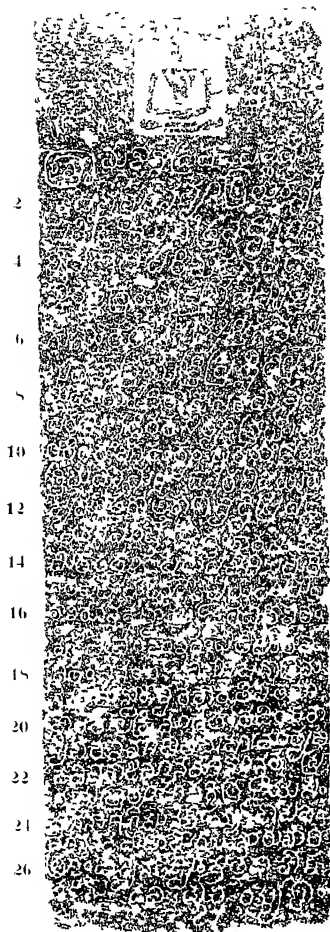
³ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-07, Part II, paragraph 78*

⁴ From two ink impressions prepared by me in 1902.

Anmakonda inscription of Prola — Chalukya Vikrama 42

East face

North face

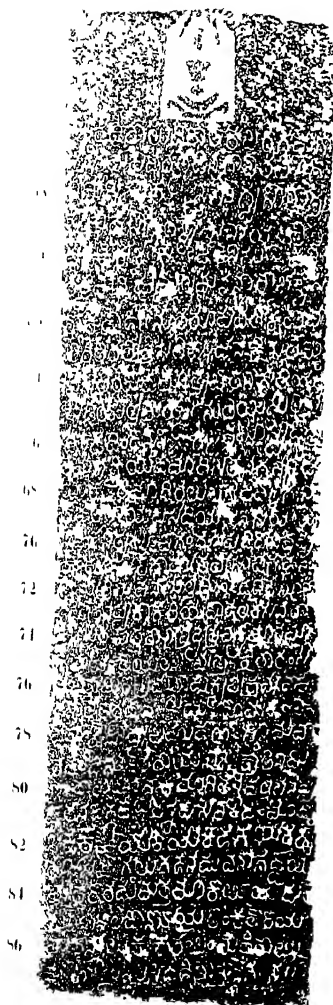


Sten Konow

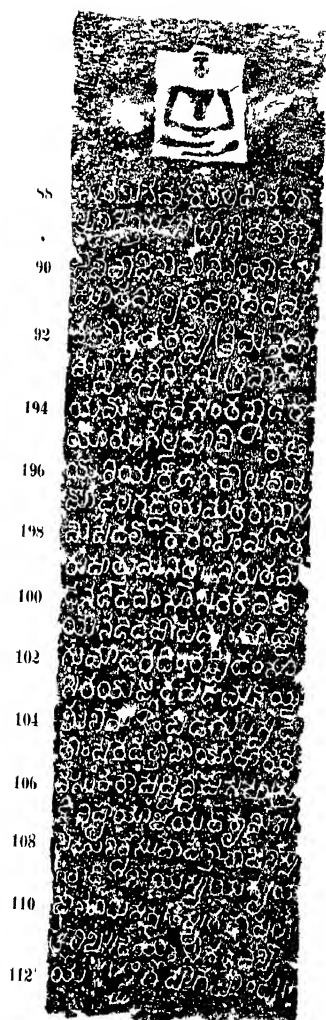
Collotype by Gebr Plettner

Scale 15

West face



South face



6 gun-aiikatānam || [1*] Svasti samasta-
 7 bhuvanāśaya śrī-pri(pri)thvivallabha
 8 mahāśrīādhirāja paramēśvara
 9 paramabhattāraka Satyāśraya-ku-
 10 la-talakam Chālukya-ābhāṣanam śrīma-
 11 t-[T]ribhuvanamalladēvara vijaya-rā-
 12 jyam-uttar-ōttar-ābhividdhi-pravarddha-
 13 mānam-ā-chamdr-ārka tāram salutta-
 14 m-ne || [1*] Tat-pādapadm-ōpajīvi samadhi-
 15 gatapamohamahāśabda mahāmam[da]-
 16 lēśvaian-Anmakundā-puavar-ēśvaram
 17 parama-Māhēśvaram pati-hita-cha-
 18 ritam vīna[ya]-vibhūṣhanam śrīma-
 19 n-mahāmandalēśvara[m] Kākatī-Bēta-[bhā]-
 20 pāla-kula-kr(m)āgātam tadīya-iā-
 21 jya-bhara-nrūpita-mahāmātya-pa-
 22 davi-virājamāna mān-ōnnata pra-
 23 bhu-mamtr ō[t]sāha-śakti-taya-sam-
 24 panna-ā[gr] || Ghana-sauryy-ātōpa[di]m
 25 māntanada mahameyam chāru chāri-
 26 tradim[d-o]pina telpim sat-kalā-kausa-
 27 ladi[n-o]david-āścharyya-[sau]m-

North Face

28 daryyadim-d-a[rīthi]nikāya-prārtit ārttha-
 29 [pra]da-vitarana-[vi]khyātan-ādam dharitri-
 30 [vi]nutam śrī-Kākatī-Bētarasana sachi-
 31 vam Vajra-damdādibhūta || [2*] Aganita-sauryya-
 32 dim negadda(īda) Kākatī-Bēta-narēndranam jagam
 33 pomgale¹ Chalukya-chakri-charanam sale kā-
 34 nsi tat-prasādādim bagegole Sabbī-sā-
 35 yiraman-āsi[d-u]dgha-yaśō-
 36 dhināthanam pogaladar-āro mamda[h]-
 37 ka-Kākatī-Bētana mamtri Vajana || [3*] Â-
 38 tamgam vikasita-kamjāt-anane Yā-
 39 kamabbegam janyisidam khyātam
 40 dhareyolu perggade Bētam mam-
 41 ti-jana-makuta-chūdāratna || [4*]
 42 Âtam Mām[dh]āta Rām ōpama-
 43 n-emsida śrī-Kākatī-Prōla-bhū-
 44 pa-khyāt-āmātyam vīrēk-āgram²
 45 sakala-kalā-kōvidam sach-charitra-
 46 pritam sāhitya-vidyā-m[dh]i bu-
 47 da(dha)-vibudh-ōrvviruham satya-dharm-ō-
 48 pētam sva-grāmadōli-māddidan-ati-ma-
 49 dadim hattu dēvālayamga³ || [5*]
 50 Atisaya-Jaina-dharmma samay-ōchita-
 51 Śāsanadēvi Bhārati-sati śasi(śi)-bumba-va[ktra]-

¹ Read *pogale*.² In the translation I have taken this word to be synonymous with *veddy-agraha*.³ About the *u* here and II 55, 68, and 69, which Dr Fleet thinks to be a form of the *vidma*, see above,

- 52 dasana clchhade śuddha-suvainna(nna)-kumbha-sannut-t-
 53 nuvaranna(rnna)-pivara-[pa]yōdhai Mailla[ma Yā]-
 54 [ka]māmbikā-su[ta]-tad-amātya-[Bē]ta-[hri]-
 55 day-śśvau mśchala-Lakshmi bhāvisalu[||][o*]

West Face

- 56 Padadimd-ā-luht-ālakam barega[m=am]g-o-
 57 pāmgamam pāmcha-ratnadin=amg-ōchutam-āge
 58 nirmusi sura-stri bh[ā]gya-saubhagya-
 59 samma[da]-suro[da]ryyaman=āydu tivi
 60 padedam Kamjāta-samjātan-i su[dati]-
 61 ratnaman=emdu Maillamanan=ār=ār-bbanuisa-
 62 1-llōkadol || [7*] Nuta-ī ūpavati kalā[vā]-
 63 ti rat-Ratī Śrī satī Ghatāntaki-satī Vā-
 64 nī-satīy=emd=amātya-Bētana satiyam
 65 kehitiy=ellam=eyde nūtiyut-irkku[m ||] [8*]
 66 Mudadimd=ene negalda [Ra]m-āspade Mai-
 67 lama bhaktiyimde mādisi tanag-abhyuda-
 68 yakaram=āguralu bettada [mē]gana
 69 Kadalaśya-basadiyan-eseyalu[||][9*]
 70 Adarkke nitya-pūjagam dhūpa-dipa-[m]vēdya-
 71 kkam pūjārig-āhā[ra]l-vastīdīgalgam
 72 śrīmat-[T]ribhuvanamalla-maṇḍalika-bhū[pā]-
 73 la-putran-appa Kākatya-Polalarasana rā-
 74 jyam=utta[r]-ōttar-ā[bhī]vri(vri)ddhi-pravarddhamānam-ā-
 75 g=Amnakumdeyal-a-chamdi-ār[kā]-tāram sa-
 76 luttum=ire śrīmach- Chālukya-Vikrama-va[r]sha-
 77 da nālvatt-erade(da)neya Hēmaḷambi-[sam]-
 78 vatsara Paushya-bahula 15 Sōmavā-
 79 rad-amdin-Uttarāyana-samkrānti-nūmi-
 80 ttam dhara-pūrvvakam-āgi tan[na] vallabhan-appa
 81 Bētana-perggade tanna pesaimdanu madi-
 82 sīda keṛey-ēriya kelagan=eiadum
 83 hās are-ga[l*]lūgala nadu(du)vana gardhde(rdde)[ya]
 84 mattar=eiadum mattam=ā-keṛeya pa-
 85 du(du)vana nela doneya tenkal-ereya
 86 mattar=nnālukum karambam ma[ttā]i=ālu(ru)-
 87 mam kottu nūrsidai-i-sā[sa]na-gambha ||

South Face.

- 88 Mattam=i dharmmakke tellatry-āge[||*]
 89 A[shtau] danti-sahasāni dāśa-kō-
 90 tī cha vājūām=[l*] anantam pāda-sam-
 91 ghātam=ity=ētē Mādha[va*]varmma-
 92 vāmś-ōdbhavar-appa śrīman-mahā-
 93 manda|śśvaran=Ugravā[di]-
 94 ya Mēlarasam tann=ā[h]ke-

¹ In the original the syllables *gdhāra* look like *gōhāmā*

- 95 y=Orumgalla Kūchikere-
 96 y=ēriya kelag[e] kālūveya
 97 modala garddeya mattar=ond-ā sa-
 98 mīpadale karambam matta-
 99 ru hattuman=itta || Nīrutam=i-
 100 dan=alidavam sāsira-kavi[le]-
 101 yan=ah[da] pāpamam [po]rddu-
 102 gum=ādaradim rakshi[m*]dam sā-
 103 sira-ye(ya)ñāda palaman=eydi
 104 śubha[ma]m padegu[m*] || [10*] Sva da
 105 ttam para-dattām va yō haetv
 106 vasumdhārām [*] śhaṣṭai=vvarsha-sahas[ā]-
 107 ni viśthayām jīyatā kṛimih || [11*]
 108 Bahubhi=vvasudhā dattā rājabhūṣa-
 109 gar-ādibhiḥ [*] yasya yasya ya-
 110 dā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam || [12*]
 111 Alli basadiya kasam ge(ga)leva Bō-
 112 ya-[Pa]ddamge pāga vomdu ||

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) May the lotus-foot of the blessed Jinendra, which (like the lotus) is worthy of being praised by the lords of kings and the lords of ascetics (*residing*) in the three worlds, whose powerful doctrine completely destroys (all) sins (just as the powerful stem of the lotus completely cures the patient of his *dōṣā*¹), which is the origin of the *ratna-traya*² (as the lotus is the birth-place of gems³) (*and*) which has its attention fixed on excellent virtues (*guṇa*) only (as the stock of the lotus is made up entirely of delicate fibre), protect all Bhavyas!⁴

(Line 6 f) Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalladēva,—the asylum of the whole world, the glorious *Prithvivallabha*, *Mahārājādhrāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭārāḍa*, the front ornament of the *Satyāśraya* family, the jewel of the *Chājukyās*,—was flourishing with perpetual increase (to last) as long as the moon, sun, and stars.

(L 14 f) A dependent on his lotus-feet (was) the prosperous *mahāmanjalīśvara*, the chief *Kākatī Bētarasa* who had acquired the five great sounds, (who was) a *mahāmanjalīśvara*, the lord of *Anmakundā*—the best of towns, a great devotee of *Mahēśvara* (*Śiva*), (one) whose actions were (directed) for the good of (his) master (and) whose ornament was modesty.⁵

(L 20 f.) Resplendent in (his) position as the hereditary prime minister (*mahāmātya*) entrusted with the administration of the kingdom of that king (i.e. Bēta), great of self-respect (and) possessing the triple qualifications of pre-eminence, counsel and energy,

(V 2) the *danḍādīndītha* *Vaija*, minister of the glorious king *Kākatī Bēta*, worshipped by (all the people of) the world for (his) liberality which bestowed desired objects on crowds

¹ *Dōṣa* is a medical term and means, according to Dr Kittel, 'black or red spots on the tongue foreboding death' It may be that according to Indian medical science, the lotus-stem is a powerful agent in removing this *dōṣa*

² See above, Vol VIII p 134, note 3

³ These are the lotus seeds which as sacred beads are worn round the neck and are called *tāṣare-mani* (lotus-gems) in *Kansere*

⁴ I.e. the Jain community, see Mr Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol II, p 59, paragraph 6

⁵ The original appears to have *mayi* in which case the phrase may be translated "the jewel among the well-behaved," but as *vaiya-vibhīṣhana* is the form which generally occurs in inscriptions, I prefer to read *ya* instead of *yi*

of supplicants, for (his) surpassing beauty which amazed (those who saw him), for his high proficiency in the sciences, for (his) refined goodness, for (his) charming behaviour, for the greatness of (his) pride¹ (and) for the display of (his) dauntless heroism,—became famous

(V 3) Who does not extol the minister of the *maṇḍalika* Kākati Bēta, Vaija, that master of prodigious fame, who by (his) immeasurable prowess made, amidst the applauses of the world, the renowned king Kākati Bēta to successfully visit the feet of the Chalukya emperor (*chakrin*), (and) to rule by the favour of that (emperor) the Sabbi (one) thousand (district) (in such a way) as to attract the attention (of the world)

(V 4) To him and to (his wife) the blooming lotus-faced Yākamabbe was born *pergade* Bēta who, famous (as he was) in the world, was a head-jewel in the diadems of the minister-class

(V 5) He (Bēta), the exalted minister of the prosperous king Kākati-Prōla, who was counted as equal to Māndhātā and Rāma, the foremost among the wise, proficient in all sciences, an admirer of good behaviour, a mine of literary lore, a celestial tree to learned men possessing truth and virtue, built, with great delight, ten houses for gods (i.e. temples) in his own village

(V 6) The wife of the minister Bēta, the son of [Yā]kamāmbikā, (was) Mailama, whose face was (as pleasant as) the moon (and) whose lips were (red like) the *bimba* (fruit), the colour of whose body was praised as being fair (and her) full breasts as being golden pots, (who was) the (veritable) lady Bhārati, a Śāsanadēvi (*par excellence*) acceptable to the doctrines of the Jaina religion (and) decidedly, (the goddess) Lakshmi (but) without (the latter's) fickleness

(V 7) Who, who in this world does not extol Mailama saying "The lotus-born (Brahman) having produced, out of the five gems (such) as best suited the portion of the body (under creation), the (several) limbs with (their) adjuncts from the feet right up to those temulous curls, (and) having filled (them) with happiness, grace, joy (and) beauty (which he) culled from among the celestial nymphs,—(he) loved (to see) this gem of womankind (—his own creation)"

(V 8) The whole world would praise deservedly the wife of the minister Bēta saying "She possesses praiseworthy beauty, she is full of lustre, (she) is a Rati in dalliance, (she) is the lady Śrī (i.e. Lakshmi), (she) is the lady Ghatāntakī,² (she) is the lady Vānī (i.e. Sarasvatī)"

(V 9) The thus-praised abode of Rāmā (i.e. Lakshmi)—Mailama—having caused to be built with delight and devotion the resplendent *Kadalalāya-basadi* (temple) on the top of the hill in order that it may bring prosperity to her—

(L 70) for the daily worship, incense, lights (and) oblations (in the temple) (and) for food, clothing, etc., of the temple priest,—

(L 72) while the reign of Kākatiya Polalarasa, son of the glorious king, the *Maṇḍalika* Tribhuvanamalla, was continuously prosperous and successful, at *Ammakunde*, (to last) as long as the moon, sun and stars—in the forty-second year of the prosperous Chālukya-Vikrama years, corresponding to the Hēmaḷambi-samvatsara, on account of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti

¹ The word *māntana* is not found in Dr Kittel's *Kannada English Dictionary* Perhaps it is a poetical form for *mānatana*

² The Jaina saint Akalanika is said in the Mallahēna epitaph (above, Vol III p 200) to have overcome, along with the Buddhas, the Buddhist goddess Tārā who had secretly descended into a pot as dwelling place. According to the *Edyavāḷi katha* (Mr Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol II p 45) Akalanika was helped in his disputation against the Buddhas by the Jaina goddess Kūshmāṇḍinī and eventually kicked over the pot with his left foot and smashed it. In the present inscription Mailama is apparently compared to the goddess Kūshmāṇḍinī who helped Akalanika to smash the pot in which the goddess Tārā had taken her abode

(which happened) on Monday, the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Pausya (of that year)—

(L 80) gave to that (temple), with libations of water, two *mattar* of wet land (lying) between two flat slabs below the *band* of the tank built in her name by her husband Bêtanapergade, and four *mattar* of black-soil land (lying) south of the pond (*done*) on the west side of the same tank and six *mattar* of uncultivated land,¹ (and) set up this inscribed pillar

(L 88 f) And as a (subsidiary) gift to this charity the prosperous *mahāmanḍalāsvara* Mēlarasa of Ugravādi, who was born in the family of Mādha[vav]arma, (whose army consisted) of "eight thousand elephants, eight clores of horses and endless crowds of foot (soldiers) etc.," gave one *mattar* of wet-land at the head of the canal below the *band* of Kūchikere (tank) which belonged to Orumgallu (included) within his rule, (and) ten *mattar* of miscellaneous land close to the same (land)

(V 10) He that destroys this (charity) shall always incur the sin of having killed thousand tawny cows, (and) he that carefully protects it, shall ever enjoy (that) happiness (which is) acquired as the fruit of a thousand sacrifices (*yajña*)

[Ll 104 to 110 contain two of the usual imprecatory verses]

(L 111 f) One *pāga*² (is assigned) to Bōya-Padda who removes the sweepings in that temple

No 36.—BALAGHAT PLATES OF PRITHIVISHENA II

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F KIELHOEN, C I E , GOTTINGEN

These plates were sent in May 1893 by the Deputy Commissioner of Bālāghāt, a district in the Nāgpur Division of the Central Provinces, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to which they now belong. In the letter which accompanied them, it was stated that they had been found in the district, 'some time ago, hanging to a tree in the jungle'. They were entrusted to me by Dr Hoernle in 1905, with the request that I should edit the inscription which is engraved on them. Other work has prevented my doing so before now.

The plates are five in number, each between $6\frac{1}{2}$ " and $6\frac{3}{4}$ " long by between $3\frac{1}{2}$ " and 4" high, two of them contain no writing whatever, while of the three others (here described as plates i, ii and iii) the second is engraved on both sides and the first and the third on one side only. Though the plates have no raised rims and are not fashioned thicker near the edges, the engraving on them is throughout in a perfect state of preservation. The five plates are strung on a ring, which passes through a hole about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " distant from the middle of the proper right margin of each plate. This ring is circular, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and between 3" and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The ends of it are flattened off and joined by a bolt, which had not been cut when the plates came into my hands. On the ring described there slides a smaller ring, made of a band of copper, the ends of which are fastened by a rivet which also passes through, and firmly holds, a flat disc of copper about $2\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. Undoubtedly this disc was meant to serve as a seal and to bear some writing, but nothing has been engraved on it.³

The plates clearly were intended to record a grant of the Vākātaka king Prithivishēna II, but they actually give only the genealogy of the king and break off at the point where his order

¹ I have taken *karamḍam* to be synonymous with Tamil *karambu*, which, according to Dr Winslow, means 'hard and sterile ground'.

² This small coin, more popularly pronounced *ḍāga*, is equal to 'one-fourth of a *kāṇa*'.

³ Compare the descriptions of the three sets of plates of Pravarasēna II in *Gupta Inscr.* pp 285 and 248 and above, Vol III, p 268

commences. The four inscribed sides contain 35 lines¹ of well-engraved writing. The size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{2}$ " and $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the 'box-headed' variety of the southern class of alphabets and are similar to, but less angular than, those of the Duda plates of the Vakataka Pravarasēna II, published with a facsimile above, Vol. III p. 260. They include the subscript sign of the rare η , in *Ajñita*², l. 31, the sign of the *śivamāliya*, in *Kuntalā*³, l. 30, and forms of the final *t*, in *samūt*, l. 4, and of the final *t* (which does not occur in the facsimile), in *vachanūt*, l. 35⁴. The conjunct *nn* is everywhere written by a sign which is really the sign for *nn* (in *sannavāsita*, l. 6, *utpannasya*, l. 23, and elsewhere), *nasara* is doubled by two hook-shaped lines (*e g* in *sūnāh*, ll. 11 and 20), the signs for *ḍ* and *ḍ* are well distinguished *e g* in *-vāsahid*, l. 1, and *śhḍasy*, l. 2, and there are two forms of the letter *r*, *e g* in *-vāsahid*, l. 1, and *vachanūt*, l. 35. — The language is somewhat ungrammatical, Sanskrit, and the text is all in prose. In line 10 a passage of no less than 27 *akṣaras* has through carelessness been omitted by the writer. As regards orthography, the rules of *samāha* are constantly neglected (as in the three cognate grants), the (long) *ā* is several times written where the word should be short, and the (short) *i* is throughout employed for both *i* and *ī*, the vowel *ri* is used instead of *ri* in *-pantīnāh*, l. 16, and *-vriyāh*, l. 27, and instead of *ri* in *śri*, ll. 17 and 20. Besides, the dental and lingual nasals are confounded in *kārunya*, l. 12, *manā*, l. 13, and *-anusūnāh*, l. 20, the word *ansa* is written as *ansa* in line 6, and *vamsa* as *vansa* in lines 7, 24, 27 and 33, *śh* is doubled after *r* in *varshsha*, l. 14, and *dh* before *y* in *-addhyaksha*, l. 35. With *°pativ-abhyā°* for *°paty abhyā°* in line 28, where the *r* of *°pativ-* looks like a *samāha*-consonant, we may compare *-bbalam-aiśvaryya-* for *-bbalaśvaryya-* in line 15 of the Duda plates, above, Vol. III p. 261, where *m* is used in a similar way⁵.

With two exceptions, the text down to the word *Pravarasēnasya* in line 26 is practically identical with that of the three published grants⁶ of the Vakātaka king Pravarasēna II; like those grants, it gives the genealogy of this king, commencing with Pravarasēna I, and enumerating after him his son's son Rudrasēna I, his son Prithvivishēna I, his son Rudrasēna II, and his son (from Prabhāvatigupta, the daughter of the Mahādyādhiya Dēvagupta) Pravarasēna II. Of the exceptions referred to, one is that our inscription commences with *Vāṃśavāsahid*, 'from (his) residence Vēmbāra,' in the place of which the Chammak and Duda plates of Pravarasēna II have *Pravarapurā*, 'from Pravarapura.' Our grant therefore was to have been issued from Vēmbāra, a place which I have not been able to identify. The other point of difference is that, while the grants of Pravarasēna II commence with *drishṭam*, or *drishṭam svastī*, or *drishṭam siddham*, this inscription contains no such expression, but at the beginning of line 1, before the word *Vēmbāra*, leaves an empty space just where one would have expected something like *drishṭam*. The omission and the vacant space, in my opinion, are rather significant. Contrary to what I have said in my remarks on the Duda plates, above, Vol. III p. 259, I am convinced now that *drishṭam* (and the Prakṛit *ditham* of the Mayyāyā and Hirahadagall plates⁶) must really be taken in its ordinary sense of 'seen,' and that it is similar to the modern 'true copy' or 'examined' of official letters or Government orders⁶. Such a remark

¹ In preparing the accompanying facsimile, the last line on the first side of the second plate unfortunately was at first overlooked, it is really line 13, and the lines marked in the facsimile as lines 18–34 are really lines 19–35.

² There is a final *m* in line 27 (line 25 of the facsimile), but it seems to be out of place where it stands.

³ Other passages where *m* looks distinctly like a *samāha*-consonant are *tīna manēka* for *tātānēka* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 309, line 10, and *prastāyastayā manyathā* for *prastāyastayā anyathā* in *Gupta Inter.* p. 267, line 13.

⁴ See above, p. 267, note 2.

⁵ Nos. 617 and 618 of my *Southern Ins.*

⁶ Compare the remarks of the late Prof. Bühler, above Vol. I, pp. 9 and 10, and of Prof. Hultzsch above, Vol. VI, p. 88. Sir W. H. Sleeman, speaking of certain kings of Oude, in his *Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, Vol. I, p. 179, says that to their orders a seal was affixed in their presence bearing the inscription *mohatva shud*, 'it has been seen.' Like *drishṭam*, *jūṭam* is used in the body of an inscription in *Journ. As Soc. Bengal*, Vol. LXIX, Part I, p. 92, l. 21 (*jūṭam-mahāmantri śrī-Mahakṛta*).

could of course have been affixed or prefixed to a document only when it was finished, and it is missing here because our grant was not completed. The engraver apparently acted just as a writer or copyist of the grant would have done.

After Pravarasēna II our inscription in lines 26-35 mentions his son, the *Mahārāja* Narēndrasēna, and after him his son — born from the queen (*mahādevī*) Ajjhita-bhātārikā,¹ a daughter of the lord of Kuntala — the *Mahārāja* Prithivishēna [II], a devout worshipper of Bhagavat (Vishnu). Narēndrasēna, 'from confidence' in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortune, his commands were honoured by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala and Mālava, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess. Prithivishēna II is described as 'being a receptacle of splendour and forbearance, who raised (his) sunken family'. The name *Prithivishēna*, in line 35 is followed by *rajanat*, 'at his command', but of the king's order only the words 'all superintendents' are given by these plates.

In the Vākātaka stone inscription published in *Archaeol. Survey of W. India*, Vol IV p 124 ff, the verses 10 and 11, which would have given the names of the successors of Pravarasēna II, are unfortunately much mutilated. The name of Pravarasēna's son and successor, 'who, having obtained the kingdom when eight years of age, ruled well,' has quite disappeared, and the son of that unknown king according to the published text was Devasena. As has been stated above, according to our grant Pravarasēna's son Narēndrasēna took away the kingdom (probably from an elder brother), married a daughter of the king of Kuntala, and was succeeded by his son Prithivishēna II. The stone inscription in verse 8 records the defeat of a lord of Kuntala by apparently Prithivishēna I, and in verse 18 speaks of Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kōsala, Trikūta, Lāta, Andhra . . . [as having been subjected by one of the later Vākātakas]. According to the present inscription Narēndrasēna had his commands honoured (or obeyed) by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala and Mālava. The first and last of these three countries are well known. The situation of Mēkala (according to the Topographical List of the Brihatsamhitā in *Ind. Ant.* Vol XXII p 185, a mountain or a people) is indicated by the fact that the river Narmadā is called *Mālaka kanyā*, 'the daughter of Mēkala, and that that river springs from the hill Amarakantak (in Long 81° 48' and Lat 22° 40') in the ancient Chōdi country.³

Here and in the cognate plates the Vākātaka kings have the title *mahārāja* followed by the word *śrī* prefixed to their names, and before the title there stands in each case the genitive *Vākātakānām*, e.g. *Vākātakānām mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya*. Such passages have been hitherto translated as if the genitive *Vākātakānām* were governed by the title *mahārāja* 'the illustrious Pravarasēna, the great king of the Vākātakas,' or 'the *Mahārāja* of the Vākātakas, the illustrious Pravarasēna.' The matter is not of great importance, but it may be as well to state that from the grammarian's point of view such a construction would be objectionable. In my opinion, the genitive must be taken to qualify, not the title *mahārāja*, but the whole phrase *mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēna*, and more especially the word *Pravarasēna*, the chief component of the phrase, so that the meaning would be 'the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Pravarasēna of the Vākātakas,' i.e. 'of the family of the Vākātakas'.⁴ I have already had occasion to point out that we similarly have the genitive *Mastrakānām* in the Valabhi plates, where there is no title by which this genitive could be governed, *Vāṣṭmukundānām* above, Vol IV p 195, l. 2, and

¹ The name *Ajjitadēvi* we also find in the Kāntalā plates of the Mahārāja Jayasātha, *Gupta Inscr.* p 118.

² The reading of the original text is not absolutely certain here.

³ Compare *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol XVII, Plate I, and the verse cited by Dr Bhandarkar above, Vol IV, p 280.

⁴ The same remark applies to the genitive *Bhāratānām* in line 10 of the inscription.

Kadambânâm in *Ind. Ant.* Vol VI p 26, l. 5 and Vol VII p 35, l. 4, and above, Vol VI p 14, l. 4, and p 18, l. 5

The inscription, not having been finished, contains no date of any kind, but it may be assigned with probability to about the second half of the 8th century A D

TEXT.¹

First Plate

- 1 . . . ²Vēmbāra-vāsakād=agnishtëm-âptōryyām-ôkthya-
- 2 shôdasy-âtrâtra-vâjapēya-brihaspatisava-sâdya-
- 3 skra-chaturasvamedha-yâjunah³ Vishnuvridhdha-sagôtra-
- 4 sya samrât⁴ Vâkâtākânām-mahârāja-sri-⁵Pravarasē-
- 5 nasya ⁶sûnôḥ-sûnôḥ atyanta-Svâmi-Mahâ-
- 6 bhaurava-bhaktasya⁷ ansa-⁸bhâra-saunivêṣita-⁹Śiva-
- 7 lung-ôdvahana-Śiva-superitushṭa samutpâdita-
- 8 rājavanśanâm¹⁰-parâkram-âdhigata-Bhâgratthy-âmalā-¹¹
- 9 jalā-¹²mûrddhnâbhishuktânân=daśâsvamedh-âva-

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 bhṛūtha-snâtânām=Bhârasivânām-¹³mahârāja-sri-¹⁴Rudrase-
- 11 nasya sūnôḥ atyanta-mâhêśvarasya saty-âryjaya-
- 12 kârūnya(nya)-śauryya-vikrama-naya-vinaya-môhâ-
- 13 tmya-dhmatva pâtragatâbhaktutva-dharmmâvījayitva-¹⁵man[ô]-¹⁶
- 14 nairmmâly-âdir-¹⁷guṇa samuditasya varshsha-śata
- 15 m-abhivarddhamâna-kôsa-danda-sâdhana-santâna-putra-
- 16 pautri(tri)ṇah Yudhishtura vritrê-¹⁸Vâkâtākânām-mahâ-
- 17 rāja-sri(śri)-Prithivishênasya sūnô[h*] bhagavata-
- 18 =Chakrapânê[h*] prasâd-ôpârjita-sri-¹⁹

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 19 samudayasya Vâkâtākânām-mahârāja-sri-²⁰Rudra-
- 20 sênasya sūnôḥ ²¹pûrvvarâj-ânuvritta-mâ[r*]gg-ânu(nu)sâ-

¹ From the original plates

² At the commencement of this line there is an empty space sufficient for about three *aksharas*. One would have expected here the word *drishṭam*, with which the three grants of Pravarasēna II begin

³ This sign of *esarga* is clearly visible in the original. Here and in other places below the rules of *samâh* have not been observed

⁴ The plates of Pravarasēna II have *samrât* (?), *sashrat*, and *samrâtah*. Read *samrâtah* (or *samrâtô*).

⁵ Read *sri*.

⁶ The *akshara* *sâ* is clear in the original

⁷ Here is a mark in the original which looks like the upper half of a *visarga*

⁸ Read *ansa*.

⁹ In this word and everywhere below the conjunct *nn* is denoted by a sign which is really the sign for *nn*.

¹⁰ Read *vashîśânâm*.

¹¹ Read *Bhâgratthy amala*.

¹² Read *mûrddhâbhîḥ*; compare *Gupta Inscr.* p 237, l. 6.

¹³ Here the words *mahârāja-sri-Bhavarâga-daushṭasya Gautamputrasya putrasya Vâkâtākânâm* of the cognate plates have erroneously been omitted

¹⁴ Read *sri*.

¹⁵ Read *-âkīmatva-pâtrâgatâbhaktutva-dharmmavījayitva-*

¹⁶ Read *manô-*

¹⁷ Read *nairmmâly-âdi-*

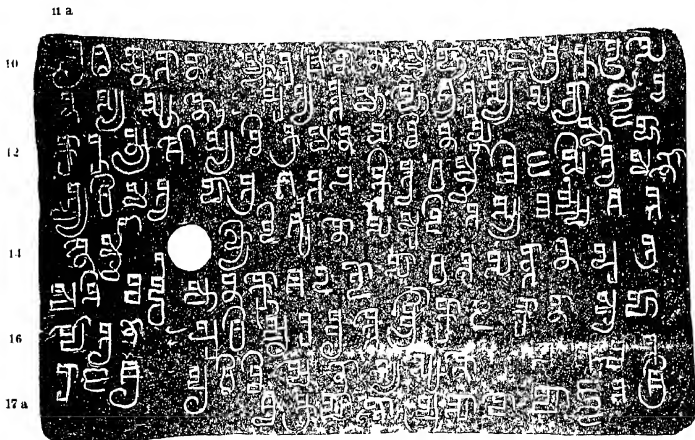
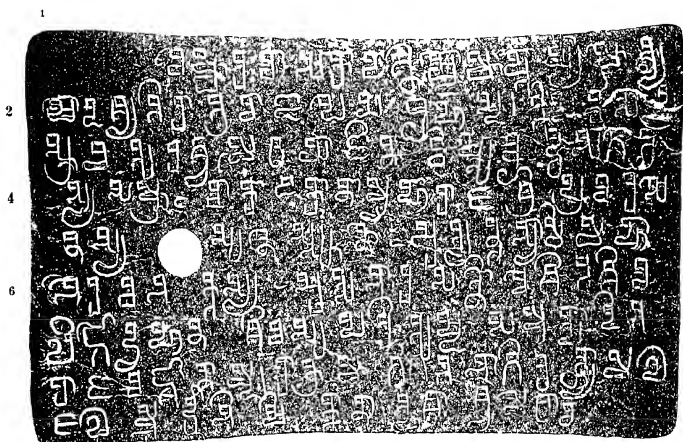
¹⁸ Originally *svi* was engraved.

¹⁹ One would have expected *prasâdâd-updô*—Read *-sri-*

²⁰ Read *-sri-*

²¹ Of the three grants of Pravarasēna II, only the Siwani grant has the passage from here to *°dviśah*, see *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 246, lines 14 and 15.

Balaghat plates of Prthivishena II

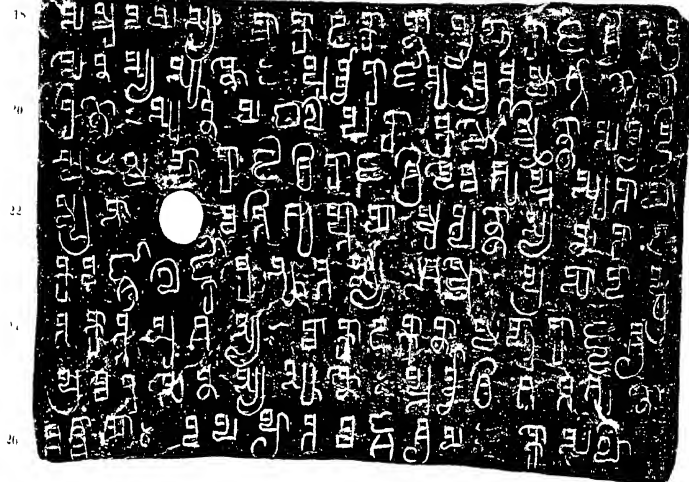


E. Hultzsch

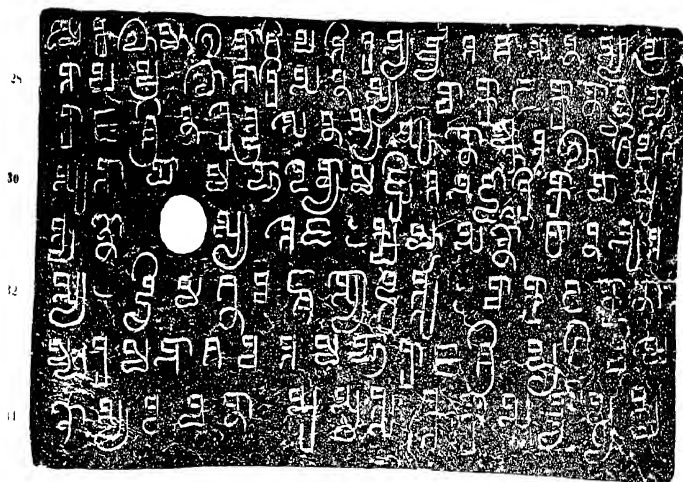
Scale 95

Collotype by Gebr Plettner, Halle-Saale

u b



iii a



- 21 rūpaḥ sunaya-bala-parākram-ōmohinna-¹sarvadvī-
 22 shah mahārājādhirāja-śrī-²Dāvagupta-sutāyā.
 23 m=Prabhāvatīguptasyāu-utpannasya Vākātā-
 24 ³kavanś-ālan-kārabhūtasya Śambhōḥ prasāśād=dhva(dhri)-
 25 ⁴ta-kārttayugasya ⁵Vākātākānā[m*]=mahārājja(ja)-śrī(śrī)-
 26 Pravarasēnasya sūnōḥ pūrvvādīgata-guṇa-
 27 ⁶vī]śvā[sā?]d=apahṛita-vanśasṛīyaḥ⁷ Kōśalā-⁸

Third Plate

- 23 Mākalā⁹. Mālav-ādhipatir-abhyarohata-¹⁰śāsanasya pra-
 29 tāpa-pralātārisanasya¹¹ Vākātākānām-mahā-
 30 rāja-śrī-¹²Narēndrasēnasya sūnōḥ-Kuntalādhipati-
 31 sutāyā[m*]=mahādēvyām-Ājjhita-bhattārikāyām-u-
 32 tpannasya tājah-kshamā-sannihānabhūta-¹³
 33 sya¹⁴ dvimagna vanśasy¹⁵-ōddhartuh Vākātākānā-
 34 m-paramabhāgavata-mahārāja śrī¹⁶.Prithivishē-
 35 nasya vachanāt¹⁷ asmatsantakā¹⁸ sarvv-ōddhyakṣa

No 37 —ORISSA PLATES OF VIDYADHARABHANJADEV.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E., GOTTINGEN

There is no information as to where or when these plates were first obtained. In 1887 they belonged to Mr C. T. Metcalfe, Commissioner of the Orissa Division, and the inscription which is engraved on them was published in that year, with a facsimile, by the late Dr. Bājendralāl Mitra, in the *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LVI Part I, p. 154 ff. In November 1895 the plates were presented by the Commissioner of Orissa, through Mr C. L. Griesbach, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and they have now been entrusted to me by Dr. Hoernle, with the request to re-edit the inscription.

There are three substantial copper-plates, the edges of which are slightly raised, and of which each measures between 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ " and 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ " long by between 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ " and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. They slide on a copper ring, which passes through a hole, which is about $\frac{1}{8}$ " distant from the middle of

¹ Read -*śchahhinnā*.² Read -*śrī*.³ Read -*kavanś*.

⁴ Instead of this *ta*-the Chammaḥ and Siwani grants of Pravarasēna II have *śi*-, which seems to me preferable.

⁵ Here some *akṣhara* (perhaps the initial *ś*) was engraved, but has been erased.

⁶ The reading is doubtful. The first *akṣhara* of the line is *vi*, the superscript *ś* of which, though faint, is distinctly visible in the original, and the second appears to be *ś* and. The third *akṣhara* looks more like *ś* than *ś*, and is followed by a sign which looks like a form of final *m*, and has probably been struck out. The *ś* and what follows is clear.

⁷ Read -*vanśasṛīyaḥ*.⁸ Read *Kōśalā*.⁹ Perhaps *Mākalā*-has actually been engraved, read *Mākalā*.¹⁰ Read -*paṭy-abhyarohata*.¹¹ Read -*pranādrīśānasya* (?)¹² Read -*śrī*.¹³ Read -*śāśā*.¹⁴ Here again there is a mark which looks like part of the *ś* or *ś*.¹⁵ Read -*(?)magna-vanśasya*.¹⁶ Read -*śrī*.

¹⁷ This final *ś*, the sign for which is very small, is really visible in the original plates. In Gupta Inscriptions, p. 202, l. 17, the text has *śchanda* [i^o].

¹⁸ Read -*śantakā*-, and compare above, Vol. III. p. 261, l. 18.

the proper right margin of each plate. The ring, which had already been cut when the plates came into my hands, is between $\frac{1}{8}$ " and $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick and about 3" in diameter, and on to it is soldered a roughly circular metal seal, between $1\frac{1}{4}$ " and $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The seal contains in relief on a countersunk surface, in the upper half, a couching lion facing to the proper right, and in the lower half the legend

*śrī-Vidyādhara-
bhāṣajāvāsya*

in northern characters which are between $\frac{3}{16}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ " high

Before the plates were used for the grant now engraved on them, they had already served for another grant, the four last lines of which, though faint, are almost completely legible on the first side of the first plate, and of the writing of which more or less distinct traces remain also on the other sides of the plates. The characters of this earlier grant belong to what I have elsewhere¹ called the Gañjām variety of the northern alphabet, and the lines with which it ended, compared with the end of the Gumsūr grant² of Nētrībhaṣya, published in *Journ. As Soc Beng* Vol VI p 689 f and Plate xxxiii, would seem to show that the grant was issued by a chief of the same family. The four lines (on the first side of the first plate), so far as I am able to read them, are —

- L 1 Svayam-ādīśitō rājā dūtakō-tra [Mār]tamdah || Likhitaṁ-cha³
sādhvī-
2. grahika-Ārka[dēvāna]⁴ || Lāñchitam [rā]jī-srī-Māmkya-mahādē-
3. ryā || Ūktirnam oh-āksha[śā]h-Kumāra[dattēna] || 'samvat . .
4. di⁵ . . . ||

The grant now recorded on these plates is engraved on the second side of the first plate and on both sides of the two others. The engraving is deep and well done, and in a perfect state of preservation. In three places (in lines 10, 22 and 35) there is some doubt about the actual wording of the text, either because the engraver altered what he had originally engraved, or because portions of the letters of the earlier grant spoken of above are mixed up with the new writing, the rest may be read without any difficulty. The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{16}$ ". The characters belong to that variety of the northern alphabet which we find, *eg* on the Buguda plates of Mādhavarman, treated of above, Vol VII p 101 f. Of the consonant signs the most characteristic are those for *h* (*eg* in *Harasya Śēshāhēra*, l 4), *ṣ* and *ṣṣ* (*eg* in *prāṣa*, l 9, and *-vighaṭṭā*, l 6), and *n* (*eg* in *-vāna-prāna*, l 1), of which the last, in combination with palatals, also serves for the palatal nasal (*eg* in *Bhaṣyāmāla*, l 14, *-uktañ-cha*, l 27, and *lāñchitam*, l 35). Among other conjuncts attention may be drawn to the signs for *kṣh*, *gg*, *ghh*,

¹ See above, Vol VII, p 101

² The published text, which was furnished to Mr Prinsep by Kamalākānta Vidyāmankara, is quite incorrect. According to Mr Prinsep's lithograph of Lieutenant Kittoe's copy, the passage with which we are concerned here, so far as I can make it out, would be *svayam-ādīśitō rājā dūtakō-tra bhāṣa-srī-Stambhāitak lāñchita-cha sādhyagrakīṇā Kā[kā]kēna ūktirnam[m] oh-ākṣatālā Durggadātēna || lāñchitam . . . samvat (?) Māgha-sudh . . .*

³ Read *likhitañ-cha*

⁴ Read *grahik-Ārka*

⁵ Read *śamvat*, the three *ākṣaras* by which this word is followed are illegible

⁶ This *ḍ* is followed by a sign which possibly is a letter-numeral for 10, and before the sign of punctuation there is another sign which looks like the symbol for *ōṣ*. The two signs show fairly well in the accompanying facsimile. I may add that there are letter numerals also in the last line of the Bāmnghāt grant of Banabhaṣya, published with a facsimile in *Journ. As Soc Beng* Vol XI Part I p 165 f, and in lines 35 and 86 of one of the Gañjām grants of Daṇḍimahādē, above, Vol VI p 189 and Plate

⁷ The same sign for *h* (which is not given by our paleographic Tables) we find in the Buguda plates of Mādhavarman, in the Gumsūr plates of Nētrībhaṣya, and on the second side of the plate of Daṇḍimahādē, above, Vol VI p 188. It was also used in the grant originally engraved on these plates. A similar form of *h* we find in several varieties of the southern alphabet.

dbh and *mbh* (e.g. in *-vākshōbha-daksham*, l 1, *°vargga*, l 10, *-Digbhañjadēvasya*, l 12, =*udbhā-* at the end of line 4, and *-Stambhādēva*, l 36). There is a special sign for final *ṭ*, in *-ānyat*, l 18, *nyat*, at the commencement of line 19, *yāvat*, l 21, and *°rādāhāt* for *°rādāhāt*, l 22. Of initial vowels the text contains only *a* (for *ā*), *ṣ*, *u* and *ḍ*, in *achandāṣ*, l 21, *wa*, ll 5 and 6, *ṭis*, l 33, *Upamany[u]*-, l 23, *urikurnna*, l 38, and *ḍtad*, l 19. As regards medial vowels, *ḍ* is sometimes denoted by a short superscript stroke or by a small hook on the right of the consonant-sign, as in *lābhañja*¹ at the commencement of line 13, and in *Bhañjāmala*², l 14, and there are two signs³ of the subscript *u*, one of which may be seen e.g. in *jayatu*, l 1, and *bhuvana*⁴, l 2, and the other in *-sura*⁵, l 7, *-rīpu*⁶, l 10, *Vākyaṭvaka*⁷, l 8, and *-vachubhṛ-*, l 27, etc., the former of the two signs is used also to denote medial *ū*, for which there is no separate sign in these plates. Two forms of medial *ḍ* may be seen e.g. in *Śēshādher-a(ṣ)va yē*, l. 4, and *pra(prā)lēyāchala*, l 5, and similarly two forms of medial *ḍ*, e.g. in *ḥirtayō vilō*⁸, l 35. The sign of *anusvāra* is sometimes placed after the consonant-sign, as in *°padam yathārham*, l. 17. The signs of *vṛāma* and *avagraha* do not occur, and a sign of punctuation is found only in lines 20 and 25 (where in either case it is out of place) and at the end of the grant. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There are two verses in lines 1-8, and four imprecatory verses in lines 27-35, the rest of the text is in prose. As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*, *visarga* at the end of a word is ten times omitted, and single consonants are used instead of double ones in *chatusimā* for *chatusimā*, l 19, =*anurōdhāḥ cha* for =*anurōdhāḥ=cha*, l 26, and five or six times in the words *data* and *dati* for *datta* and *dattī* (lines 25, 28, 29, 31, 32 and perhaps 23). There is besides some confusion of the short and long vowels, especially in the case of *ṣ* and *ṭ*, where *ṭ* is used instead of *ṣ* no less than nine times (e.g. in *nīkasha*, l 3, *rīpu*, l 10, *salila*, l 21, etc.), and *ū*, as has been already stated, is everywhere written by the sign for *u*. A few times the writer or engraver has omitted an *akṣhara*, as in *Vidyādharañja*⁹ for *Vidyādharañja*, l 15, the chief name of the inscription which is correctly given on the seal, and altogether the grant has been written rather carelessly.

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Mahāśvara (Śiva), the ornament of the spotless family of the Bhañjas,¹⁰ the *Mahārāja Vidyādharañjadēva*, also called king *Dharmakalāṣa* (P), who was a son of *Śilābhañjadēva*,¹¹ grandson of *Digbhañjadēva*,¹² and great-grandson of *Baṇabhañjadēva*; and its object is to record a grant which was issued by the king from *Vañjulvaka*.¹³ Like the Gumsūr grant of *Nētribhañjadēva Kalyāṇakalāṣa*, it opens with two verses which glorify the (third) eye of Hara (Śiva) and invoke the protection of the waves of the divine Gaṅgā. In lines 15-27 the king informs the *Sāmantas*, *Bhōgins*¹⁴ and others, the [lords of] *vishayas*, and the people generally who dwell in the *Ramalaṇva*, *vishaya*, that with pouring out of water he gave the village of *Tupdurāva* in that district,

¹ Which of the two signs is used, depends on the consonant to which the sign is attached, thus, *k* and *ṣ* always take the curve-shaped sign and *p* and *ṭ* always the straight or hook-shaped sign. In line 17, where the curve-shaped *ṣ* is attached to *p*, the *akṣhara* intended to be denoted is *pṛ* (of *pṛjayaṭi*), not *pu*, the same remark applies to the *ṣ* of *śrāddhāṭa* (for *nirāddhāṭa*) in line 11. But in the case of *bhu* and *bhḍ*, *ṣ* and *ṭ* are both denoted by the same (curve-shaped) sign.

² Compare e.g. *Gaṅgamalakulatilaka*, above, Vol III p. 18, l 12, and *Kadamod(mbd)miakulatilaka*, ibid p. 228, l. 22.

³ In line 5 of the Gañjām plates mentioned in Mr Sewall's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol II p. 33, No. 218 (and of which Dr Fleet has given me an impression), the name is spelt *Śilābhañjadēva*. Above, Vol III. p. 853, l 38, a place *Śilābhañjadēvi*, which was in *Ódra-dēva* (Orissa), is mentioned.

⁴ The name *Digbhañja* also occurs in the Bimanghātī plates of *Baṇabhañja*, where there can be no doubt about the reading of it.

⁵ The original has *vayaya-Vaṇjulvakaḍi*.

⁶ Compare e.g. above, Vol VI p. 238, l 18: *-śāmantas-bhōgika-vishayapati-*; ibid p. 142, l 25 (in one of *Daṇḍimabdhēr's* grants) we have the term *bṛṣhadbhōgins*.

rent-free,¹ to the *bhaṭṭa* Dārūkhāṇḍī—a son of Śūridēva² and grandson of Gaurīchandra—of the Upamanyu *gōtra* and Bahvricha *sākhā* (of the Rigveda), and he enjoins future kings (*rājaka*) to protect this gift, and (in lines 27-35) quotes four imprecatory verses from the *dharmaśāstras*.

The inscription (in lines 35-38) ends with four statements, introduced severally by the participles *lāñchhitam*, *pravṛttam*, *likhitam*, and *utkīrnam*. About the meaning of the two last there can be no doubt: the grant was written by the *sāndhvirgrahika* (or minister of peace and war) Khambha, and engraved by the *akṣhaśālīn*³ (or goldsmith) Kumārachandra. The term *pravṛttam* I have not found in similar surroundings in any other grant, but since this word takes the place here of the phrase *vayam=ādīṣṭō rājād dātākō=tra* of the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṭribhaṭṭa and of the earlier grant on these very plates⁴ (where that phrase in both cases appears in company with *lāñchhitam*, *likhitam* and *utkīrnam*), I think that it must likewise be taken to refer to the business of the *dātaka* and that the words *pravṛttam Kṣāva* must be translated 'brought (to the donee's) home by (the messenger) Kṣāva'. The passage commencing with *lāñchhitam* I am unable to explain properly. According to Dr Fleet, above, Vol VII p. 227, *lāñchhana* denotes the device used on the seals of copper-plate charters, etc., and *lāñchhita* therefore probably means 'furnished with such a device' or 'marked with a seal' (*mudrayā mudritam*).⁵ We find the word in the Bṛghda plates of Mādhavavarmā, above, Vol. III p. 46, l. 50, *lāñchhitam Jayasīnghēna*, in the Gaṣṭjām plates of Prithivīvarmadēva, above, Vol IV p. 201, l. 35, *lāñchhitamān-cha śrī-mā(ma)hādēvyā*, in the grant which was originally engraved on these plates, above, p. 272, *lāñchhitam [rāj]gñī-śrī-Mānukya-mahādēvyā*, 'marked with a seal by the queen, the glorious Mānukya-mahādēvi', and it occurs also in the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṭribhaṭṭa, where the words by which it is followed cannot be made out with confidence.⁶ In the present case our text appears to give us *lāñchhitam śrī-Trikalīnga-mahādēvyā*, 'marked with a seal by the glorious Trīkalīnga-mahādēvi',⁷ which would be similar to what we find in the earlier grant on these plates, but these words are followed by *tējagñēna*, which may be corrupt and the meaning of which is quite obscure, and after that again we have the instrumental *śrībhaṭṭa-Stambhādēva-mantrīnā*, 'by the minister, the *bhaṭṭa* Stambhādēva',⁸ which, for want of the meaning of the obscure word, I see no way of connecting with what precedes. It is curious that in at least two of the passages where the word *lāñchhitam* occurs the marking with the seal is stated to have been performed by a queen.

Our inscription contains no date of any kind, and for the present it seems impossible to fix its age even approximately, because we know nothing that is certain about the chiefs of the Bhaṭṭa family during the Middle Ages,⁹ and possess no dated inscriptions with the same alphabet. With all due reserve I would say that the inscription may perhaps be assigned to the 12th or 13th century A.D.

¹ In the wording of the grant the expressions which are characteristic of the locality to which the grant belongs are *sambaddha* (in line 19, used in the sense of *sambaddha*), *sāñchādēva-purāṣarēṇa vidhātā*, and *akṣhaśālīn* (for which by mistake *karatālīn* has been engraved). Compare e.g. above, Vol III p. 46, l. 28, and Vol. VII p. 101.

² On this word, which in Sanskrit is generally spelt *akṣhaśālīn* (e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII p. 276, l. 24, and Vol. XVIII p. 146, l. 26), see now Prof. Hultzsch, above, Vol VII p. 107, note 4.

³ See above, p. 272 and note 2.

⁴ According to Yājñavalkya I 319, the *śāstra* of a king should be *reasmudrāparivāhitaṁ* (i.e. *reasmudrāparivāhitaṁ-rāṇyā-parivāhitaṁ-śāstram*). And above, Vol III p. 302, l. 74, there is a verse according to which a charter becomes faultless when it is *mudrā-suddha*, 'faultless as regards the seal,' etc.

⁵ See above, p. 272, note 2.

⁶ Similar names are *Chōṣa-mahādēvi* and *Gaṣṭja-mahādēvi*.

⁷ In the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṭribhaṭṭa the *bhaṭṭa*, the illustrious Stambhādēva, is mentioned as *dātaka*.

⁸ A traditional date in the Śaka year 764 (A.D. 832) is given for one of the Bhaṭṭa (Bhūṣu) chiefs in Mr Sowell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 3.

As regards the localities, the inscription mentions Vañjulvaka, from where both this grant and the Gumsûr grant of Nêtrabhañja were issued, the Ramalavva *vishaya* and in it the village of Tupdurâva. I have not found the names of these places on the sheets of the *Indian Atlas* where I have looked for them

TEXT.¹

First Plate, Second Side

- 1 Om² [||*] ³Jayatu Kusumavâ(bâ)na-prâpa-vikshôbha-daksham svaki-
- 2 ⁴rapaparivêshôrjityâ-⁵jñrñendulâkham [||*] tribhuvanabhavan-â-
- 3 ntar-dyôtabhâsvat-pradipam⁶ kanakanî(ni)kasha gauram vibhru⁷ nêtram
- 4 Harasya [||*] ⁸Sêshâhâr-ava⁹ yê phanâ[h*] pravilasanty-udbhâ-
- 5 svarêndu-tvisha[h*] pra(prâ)lâyâchala-ângakôttâ(ta)ya iva tva-
- 6 âgantî ya(yê)=tyunnatâ[h*] [||*] nrittâtôpa-vighattitâ iva bhujâ râ-
- 7 janti yê Sâ[m]bhavâs=tâ sarvvâgha-vighâtina[h*] surasa-
- 8 rit[t*]ôy-brmmayah pânt[u] vah [||*] Svasti [||*] Vijaya-Vañjulvaka.¹⁰

Second Plate, First Side.

- 9 d=astî¹¹ śrî-vijaya-nīlayāh prakatagunagana-gra-
- 10 sta-samastarî(n)puvargga[h*]¹² ¹³śrî-Dharmma ?jkalasâ-nâmâ râ-
- 11 jâ nîrddhuta¹⁴-kalikalushakalmasha[h*] śrî-Ranabhañjadêva.¹⁵
- 12 sya prapautra[h*] śrî-Digbhañjadêvasya¹⁶ naptâ śrî-Śi-
- 13 lâbhañjadêvasya sutâh paramamâhêsvarô mâtâpi-
- 14 trî-pâdânudhyâtô Bhañjâmalakula¹⁷-alakô mahârâ-
- 15 ja-śi-Vidyâdha[ra*]bhañjadêvasya¹⁸ kuśali Ramalavva.¹⁹

¹ From the original plates² Denoted by a symbol³ Metre Mâlîni.⁴ Originally *rapapari* was engraved, but the *r* of *pa* has been struck out.⁵ Read *shaurjitya* — Compare *Raghuvamśa* v 74 *svakrayaparivêshôdbhêda-tânydh pradîpâ*.⁶ Read *pradîpâh*⁷ Read *bâhru*; this word is synonymous with *pingala*, and *śiva* is *prâgâdêsha* Compare also above, Vol VI p 200, l 1 of the text — The Gumsûr grant has *chdra*. [In a letter which never reached the author I suggested that *vâhru* is correct and should be translated "brow less" — S K]⁸ Metre - Śârdûlavikrîdita⁹ Read *sva*.¹⁰ These four *aksharas* are quite clear in the original Dr Râjêndralâl's text has *Vajyaleakâ* The Gumsûr grant appears to have *Vâñjulakâ*, which by Kamalâkîta was misread *Vâñhalakâ*.¹¹ Read *t* | *Asi* *śrî* -¹² The *evarga* which I have added here and below before *śrî* is not absolutely necessary¹³ The words in these brackets are conjectural As will be seen from the facsimile, four *aksharas* were originally engraved here, but they were partly struck out or altered, and the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that remnants of letters which were originally engraved on these plates are mixed up with the new letters I consider it certain that the first *akshara* is intended to be *śrî* (for *śrî*), and that the last contained the conjunct *mm* — The corresponding passage of the Gumsûr grant is *Asi jayâśrî-nīlayāh prakatagunagana-grasta-sarvârupagavâh śrî-Kalyânakalasa nâmd rdyd*¹⁴ Read *nîrddhuta*¹⁵ In the facsimile the first *akshara* (*ra*) of this name might be read *era* (and was read so by Dr Râjêndralâl), but in the original it is distinctly *ra*, and what looks like *e* is a remnant of what was originally engraved on the plate¹⁶ This name is clear in the original; and so is the next Dr Râjêndralâl read the two names *Dvabhâñja* and *Śilbhâñja*¹⁷ Dr. Râjêndralâl read *Bhañjanala-kula*.¹⁸ Read *âdas-sa*.¹⁹ The first three *aksharas* of this name are clear in the original; the last might be read *edha*. Dr Râjêndralâl read *Ramalabhâñja*, but regarded the letters as doubtful.

Second Plate, Second Side

- 16 vishay-â yathâmvâsi-sâmantâ-bhōgi-bhōgyādī¹-vi-
 17 shaya-janapadam yathârham mânayati pu(pû)jayati vô(bô)-
 18 dhayaty-âdîsati ²ch-ânyat sarvvatah ³svam=asmâkam-a-
 19 nyat⁴ êtad[v]ishaya-samvandha-⁵Tund[u]râvagrâma⁶ chatustimâ-
 20 paryantah⁷ grâmô=yam || mâtâpitrôr-âtmanas=cha puny-â-
 21 bhuvriddhayê ⁸achandrârka-samam kâlam yâvat salî(h)lâdhâ-
 22 râ-purâbsarêna vidhinâ guç-ânurâdhât⁹ karatvêna¹⁰[bhōgya ?]
 23 Upamanya¹¹lgôtiâya datê-pravarâya¹² Ba(ba)hvrîcha-âyâkha¹³

Third Plate, First Side

- 24 ya Gôuchandrah¹⁴ naptâ Suridêvasya suta bhâtta-Dâru-
 25 khandi || nâmnê pratpâditô=smâbhis=tad=êshâ datê-ddha.¹⁵
 26 rmma-gauravâd=asmâkam-anudhî¹⁶ cha bhavishyad-râjakai[h*]
 27 piatpâlanîy=êty¹⁷uktâñ=cha dharmma-âsthai air-vvahubhir=vva-
 28 sudhâ data¹⁸ râjabhi[h*] Sagar-âdibhir=yasya yasya yadâ
 29 bhu(bhû)mis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam [[h*] Sva-dattâm para-datâ¹⁹ vâ
 30 yô harêta vasundharâm [i*] sa vâsthâyâ[m*] kpmi²⁰ bhutvâ pi-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 31 tîbhî[h*] saba pachyatê [[i*] Mâ bhu(bhû)d=aphala-sankâ vah para-datê²¹
 32 ti pâthuvâh [i*] sva-dânat=phalam-ântyam²² paradat-ânapûla-

¹ The akshara bhô of bhōgyādī has not come out well in the facsimile, but is quite clear in the original. In my opinion, the word bhôgi before bhōgyādī is superfluous and has been engraved by mistake, and for the following vishaya-janapadam I should have expected something like vishayapattin-janapadam=cha

² Read cha / Anyat.—The Gumsûr grant apparently has —âdîsati cha sarvvatah svam=asmâkam=anyat vîdîtam=astu bhavatâm=êtadêshaya-

³ Originally svim= was engraved, but the s of it has been struck out

⁴ This second =anyat is superfluous

⁵ Read samvandha- (for =samvaddha-)

⁶ Read °grâmas=chatustimâ-

⁷ Read paryantê The following grâmô=yam and the sign of punctuation are superfluous

⁸ Read °dâhaya d-achandrârka-sama-kâlam, the following yadât is superfluous

⁹ Read °rôdhât

¹⁰ Instead of karatvêna, we require akaravêna, which (like akartkitya) occurs often in other inscriptions and is quite distinct in the lithograph of the Gumsûr grant (though Kamalâkanta's text gives akararatvêna). The following two aksaras are conjectural. In the Gumsûr grant akaravêna is possibly followed by dhâgyêbhîh (for which the text has dhânyâdri)

¹¹ Read Upamanyu-

¹² As the word datta below is several times written data, this might stand for dattê- (or perhaps dattia-) pravardya, but I am unable to explain the expression. In Ind Ant, Vol. XII, p. 256, l. 48, we have Upamanyava-sagôrdya / Adityana saorahmachârinê bhâttapravara-Vâhkarâtâmisrdya, where bhâttapravara is equally obscure. The Upamanyavas had three pravaras — Vâsishtha, Âbharadvan and Indrapramada; compare Y. Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Lit., p. 385

¹³ Read -âkha-

¹⁴ Gaurichandrasya naptê Sûri(Ā)lêcasya sûtâya bhâttâ-Dârukhandî-nâmnê

¹⁵ Read dattir=ddha-

¹⁶ Read °dhôch-

¹⁷ Read =ti / Uktâñ=cha dharmma-âsttrah / Bahubhir= —Metre of the verses up to the commencement of line 38. Śloka (Anushtubh)

¹⁸ Read dattê

¹⁹ Read -dattâh

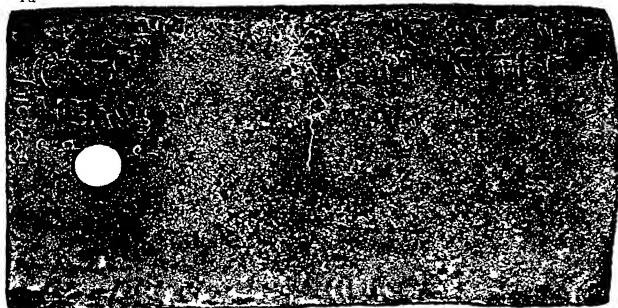
²⁰ Read kpmi-rôdhât

²¹ Read -dattê-

²² Read =dânayâ parâdâtî-, as e.g. above, Vol. III, p. 45, l. 48, p. 343, l. 26, etc. Instead of dânantyam other grants have dânantyam (above, Vol. III, p. 343, l. 19, p. 353, l. 46), or anantam (Vol. III, p. 357, l. 50), or atyantam (Vol. VIII, p. 142, l. 26)

Orissa plates of Vidyadharabhanjadeva

1 a



Collotype by Gebr. Pletner, Halle-Saale

1 b



2

4

6

8

11 a



10

12

14

E. Hultsch

16

18

20

22

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (१) ॥
 दत्तं भुवनेश्वर्य ॥ (२) ॥
 यदंशं (३) ॥ (४) ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (५) ॥
 दत्तं ॥ (६) ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (७) ॥
 दत्तं ॥ (८) ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (९) ॥
 दत्तं ॥ (१०) ॥

24

26

28

30

दत्तं भुवनेश्वर्य ॥ (१) ॥
 यदंशं (२) ॥ (३) ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (४) ॥
 दत्तं ॥ (५) ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (६) ॥
 दत्तं ॥ (७) ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (८) ॥
 दत्तं ॥ (९) ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (१०) ॥

32

34

36

38

दत्तं भुवनेश्वर्य ॥ (१) ॥
 यदंशं (२) ॥ (३) ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (४) ॥
 दत्तं ॥ (५) ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (६) ॥
 दत्तं ॥ (७) ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (८) ॥
 दत्तं ॥ (९) ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (१०) ॥

- 33 na(nē)[i*] Iti¹ kamaladalāmvu(mbu)vmdu-lōlā[m*] śriyam=annchi-
 34 ntya man[n]shya-jvitam=cha² [i*] sakalam=i(i)dam=ndāhṛtañ=cha vudhvā³
 35 na hī [pu]rushah para-kṛitayō vilō[pyāh][*]Lāśchhitam śri-Tri[ka ?]i⁴
 36 āga-mā(ma)hādēvy[ā] tējadikēna⁵ śri-bhatta-Stambhādēva-mant[r]i(tri)nā⁶
 37 pravēṣita[m*] Kāśavēna⁷ likhitam śānddhivigrihi-śri-Khambhē-
 38 na urtikuruna⁸ ch=ākshasāli(li)-Kumāracharndēna¹⁰ the¹¹ [i]

No 33—GHATIALA INSCRIPTIONS OF KAKKUKA, SAMVAT 918

By D R BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA.

The subjoined inscriptions are all engraved on a column standing *in situ* in Ghatiyālā, twenty-two miles west-north-west of Jōdhpur. The column is not far distant from an old ruined Jaina structure, now called *Mātā-ki-sāl*, which contains an inscription edited by Prof Kielhorn in the *Journ R As Soc* 1895, p 516. Further particulars in connection with these ruins will be found in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1907. Inscription No 1 is engraved on the eastern, and the remaining ones on the western, face of the pillar. The inscriptions are so weather-worn that it is not possible to take good impressions. With patience and perseverance, however, almost the whole of the inscriptions can be deciphered with certainty on the original stone itself.

Inscription No 1 contains 20 lines of writing, which covers a space of 2' 3½" high by 1' 6" broad. The characters agree with those of the inscription found in the *Mātā-ki-sāl*. The language is Sanskrit. The first seven lines are in prose. Lines 8—16 contain five verses. Then the date is given in prose in l 17. Then a verse occurs which is followed by a line in prose. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is only once denoted by the sign for *v*, in *kuṭumvakam*, l 8, consonants are doubled after *r*, *visarga* followed by *s* has been once changed to that letter in *dēvyās=utō*, l 7, the dental nasal has been used instead of an *anusvāra* before *s* in *°vansa*, l 1, *t* is doubled in conjunction with a following *r*, and *visarga* has been omitted once before the following *sta* in *ayam=ustambhata stambhō*, l 16.

The inscription opens with obeisance to Vinīyaka (Ganapati). Then is set forth in prose a genealogical list of the feudatory Prathāra family which is brought down to Kakkuka, to whose reign the inscription belongs. It agrees with the lists furnished by the inscription in the *Mātā-ki sāl* and the epigraph of Bāuka found in the Jōdhpur city wall. It is followed up by five verses, the first two of which merely contain conventional praise of Kakkuka without giving any historical information. The third verse says that Kakkuka obtained great renown in the countries of Travani, Vāla and Māda, amongst (the people known as) Ārya, in Gurjaratrā, and in Parvata in the Lāta country. Most of these names are repeated in verse 16 in the other

¹ Metre Pushpitāgrā.² Read *-jvitam cha*³ Read *buddhva*⁴ Read *śri-Trikāl-*. A sign of the medial *s*, which was prefixed to the akshara *tri*, has been struck out. In the place of *ka* (?) another letter was originally engraved.⁵ With the exception of the *d* in brackets, the nine *ākṣaras* at the beginning of the line are clear in the original.⁶ The *ed* at the end of the line and the *ved* at the commencement of the next line, which show in the facsimile, seem to me to be remnants of the inscription which was previously engraved on these plates.⁷ The *ākṣaras* *śaś* of this word contain certain marks which were not engraved by the engraver of the present inscription and which were struck out by him.⁸ Read *śānddhivigrahi-śri-* or *śānddhivigrahi-śri-*.⁹ Read *utkrīnam*¹⁰ Read *°chandrēna*¹¹ For this mark, which is distinctly *iha*, compare *eg Ind Ant* Vol XVII, p 140, note 4b.

inscription of Kakkuka in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl*. Thus, Travani is the same as Tamañi there, and also occurs in this unaltered form in verse 18 of the Jôdhpur inscription of Bâuka. Similarly, Valla is mentioned in both these inscriptions. Mâda is given in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription in conjunction with Maru (*Maru-Mâda*). Jêsalmar is still called Mâda, and Maru proper can only be the Shêo, Mallâñi and Pâchpadrâ districts of the Jôdhpur State. Ârya and Gurjaratrâ are doubtless the Ajja and Gurjaratrâ of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription. Ârya is undentifiable, but is perhaps the same as that mentioned in Varâhamihira's *Brihat-samhitâ*, Cap. V, v. 42. Gurjaratrâ, as has been shown by me elsewhere,¹ comprised the districts of Dîdwânâ and Parbatsar of the Jôdhpur State. Lâta, as was also pointed out by me, embraced about this time the larger portion of the present Gujarât of the Bombay Presidency.² Parvata, which is apparently said to be in Lâta, is unknown to me. Does Parvata, however, here simply mean a mountain and refer to some such inroad of Kakkuka as that mentioned in the expression *gâhâna gôhândim gûrmmi* in verse 17 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record? Or perhaps Parvata may be taken to be a distinct country, and connected with the *Pârvatîyas* of the *Brihat-samhitâ*, Cap. XVII v. 16.

Verse 4 of our inscription tells us that Kakkuka erected two columns, one at Rôhimsaka and the other at Maddôdara. Exactly the same information is conveyed by verse 21 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record, excepting that for Rôhimsaka we have there Rôhimsakûpa. Rôhimsaka is undoubtedly the same as this Rôhimsakûpa or the Rôhimsakûpaka of our inscription No. 2, and is to be identified with Ghatyâjâ. Maddôdara, it can scarcely be seriously doubted, is Mañdôr, five miles north of Jôdhpur, which is locally believed to have been a seat of Pratihâra power and is full of very ancient ruins, and where a fragment of a Pratihâra inscription was discovered by me last season.³ The next verse informs us that the column on which the inscription has been incised was erected by Kakkuka. Precisely the same information is given by verse 21 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription. Then follows the date Samvat 918 Chaitra-sudi 2 buddhê Hasta-nakshatrê, the same as that mentioned in the latter inscription. And further we are told that here a market was established, and the village peopled with *mahâyana*, i.e. big folk. The very same thing is alluded to in verse 20 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record. The inscription really ends here so far as the purport of it is concerned, but a verse follows which has something of the character of a *subhâshata*. Its chief interest, however, lies in the fact that it was composed by Śrî-Kakkuka himself, as the line in prose at the end informs us.

Inscription No. II contains 11 lines of writing covering a space of 1' 3" high by 1' 2½" broad. Excepting the opening words *Om siddhîh*, it is in verse up to 1. 9, and the rest in prose. The palæography and orthography do not call for any remarks other than those made in connection with inscription No. I. The first verse invokes the blessings of Vinâyaka (Ganapati) who, we are told, was placed on the column to ensure prosperity, and, as a matter of fact, the

¹ *Journal As Soc* Vol. XXI, pp 414-416.

² *Ibid*, pp 418-414

³ Another ancient name of Mañdôr is Mânḍavyapura mentioned in verse 10 of the Jôdhpur inscription of the Pratihâra Bânka. In the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1907, p. 80, I have said that though this inscription stone was found in the city wall of Jôdhpur, it must originally have been at Mañdôr, as all stones for the fortification of the fort had been brought from the latter place. This conclusion is confirmed by the first *śloka* of the verse just referred to, which is *Mânḍavyapura-durgasema*. The word *asema* shows that the stone originally was at Mânḍavyapura, i.e. Mañdôr. Mânḍavyapura, again, is spoken of both as a city and fort, and Mañdôr remained so till the prince Jôdhâ removed his capital from there to Jôdhpur. Even to this day some of the portions of the ramparts of Mañdôr have been preserved. As the verse in question states that certain Pratihâra brother princes erected ramparts round Mânḍavyapura fort, it is plain that it was in the possession of the feudatory Pratihâra princes. This is also corroborated by the fact mentioned in the text that last season I found a part of a stone inscription belonging to the Pratihâras. In it the name of Kakkuka could be distinctly read, and some reference to his son made therein could also be traced. But who that son was — whether Kakkuka or Bânka — is not certain. The name Mânḍavyapura occurs even so late as V E 1319 in the Sândhâ hill inscription of Châhigadêva (above, Vol. IX., p. 78, l. 86).

pillar is surmounted at the top by a quadruple image of Ganapati, facing the cardinal directions. The next verse informs us that the village of Rôhinsakûpka (Ghatiyâla) had formerly become unsafe on account of the Âbhîras (Ahîrs),¹ and had consequently not been a place of residence for good people. Verses 3 and 4 tell us that Kakkuka, the favourite son of Kakka, of the Pratihâra race, constructed a market place decorated with variegated streets, went to the houses of Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas (*prakriti*)² and Vaiśyas, and, promising them means of livelihood, established the *mahājana*, the big folk there. We thus fully understand what the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* epigraph and our inscription No. I mean by saying that Kakkuka established a *haffa* and *mahājana* at Rohinsaka or Rohinsakûpa. Owing to its being infested by the Âbhîras, whose predatory instincts even to the present day are not quite extinct, the place must have become deserted, but it was re-peopled by Kakkuka by inducing men of the three principal castes to come and reside there, after he had defeated and ousted the Ahîrs. The verse following expresses a wish for the permanence of the prosperity of the *mahājana*, and of the fame of Kakkuka. Then follows the date Samvat 918 Chaitra Sudî 2 which, though the further details of it are not given, is, it will be seen, identical with that specified in our inscription No I and the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* epigraph. Next, we are informed that the inscription was written by a *Maga*, called Mâtîrâvî, and was engraved by the goldsmith Krishnêśvara, doubtless the same who incised the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihâra Banka. It is followed up by the name of the *sûtradhâra* or mason who probably dressed the stone and erected the column, but the name is lost.

The fact that Mâtîrâvî is called a *Maga* is very interesting. On the original stone the letters *ma* and *ga* are quite distinct, and, though *na* is not so distinct, it is clear enough. No reasonable doubt need, therefore, be entertained as to Mâtîrâvî being spoken of as a *Maga*. *Maga* is another name for the *Śākadvîpiya* Brâhmanas, about whom the late Professor Weber wrote a very learned and exhaustive paper. Round about Jodhpur there is a class of Brâhmanas known as Śêvaks, most of whom are religious dependants of the Ôśvâl Śrâvaks. They call themselves Śākadvîpa Brâhmanas, and know that their story is told in the *Nâmagrantha* of the *Sârya-purâna* and also in the *Bhaviṣya-purâna*. That the Śākadvîpiyas were originally foreigners has been clearly shown by Professor Weber. But it is only our inscription that furnishes a specific date, viz. V. E. 918, when we can positively assert that Magas lived and were known by this very name in Râjputânâ at least.

Inscription No. III is of two lines containing nothing but verse 5 of Inscription No I. Inscription No. IV consists of four lines containing two verses. They possess the flavour of *subhâshitas*, and have each one and the same last *pâda*, saying that six things are dear to Kakkuka. What those six things are has been specified in the verses themselves.

No I.

TEXT.³

- 1 श्री विनायकाय नमः ॥ चासीयतीहारवग्गुह-⁴
- 2 सहजः⁵ श्रीहरिचन्द्रः [1*] धनेन राज्ञीक्षत्रियभद्राया जा-
- 3 तः श्रीमान्सुतः श्रीरजितः [1*], अस्माच्छ्रीनरमतः [1*] च-

¹ For some remarks on Ahîrs, see *Journ. Bo As Soc* Vol. XXI. pp 430-433, for fuller information still, see my monograph contributed to the *Ethnographical Survey of Bombay*.

² *Prakriti*, which is the same as *payal* in verse 20 of the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* inscription, here doubtless signifies the Kshatriya class, as it is distinguished both from the *vyra* (Brâhmanas) and *vanik* (Vaiśya) classes. This is rather an unusual sense of the word, and so far I have not seen it used in this sense anywhere else.

From the original stone.

⁴ Read 'वग्गुह'.

⁵ Read 'सहजः'.

- 4 तः श्रीनागभटः [1*] भतः श्रीतातः [1*] भतोपि श्रीयशोवर्धनः [1*]
 5 अस्माच्छ्रीचन्द्रकः [1*] भतश्च श्रीशोलुकः [1*] अस्माच्छ्रीभो[?]टः [1*] भतः
 6 श्रीभिक्षादित्य [1*] भतः श्रीगुणान्वितः श्रीकक्षः [1*] अनन
 7 राज्ञीश्रीदुर्लभदेव्यास्तुतो जातः श्रीकक्षुकः ॥
 8 सन्तः कुटुम्बकं¹ यस्य स्थिरः कामः सितं यशः ।
 9 विपुला चपलं² बुद्धिराग्रही गुणसंग्रहे ॥ [१*]
 10 न्यायभंगे भवेत्कोपो रागोपि जनपाल[न] ।
 11 गुरुभ्यश्च भय यस्य भूषणं दीनरक्षण ॥ [२*] येन
 12 प्राप्ता महाख्यातिस्त्रवण्यां वक्षमाडयोः । भार्ये-
 13 षु गुर्जरन्नायां लाटदेशे च पर्वते ॥ [३*] तेन महोदरे स्त-
 14 न्मस्तथा रोहिण्यके कृतः । उभावप्युन्नतिं नीतीं स्वपक्षा-
 15 विव जन्मदौ ॥ [४*] श्रीमल्लकुकवीरेण कुलदीपेन
 16 धीमता । अयमुस्तम्भित³ स्तम्भो यशःस्तम्भ इवोन्नतः ॥ [५*] संव-
 17 त् ८१८ चैत्रशुदि २ बुधे हस्तनक्षत्रे । अक्ष हष्टो महाजनस्य
 18 स्थापितः ॥ श्री [1*] यौवनं विविधैर्भोगैर्मध्यमं च वयः
 19 श्रिया । वृद्धभावश्च धर्मेण यस्य याति स पुण्यवान् ॥ [६*]
 20 अयं श्लोकः श्रीकक्षुकेन स्वयंकृतः⁴ ॥

No 11

TEXT.⁵

- 1 श्रीं सिद्धिः [1*] दिवा रात्रौ च संध्यायां — — —
 2 — सकुलं । सिद्धिं करोतु सर्वत्र स्तम्भधामा वि[ना]-
 3 यक. ॥ [१*] रोहिण्यकूपकप्रमः पूर्वमासीदना-
 4 श्रय. । असेव्य. ⁶साधुनीकानां आभोरजनदारुण. ॥ [२*]
 5 विचित्रवीथिसंपूर्णं⁷ हृष्ट कृत्वा गृहाणि च । विप्रव-
 6 णिप्रकृतीनां गृह गत्वा प्रियं च ॥ [३१] श्रीमल्लकस्य पुत्रेण
 7 सप्रतीहारजातिना । कक्षुकेन स्थितिं दत्वा स्थापितोऽक्ष महा-
 8 जनः ॥ [४*] महाजनस्य सङ्घृष्टिः लाभः⁸ पूजा सुखं भृतिः । श्री-
 9 कक्षुकस्य कुन्दाभा कीर्तिर्भवतु शाश्वती ॥ [५*] संवत् शते ८१८ चै

¹ Read कुटुम्बकं² Read ⁰युगम्भितplaced over *kpi*⁰

from the original stone

³ I do not understand the position of चपल here.⁴ Read स्वयं कृतः; the *unusudra* of *'yam'* must have been inadvertently⁵ Read ⁰श्रीकानामाभोर.⁶ Read सङ्घृष्टिर्नामः.

- 10 असुदि २ [१*] लिखितं मने[न] मातृविषा [१*] उक्तीर्थं हेमकारिण
[क]ण्ये-
11 ग्रहेण ॥ सुतधरोक्ष नि विष्णु ॥

No. III.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री[मल्ल]कुक्कीरेण कुलदीपे[न] धीमता । अ-
2 यमुत्तन्धित स्तम्भो यय[ः*]स्त[म्भ] इवीजतः ॥

No. IV

TEXT¹

- 1 श्री[१*] वज्रकी काकलीगीतं ग्रन्थद्वय मासती ॥
2 विनीता स्त्री सतां गोष्ठी ककुक्कस्य पृथाणि षट् [॥१*]
3 न्यायमार्गो गुरोर्भक्ति[ः*] पुत्रे स्नेहः कृतज्ञता ॥
4 प्रिया वाम्नागरी वेषः ककुक्कस्य पृथाणि⁴ षट् ॥ [२]

No. 39.—SARANGARH COPPER PLATES OF MAHA-SUDEVA.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

Sarangarh is the capital of a feudatory State of the same name in the Chhattisgarh division of the Central Provinces, 32 miles south of Raigarh, the capital of another State and a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. The chiefs of these two States are Rāj-Gōpda. The plates in question are in the possession of the Rāj family and first came to my notice in the beginning of the year 1903 at my last visit to Sarangarh. As they were locked up and the keys were not available at the time, the then Superintendent of the State, Rai Sahib Ālam Chand, promised to send them to me when I asked for them, but my reversion to the executive duties before I could return to head-quarters, followed by Papdit Ālam Chand's retirement from service, left them where they were, until the present Superintendent, Munshi Akbar Khān, took active steps in the matter at the instance of Rai Bahadur Pandā Baijnath, B.A., Diwān of the Bastar State, and sent them on to me on the 7th January 1903. Thus the recovery of the plates first discovered over forty years ago is as much due to the interest of the above gentlemen as to the readiness of Rāja Jawāhar Singh to lend them for examination.

The exact date and the details of the first discovery are not now forthcoming, but the plates are said to have reached the Bengal Asiatic Society on the 7th December 1864.⁵ Dr Rājendra Lal Mitra published them in that Society's Journal in 1866, where he stated that they were presented to the Society by Lieutenant G. Bowne of the Sambalpur Police Corps, but when Dr. Fleet wrote his Gupta inscriptions about 1888, and searched for the plates, he could not

¹ From the original stone² Read प्रियाणि.³ Read दुरीक्षित.⁴ Read मित्राणि⁵ See Journ. Beng. As. Soc. vol. XXV, p. 110 ff

find them. He then recorded that as the published version was not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced he was unable to include this inscription in his volume.¹

The fact appears to be that the plates were never presented to the Society. They were simply lent by and finally returned to the owner, the Śārangarh family, whose State was in those days included in the Sambalpur district, now transferred to Bengal.

These facts combined with the absence of a facsimile copy of the record in Dr Rājendra Lal's notice, together with certain misreadings of the text, afford, I venture to think, sufficient reasons for re-editing this inscription.

There are two copper plates, each measuring $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$, and the weight of the two together is 12 ozs, $5\frac{1}{2}$ drs. About 1' from the proper right margin each plate has a hole, roundish on one side and squarish on the other, the diameter being about $\frac{1}{8}''$. These were intended for stringing the plates on the ring, the loss of which has deprived our inscription of its last portion, which must have been engraved on a third plate. The lost plate must have contained about 5 or 6 lines² which can almost be restored from other inscriptions of the same king, and of Mahā-Jayarāja, all of which are composed in exactly the same wordings, the names of villages granted and the donees being of course different. In our inscription only some of the imprecatory verses are lost as also the date at the end, which of course cannot be restored. Judging from other inscriptions of this king the date must have been in regnal years, so that it could not have been of much help beyond fixing the priority or otherwise of our inscription as compared with others.

The plates recovered are in an excellent state of preservation. One is inscribed on one side and the other on both in characters of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet. The letters are very neatly and well formed, their average size being about $\frac{1}{4}$ '. The accompanying plate gives a facsimile copy, from impressions kindly taken for me by Mr T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

The language is Sanskrit prose except the usual imprecatory verses, here attributed to Vyāsa. As regards orthography, there is very little to be noticed beyond what has been already done by Dr Konow with regard to another inscription of the same king recently found at Khariar.³ As the composition is almost identical, the peculiarities are common to both. The *upadhānīya* occurs in line 3 in *-pradaḥ-parama-*. The same sign, viz. 2 dots, has been used for *visarga* and a pause. Ordinarily *mātrās* for *u*, *ri* and *ḥi* alone are attached at the foot of letters, but in this inscription there is a curious example in line 12 where the sign for *ḥi* in *anumōḍitah* is partly exhibited by a top and partly by a foot stroke, all other *ḥi*'s being represented by the top strokes for *ḍ* and *ḥ*, compare *vikramāṅganata-* of line 1.

The inscription was issued from the town of Śarabhapura and records the grant of a village named Chullaṇḍaraka situated in the *bhukti* or subdivision of Tuṇḍaraka by the Queen and the royal family of Rāja Mahā-Sudēva and assented to by him, to a number of learned priests, viz. Bhāskaravāmi, Prabhākaravāmi, Barbhariavāmi, Bōṭavāmi, Dattavāmi, Viṣṇuvāmi, Phalguvāmi, Svāmikīrttavāmi and Śaṅkaravāmi, all of the Kausika *gōtra*. One of these, Viṣṇuvāmi, is apparently identical with the donee of the Khariar plates. He also belonged to the Kausika *gōtra* and received a village in the Khariar *samudāri* from this king. Neither these two nor the third charter of this king, which was obtained from Raipur, throw any light on the dynasty to which he belonged or on

¹ *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 198, footnote 2.

² Eighteen lines of our inscription remain; the Khariar plates have 28 lines, the Āraṅg plates of Jayarāja 24, and the Raipur plates of Sudēva 28, but these last ones are much smaller in size than the others. Our plates are slightly bigger than all the three sets.

³ See above, pp. 170 and ff.

2 2
 4 4
 6 6

11 a

8 8
 10 10
 12 12

11 b

14 14
 16 16
 18 18

his date. Dr Konow has conjectured that the Śarabhapura kings might have been Rāshtrakūtas. They were ascendant in the Central Provinces about the 8th century to which period the characters of our inscription belong. But Dr Konow, for reasons pointed out by him, regards the identification as yet very doubtful.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription Śarabhapura, which recurs in the other two grants of Mahā-Sudēva, and in the Ārang plates of Mahā-Jayarāja, has not yet been identified. I identify Tunḍaraka with the present Tūndrā, about 6 miles south of Secrī Nāīyan on the Mahānadi and about 35 miles west of Śārangarh. It is now included in the Balōḍā Bazar tahsil of the Raipur district. The village Chullandāraka must have been somewhere close to Tūndrā, but I am at present unable to trace it. If it exists we would now find the name in a form like Chulāndur, a characteristic Chattisgarhi name, some similar ones which I remember being Machāndur, Palāndur, Kachāndur, etc. It appears to me that another village granted by Mahā-Sudēva in his Raipur charter was not very far away from Tūndrā. It is called Śrīśāhikā,¹ which I take to be the present Sīrāhī, also included in the Balōḍā Bazar tahsil, and situated about 25 miles south-west of Tūndrā. Mahā-Jayarāja of the Ārang plates, who belonged to the same dynasty, also seems to have granted a village in the same part of his kingdom, viz Pāmva,² which I identify with Pāmgarh,³ about 21 miles north of Tūndrā and included in the Jāngir tahsil of the Bilāspur district. Pāmva and Śrīśāhikā are stated to be included in the Pūrvarāshṭra or Eastern country, and we know from the Khariar plates that to the south the kingdom extended at least up to Khariar. This leads to the inference that the territories of Mahā-Sudēva included a large portion of Mahā-Kōsala, or roughly speaking Chattisgarh division.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁵ svasti [I*] Śarabhapurād-vikram-ōpanata-sīmanta-makuta-chūdāmān-
prabhā-pra-
2 sākāmbu-dhōṭa⁶-pāda-yugalō ripu-vilāsinī-sīmanti-ōddharapa-bētur-vvasu-
3 vasudhā-gō-pradaḥ-paramabhāgavatō mātā-pitrī⁷-pād-ānuddhyātā⁸-śrī-Mahā-Sudē-
4 va-rājāḥ Tunḍaraka-bhuktīya-Chullandarakē prativān-kuṭumbinas-
5 māyūspayati [II*] Vīditam-asu vō yath-āyam grāmaḥ tridaśapati-sadana-
sukha-
6 pratishphākarō yāvad-ravi-śasi-tārā-kurapa-pratuhata-gbōrāndhakārām ja-

Second Plate ; First Side

- 7 gad-avatishṭhatō tāvad-upabhōgyas-sandhis-ōpanidhir-achāṭabhaṭapraprēśya-
8 sarvva-kara-visarjyate rājya-mahādēvi⁹-rōjakulāḥ mātāpitrōr-ātmanatā¹⁰-cha pu-
9 ny-ābhivṛddhaya¹¹ udakapūrvvām¹² 10 Kōṭika-sāgōtra-trisahasraavidya-Bhāskarasvāmī-
10 Prabhākarasvāmī-Barbhasvāmī-Bōtasvāmī-Dattasvāmī-Vishvasvāmī-
11 Phalgvasvāmī-Svāmīkirttisvāmī-Saṅkarasvāmīnā[m*] tāmbraśāsanēn-āstisi-
12 śitō bhūtv-āsmābhir-anamōditaḥ [II*] Tē yāyam-ēvam-upalabhy-mahām-ājūśraya-

¹ Gupta Inscriptions, p. 197.² Ibid, p. 192.³ The adjunct garh seems to have been added when a mud fort, which still exists, was built there.⁴ From the original plates.⁵ Expressed by a symbol.⁶ Read -dhenta-. [It is possible that the sign read as ḍ here and in Kōṭika, l. 9, should be read as au. The two mātās are separated by an interval, which is not the case where ḍ is intended. This remark also applies to the other plates of this king.—S. K.]⁷ Read -pitṛ-.⁸ Read -ātmanatā-.⁹ Read -rōjakulāḥ.¹⁰ Read Kōṭika-.

Second Plate; Second Side

- 13 na-vidhōyā bhātṛvā yathābhītaṁ bhōga-bhāgam-upanayantas=sukha[nā]¹
 prativatsyatha [11*]
 14 Bhavishyatas=cha bhūmipān=anudarśayati || ¹ Dānā=viśiṣṭam=anupālana[nā]² pa-
 15 rāgaṁ³ dharmamēshu mīchitādhiyā=pravadanti dharmam || (1) tasmā[ā]⁴
 dvijāya suvi-
 16 śuddha-kula-śrūtāya dattām bhuvam bhavatu vō matir=ēva gōptum ||
 Tad=bhavadbhi-
 17 r=apy=śāhā dattir=anupālayitavyā [1*] Vyāsa-gītāmś=ch=ātra ślōkān=udāhara-
 18 nti || ⁵ Agnēr=apatyāṁ prathamam suvarṇam (11) bhūr=vvaishnavī sūryasutā⁶

TRANSLATION.⁷

Om! Hail! From Sarabhapura. The illustrious Mahā-Sudēva Rāja, whose two feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre from the crest jewels in the tiaras of the chiefs who have been subjugated by (his) prowess, who is the cause for the doing away with the parting of the hair of the women of his enemies, who is the giver of riches, of land and of cows, who is a devout worshipper of the Bhagavat, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father—issues a command to the householders living in Chullanḍaraka in the territorial sub-division (*bhukti*)⁸ of Tuṇḍaraka:—

Be it known to you that this village, the source (by this grant of it) of (our) ensuring the happiness of the abode of (Indra), the lord of the gods—which has been conveyed by a copper charter accompanied with (pouring) of water, by the Royal Consort⁹ and the Royal Family to Bhāskaravāmi, who knows the three thousand¹⁰ (verses?) Prabhākaravāmi, Barbbharivāmi, Bōṣavāmi, Dattavāmi, Viṣṇuvāmi, Phalguvāmi, Svāmīkīrttavāmi,¹¹ (and) Śaṅkaravāmi (all) of the Kanika *gōtra*, to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, together with its treasures and deposits, not to be entered by the district officer¹² and soldiers, (and), free

¹ Metre Vasantatilaka² Read *parād*.³ Metre Indravajrā.⁴ The remaining portion of the verse is: *śoḥa gdaḥ! dattā=trayaśāha bhavanti lōka gaḥ kṛdhanas gām oha mahān oha dadyati*⁵ I have freely adopted the language of other translators of similar inscriptions, especially of Drs. Konow and Fleet⁶ *Bhukti* was an old territorial division, the exact meaning of which has not yet been ascertained. It occurs in other inscriptions (see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 218, note 5) and sometimes becomes permanently attached to names such as Jājābhukti, the ancient name of Baudelkhand, which was corrupted into Jājasthi in Al. Bernini's times (see above Vol. I, p. 218, and Sachau's *Al. Bernini's India*, Vol. I, p. 202).⁷ Mr. Venkaya suggests to take Rājyamahādēvi as the name of the queen.⁸ The original is *trishasra vāya*, which Dr. Bāṇendralāl has taken to be a part of the proper name Bhāskaravāmi, but I think it is an adjectival phrase enlorging his learning which extended to the knowledge of three thousand of—what is not stated. Probably he knew three thousand *ślōkas* of some very important and difficult work, considered as a great achievement in those times.⁹ [The proper form of the name is certainly *Kirītendia*, but the second part of the preceding name has been repeated by mistake —S. K.]¹⁰ The word is *oḍḍa*, usually translated 'irregular troops,' which translation I adopted in my Bejal and Ragholi plates. Dr. Vogel, some time ago, kindly drew my attention to this point giving a more plausible explanation of the word. He wrote to me:—¹¹ On my first visit to the ancient Hill State of Chambe (Panjab) I learnt that the head of a pargana there has the title of *oḍḍr*, which is evidently derived from Sanskrit *oḍḍa*. The *oḍḍr* collects the villagers who have to do work (forced labour) on behalf of the State; he arranges for load carriers and supplies in case the Rāja or some traveller visits his district. I have little doubt that the *oḍḍa* of the copper plates is the same as the *oḍḍr* of the Chambe State. In the Chambe copper plates published in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey (1902-03) I have therefore rendered the word by 'district officer.' It was clearly a

from all taxes,—has been sanctioned by us, for the increase of the religious merit of (our) parents and of ourself. Being aware of this you should be obedient to their commands, and should dwell in happiness rendering in proper manner (their) share of the enjoyment

And he enjoins upon future kings:—The ancients whose minds are fixed upon religion say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (of a grant) is greater than (that which arises from making a grant); therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brāhman of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also.

And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyāsa.—Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to the God Vishnu and (cows are) the daughters of the sun. (therefore the three worlds are given by him who gives gold, and a cow and land)¹

NO. 40.—PATIAKELLA GRANT OF MAHARAJA SIVARAJA
[GUPTA] SAMVAT 283.

By R. D. BANERJI.

This inscription, which is edited here for the first time, was discovered several years ago by a peasant in a cornfield in the zamindari of Patiaikellā in the district of Cuttack in Orissa. It is the property of an Ōṛiyā Brāhman, who, I hear, regularly worships it. The Rāja of Patiaikellā made it over to Bābu Nagendra Nātha Vasu, the Honorary Archaeological Surveyor to the Mayūrbhañja Estate. Nagendra Bābu made it over to me some six or seven months ago for decipherment.

The inscription is engraved on a single plate of copper, measuring $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". To the left there is an oval projection, $1\frac{1}{2}$ " long, to which a lump of brass or bell metal is attached. On the top of this lump there is an oval cavity, showing traces of the seal. But no letters or symbols are discernible at present. Both sides of the plate are inscribed. Altogether there are eighteen lines of writing in this grant. The writing was fairly well executed, but its preservation is not very good. One corner of the plate is missing and has carried away portions of the dates with it. Fortunately the date can be made out correctly from the portions still remaining. In this grant the date was given twice. First of all we read in the second line *tryadhikāsittiyuttara* . . . and secondly at the end of the eighteenth line *Samvat 200* . . . Thus tens and hundreds are all fairly certain. I am indebted to Dr. Koenig for the reading of the symbol for two hundred.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets and are in every respect similar to those of the Muṇḍēśvari inscription of Udayasena, from the Shāhābād district. The Muṇḍēśvari inscription is dated in the [Harsha] year 30 (635 A.D.).² The peculiarities of the characters of our grant are as follows:—

- (a) Among the ligatures the only noticeable feature is to be found in the *ā* mark, which is expressed in two different ways while attached to the same letter *na*. Cf

privilege of importance that the head of the district was not allowed to interfere with the granted land, in other words, he was not allowed to collect labourers or to demand supplies, etc., on behalf of the State."

¹ These words which must have been engraved in the third plate have been supplied to make sense.

² The Muṇḍēśvari inscription has been found in two places. The second portion was presented to the Indian Museum so far back as 1891. The first portion containing the date was found among the *dhāras* around the temple and sent to the Indian Museum in 1904. For the Muṇḍēśvari temple, see *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* (1896), p. 370. Dr. Bloch has referred to this inscription twice. See *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle*, 1902-03, p. 20, and *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903-03, pp. 42-43. The inscription will be published below, pp. 289 and ff.

punyābhīraddhayaś in l. 8 with *vr̥hadbhōgikādhikarāṇy-śva*, l. 7. The *ś* mark is unusual in *-pārvaṇ-* in l. 9.

- (b) It is interesting to note that this Uttack grant shows a greater affinity to the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription than does the Gañjām grant of Śaśāṅka,¹ while the latter shows a marked affinity to the Bōdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman of the Gupta year 269.² Thus the *ya* in the Bōdh Gayā inscription and the Gañjām plate is bipartite, while in the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription and the present grant it is of the usual early Gupta type, *i.e.* tripartite. Similarly the lingual *sha* in our grant and the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription shows a cursive base line unlike the acute angle type of the Bōdh Gayā and Gañjām inscriptions. This form of *sha* is also to be found in the Nepal inscription of the year 316.³
- (c) The presence of the acute angle is noticeable only in the dental *sa* and *ma*, as is also the case in the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription. But some letters show a well-defined acute angle at their lower extremities in alternative cases, *cf.* the *dha* in *-hārdādhigama-* (l. 5) with that in *-dīdhī-* in l. 3, and *vr̥hadbhōgikādhikarāṇy-* in l. 7.
- (d) The characters of our grant differ from those of the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription in so far as the lingual *na* in the latter is exactly similar to the *na* of the early Gupta type, while the *na* in our grant has larger space between the right and left curves.
- (e) The characters of this grant show a greater affinity to the Gōlmāqhiṭl inscription of the Gupta year 316 than to the contemporary Nepal inscriptions. The paleography of the epoch beginning with the last half of the 6th and ending with the first half of the 7th century A.D. can nowhere be studied with greater advantage than in Nepal. The inscriptions of the Harsha year 34, the Gupta year 316, the Harsha years 39 and 45 show very clearly the change which came over later Gupta characters in the last half of the 6th century and the 50 years following that. Thus the Gōlmāqhiṭl inscription of the year 316 shows in its characters very little departure from those of the Maṇḍasār inscription of Yaśōdharman.⁴ The Patan inscription of the year 34⁵ exhibits a further step onwards, as it is more allied to the Gañjām grant of Śaśāṅka than our grant or the Gōlmāqhiṭl inscription. The next inscription, that of the Harsha year 39⁶ and the short record of the year 45 of the same era, are inscribed in characters which are very much akin to the Bōdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman and the Madhuban and Banāskhera grants of Harshavardhana.
- (f) The letters *da* and *ṭa* resemble each other very closely. Thus, *vr̥hadbhōgikādhikarāṇy-*, l. 7, looks like *vr̥haḥbhōgikādhikarāṇy-*.
- (g) There is little difference between *va* and *oḥa*. Thus, *-chala-taraṅga-*, l. 1, looks like *-vala-taraṅga-*, while *Śivardjaḥ*, l. 5, looks like *Śichardjaḥ*.

As regards orthography two or three departures are noticeable, such as *-maṅgura-*, l. 1, *-vanṭa-* and *-āṭṭī-*, l. 2, *gēhattō*, l. 8.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant made by a feudatory chief named Śivārāja to a number of Brāhmins during the reign of his suzerain Śaṅguyayana of southern Tōsal. Śaṅguyayana is styled *Paramamāhēśvara-Paramabhāṭṭaraka-Paramadevatādhīdaveata*, which clearly shows his imperial position. The title of the suzerain and the name of the

¹ Above, Vol. VI., p. 148.

² Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 274, pl. XLII.

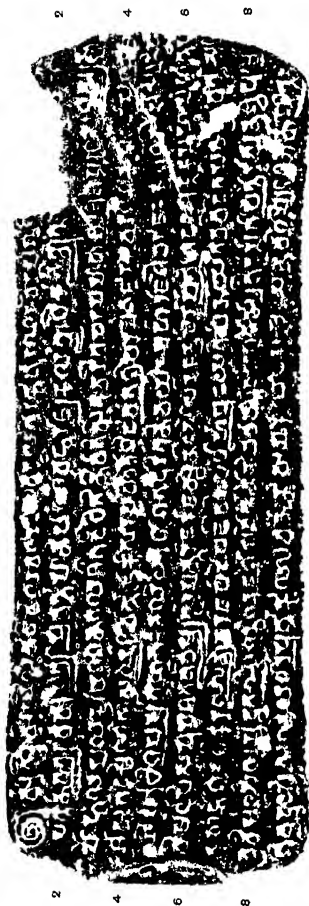
³ Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 72, pl. VIII.

⁴ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 160, pl. XXII.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX., p. 169, and Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 74.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX., p. 170, and Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 77, pl. X.

First Side



Second Side



donor points to Śaivism, but the names of several donees such as Viṣṇuvsvāmi, Rāvatisvāmi, Gōpālasvāmi, etc., show a Vaiṣṇava taint. The document was issued from Vōrttanōka, which was the Imperial capital (l. 4) as well as the residence of the feudatory chief (l. 8). The grant consisted in the village Tāndraivalu. It was given to several Brāhmins belonging to separate *gōtras* and *charanas*. The date has already been discussed. There can be little doubt about the fact that it is a Gupta year. Thus our grant was incised after the Bōdh Gayā inscription and before the Gañjām grant, the Nepal inscription of the year 316, and the Mandēśvari inscription. The second line mentions the kings of the Māna race, *Mānavanśa-rājyākālē*. This dynasty has been mentioned in two 12th century inscriptions only, viz the Nawādā inscription of the Śaka year 1059,¹ which has been recently purchased by the Archaeological Survey and brought to the Indian Museum, and in the Dudhpauri rock inscription.²

I am afraid it is beyond my power to identify the geographical position of the village mentioned in the Patīākellā grant. Neither the *viśaya* nor the *bhukti* or the *maṇḍala* has been mentioned in the grant, but in lines 5-6, we find *asminn=ēva viśayē*, which probably indicates that the name of the *viśaya* was also Vōrttanōka.³ I now edit the inscription from the original plate.—⁴

TEXT.

First Side.

- 1 Om⁵ svasti [*] salila-nidhi-vēlā-vala[yita-cha]la-tarang-ābharapa-ruohira-maṅgura
- 2 patana-vatyā[ṁ] vasumatyā[ṁ] pravarttamāna-Māpa-vanśa-rājya-kālē tryadhik-āṣṭi-
utta[ra] . . .
- 3 Maudgal-āmala-kulē gagana-tala-śītadidhiti-nivātē sita-charitē Paramamāhēśvara-
śrī-Sagguyayyanē⁶
- 4 śāsata dakṣhiṇa-Tōsalīyā[ṁ] Vōrttanōkāt-paramadēvat-ādhiḍaivata-śrī-paramabhattā-
raka-charapa-kamal-āmala-kṣau-
- 5 pi⁷-hār-ādhigama-prahata(h)-kālyug-āgata-durita-niḥaya(h)(yō) mahārāja-
Sivarājah kuśalī asminn=ēva
- 6 viśayē samupegat-ābhaviśhyat-sāmanta-rāja-rājasthānīy-ōparika-kumārāmātya-
tadāyuktaka-mahāmahattara-
- 7 vṛhadbhōgikādhikarapāny=ēva rājapādōpajīvi yathārha[m] śrāvayati mānayati cha
viditma=a[stu] bhavātām ya[th-a]-
- 8 ttra viśayē sambaddha-Tāndraivalu⁸-grāma(mō) Vōrttanōk-⁹[āvavāsa-
gē(P)]hattē-smābbhiḥ mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha pūpy-ā-
- 9 bhuviddhayē salila-dhārā-pūrvvakōp=āchandra-ārka-sama-kāly-ākṣhayamvi(nīvi)-
dharmamēpa¹⁰ nānā-gōttra-

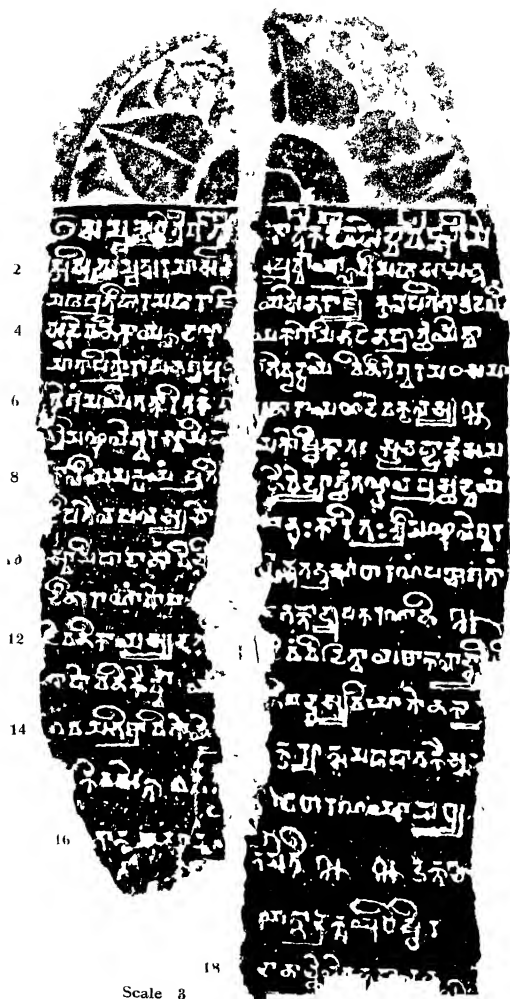
¹ Above, Vol. II., p. 333² Above, Vol. II., p. 346³ [The locality cannot be far from Tōsalī, which we know from Aśoka's Dhauli edicts, and which must be located in the neighbourhood of Dhauli. It seems more likely to explain *asminn=ēva viśayē* as *Tōsalī-viśayē* than as *Vōrttanōkaviśayē*—S. K.]⁴ [It has proved impossible to get good impressions of the plate. The subjoined reproductions are the best that could be obtained.—S. K.]⁵ Expressed by a symbol.⁶ [I am unable to see *Sagguyayyanē*, but I cannot suggest a satisfactory reading, I think I see *Śomōdhya-tya-nu*.—S. K.]⁷ [I read *āmala-tripī*.—S. K.]⁸ [I see *Tāndraivalu grāma*—S. K.]⁹ [I read *Vōrttanōkē ch=āchandra* . . . but cannot make out the rest.—S. K.]¹⁰ Read *-kālām=akṣaya-*. Compare above, Vol. VI., p. 139, Vol. VII., p. 101, note 1.

Second Side.

- 10 obaranébhya Anuruddhasvāmi-Gōmādevāsvāmi-Śūrasvāmi-Vōppasvāmi-Pitṛisvāmi-
 11 Harungasvāmi-Chandrasvāmi-Bhadrāsvāmi Chhēdisvāmi-Pushyasvāmi-. . . karasvāmi-Rōhīṇi
 svāmi-
 12 Vu(Bu)ddhasvāmi-Mahāsēpasvāmi-Vishpusvāmi-Yadusvāmi-Mātradasvāmi-Nāgasvāmi-
 Bhōgasvāmi-
 13 Ana[nta P]svāmi-Prabhākarsvāmi-Nāva . . . rasvāmi-Dīpīsvāmi-Jam[vu]svāmi-Gōmīsvāmi-
 Valāsvāmi-
 14 Jyēshthasvāmi-Adarśanādēva-Dhanādēva-Kumārasvāmi-Jyēshthasvāmi-Rēvātīsvāmi
 Prāya(?)svāmi-
 15 Pushyasvāmi-Chhēdisvāmi-Vappasvāmi-Śrāvasvāmi-Gōpālasvāmi-Gōmīsvāmi-ēbhya-
 tāma-
 16 -pattī-kṛtya sampradattaḥ [I*] Pūrvvarājapitṛo dharmam[ō]-nupālaniyati(ya iti)
 matvā bhavadbhiḥ[I*] Dharmasāstrēshv=api tṛyatē [I*]
 17 Va(ba)hubhru-vvasudhā dattā rājābhiḥ -Sagarādībhiḥ [I*] yasya yasya yadā
 bhūmī=tasya tasya [tadā phalaṁ] [I*] [Shashṭim] varsha-
 18 sahasrāni svarggē tishthati bhūmidaḥ [I*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny-
 ēva narakē vasēt [I*] Samvat 200

TRANSLATION.

In the [two hundred] and eighty-third year of the rule of the Māns family on the earth, full of cities, which has the shores of the ocean as its bracelet, the moving waves as its trinkets and the radiant *maṅgura* fishes as its In the spotless family of Mudgala, when the great worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the illustrious Sagguyayyana, whose character was white and who was undisturbed like the moon in the sky, was ruling in southern Tōsalī, *Mahārāja Śivarāja*, whom the accumulation of sins could not approach on account of his obtaining from the lotus-like feet of the Paramabhaddāra, the God of Gods, the spotless position of a ruler of the earth, being in good health, from Vōrttanōka honors all present and future feudatory chiefs, *Rājasthānīyas*, *Uparīkas*, officers of the heir-apparent, *Tadāyuktakas*, great nobles, tax-collectors and other dependants of the king in this *viśhaya* in due form and proclaims:—"Be it known to you that the village Tanḍralvalu, belonging to this *viśhaya*, from (the residential house at?) Vōrttanōka, for the increase of the merit of my father and mother and myself, after having poured out water, to last as long as the Sun and the Moon subsists, everlastingly, as a permanent endowment, is given by writing on copper plates to Anuruddhasvāmi, Gōmādevāsvāmi, Śūrasvāmi, Vōppasvāmi, Pitṛisvāmi, Harungasvāmi, Chandrasvāmi, Bhadrāsvāmi, Chhēdisvāmi, Pushyasvāmi, . . . karasvāmi, Rōhīṇīsvāmi, Vu(Bu)ddhasvāmi, Mahāsēpasvāmi, Vishpusvāmi, Yadusvāmi, Mātradasvāmi, Nāgasvāmi, Bhōgasvāmi, Ana(n)-
 svāmi, Prabhākarsvāmi, Nāvarasvāmi, Dīpīsvāmi, Jam(vu)svāmi, Gōmīsvāmi, Valāsvāmi, Jyēshthasvāmi, Adarśanādēva, Dhanādēva, Kumārasvāmi, Jyēshthasvāmi, Rēvātīsvāmi, Prāyasvāmi, Pushyasvāmi, Chhēdisvāmi, Vappasvāmi, Śrāvasvāmi, Gōpālasvāmi, Gōmīsvāmi, belonging to various *gōtras* and *charanas*. A law laid down by former kings should be observed, thinking so (you should observe my gift). It is heard in the laws (two of the ordinary benedictory verses follow). Samvat 200.



NO 41.—MUNDESVARI INSCRIPTION OF UDAYASENA.
THE [HARSHA] YEAR 30

Br R. D BANERJEE

This inscription was discovered among the débris which had accumulated around the temple of Mundêsvari in the Bhâbua subdivision of the Shâhâbâd district¹ It seems that sometime after the incision of the inscription some ignorant person sawed it lengthwise in halves. The two halves of the inscription were discovered and brought to the Indian Museum at different dates The second half seems to have been discovered by the late Babu Purna Chandra Mukhârjî so far back as 1891-92 The first half, which is the more important part of the inscription, as it contains the date, was discovered in 1902² Impressions on tin foils were then sent to Dr Bloch The inscription was finally brought to the Indian Museum in the beginning of 1904 The two halves have now been joined together and placed on a masonry pedestal in the Inscription gallery of the Museum

The stone measures 2' 8" by 1' 1" and contains eighteen lines of well executed writing In the first half of the inscription the first fifteen lines are clear, but the sixteenth line has been much damaged and the seventeenth and eighteenth lines have been lost altogether With the exception of the last two lines, which contain one of the usual imprecatory verses, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

In a previous paper I have fully discussed the palæography of this inscription³ The only orthographical peculiarities are the substitution of *ba* for *va* in *sambatsara*, and the use of *n* instead of *m* before *ś*. Letters with a superscribed *râpha* have been doubled Final forms of *m* are to be found in ll 2, 4 and 18, and of *t* in 1 15 The sign of *avagraha* has not been used at all, though it would have been in its place in ll 14 and 18 Note also the form *kâritakam* in l 6

The inscription records a grant of two *prasthas* of rice and a *pala* of oil to the god *Mañjalâvara* by a *kulapati*⁴ named Bhâgudalana. It is dated in the year 30 in the reign of the *Mahâsâmantaka*, *Mahâpratihâra*, *Mahârâja* Udayasena, who is not known from other sources Judging from the affinity of the characters of this inscription with those of the years 34 and 39 from Nepal,⁵ the era is most probably that established by Harshavardhana The mutilation of the central portion of the inscription by sawing the stone into two halves has caused a series of gaps Some of these can be filled up, but lines 11 and 15 are quite unintelligible. I now edit the inscription from the original stone

TEXT

- 1 Om⁶ Samba(mva)tsarê trîṣṣati[tamê] Kârttika-divasê drâvinsâtîmê
- 2 asmîṇ=samba(mva)tsara-mâsa-[diva]sa-pûrvvâyâm śrî-Mahâsâmantaka-
- 3 Mahâpratihâra-Mahârâj-[-Ôda]yasena-râjyê kulapati-Bhâgudalana-7
- 4 ssa dēvanikāyam dāḍa[nā]yaka-Gōmibhaṣṇa prârthayitvā
- 5 mâtâpitrôr=âtmanas=cha pu[nyâ]bhuvuddhayê Vinitêsvara-mathasamâ-
- 6 vēdārā matham=âtat=kâritakam [śrî-]Nârâyana-dēvakulasya

¹ *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* (published by the Public Works Department, 1895) pp 270—371
Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (1902-03), pp. 42-43

² *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle*, 1903, p 20

³ See above, p 285 f.

⁴ A teacher who maintains ten thousand pupils at his own cost is termed a *kulapati*: See *Vâchaspathyâ bhâṣṇanam*

Boudall's *Journey to Nepal*, pp 72-73

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

The final *na* of this word has been added above the line

- 7 śrī-Maṇḍalēśvara-svāmi-[pādā]ya kōshthikātaḥ ā-chandr-ārka-sama-
 8 kālīyam-akshayaṁ prati[dinam] naivōdyārttham tapūla-prastha-dvayam
 9 dīpa-taila-palasya ch=ō[pani]bandhaḥ kārttaḥ śrī-Maṇḍalēśvara-
 10 svāmi-pādānam viśochhi[tti-vi]śrānta-tantra-sādhāraṇam pañohāsatām
 11 dīnārāpān gōba . . . ja-bhaktādy-upakaraṇāni¹
 12 dēvamkāyasya datta[m²=ētaḍ=ō]vaṁ viditvā yathākāl-ādhyā[sabhi]-
 13 r=āpōvanikair³=vvā ya[thāmi]baddhasya vighātō na kā[rya]
 14 ēvam=abhiśrāvītō yō[=nyathā]kuryāt=sa mahāpātakaśa[ha]
 15 [nara]kē vasēt ēvam . . . vadhārapayā madhya . . .
 16 . . . bhāka . . . tam=iti || Ukta[ñ= cha]
 17 . . . yatnād=raksha Yudhiṣṭhira
 18 . . . dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ

TRANSLATION

Hail In the year 80, on the twenty-second day of Kārttika, on the above-mentioned year, month and day, in the reign of the great feudatory, the *Mahāpratihāra*, the *Mahārāja* [Udayasēna, the *kulapati* Bhāgudalana, having applied to the Council of gods (PBrāhmaṇas) through the *daṇḍanāyaka* Gōmibhaṭa built this *maṣha* of the *dēvakula* of Nārāyaṇa, to increase the merit of his father and mother and of his own self, near the temple of Vinītēśvara. For the lord Maṇḍalēśvara provision has been made every day, as long as the Sun and the Moon last, everlastingly, to provide two *prasahas* of rice for the votive offering and a *pala* of oil for the lamp from the treasury. Fifty *dīndras* current up to the frontiers . . . of the Lord Maṇḍalēśvara- . . . with rice and other ingredients. Knowing it to be a gift of the Council of gods, the merchants who trade on the waters(?) and who arrive at the proper time⁴ should not hinder this arrangement. Having heard this, whoever acts to the contrary shall live in hell with great sins . . . O' Yudhiṣṭhira, preserve with care . . . preservation is preferable to gifts.

No 42 —INSCRIPTION ON THE UMBRELLA STAFF OF THE BUDDHIST IMAGE FROM SAHET MAHET.

By T. BLOCH, Ph D.

The stone bearing this inscription was discovered by Rākhal Dās Banerji in April, 1908, in the Lucknow Museum. As Dr Vogel tells me, it is a red sandstone slab, 3' 1" high, 11½" wide, and 4½" thick. "It is broken off at the top, just where the octagonal portion begins. Here the four corners are provided with an ornament in the Mathurā style. The lower portion of the slab is carved with a seated female figure, apparently unfinished. The back of the column is cut off straight." The photograph of the stone, supplied to me by Dr. Vogel, shows that this carving has been done at a later time, perhaps when the stone was intended to be used for some building. It has destroyed a good many letters in the second half of the inscription, while the first half has become almost entirely obliterated by sharpening knives on it.

However, enough remains to make it absolutely clear that the inscription was identical with the dedicatory epigraph on the pedestal of the large standing Bōdhisattva from Sahet

¹ The sign at the end of this line has been added in order to fill up the vacant space.

² [I would read *dattāny=ētaḍ*.—S. K.]

³ [I read *idpōvanikair*.—S. K.]

⁴ [I would translate, those who come and worship from time to time or the ascetics of the *tapōvana*.—S. K.]

Mahēt, which has been edited by me, above, Vol VIII pp 180-181. This fact is of considerable interest. First it shows that I was right in explaining the word *dāndaś=cha* in line 2 of the Sahēt Mahēt image inscription as "a staff for supporting the umbrella over the head of the Bōdhisattva" (l c p 180). Secondly,—and this is by far the most important point connected with this inscription,—we now know for certain that the Sahēt Mahēt statue was found by Cunningham *in situ*, or, in other words, that no possible doubt can be raised against the correctness of Cunningham's identification of Sahēt Mahēt with Śrāvastī.¹ For although the records of the Lucknow Museum are not as clear as one would have expected them to be in regard to the provenance of the stone, Dr Vogel has pointed out to me some very conclusive evidence, which in my opinion makes it certain that the stone was found by Dr Hoey during his excavations at Sahēt Mahēt in 1885. The only possible doubt that could be, and has been, raised against the bearing of the Sahēt Mahēt, now Calcutta Museum, statue upon the question of the identity of Sahēt Mahēt with Śrāvastī, turned around this point: did Cunningham find the Bōdhisattva image at Sahēt Mahēt in its original position, or had it been shifted to this place from somewhere else? Strange though such a transportation would appear to us *prima facie*, it still has been, as far as I know, an assumption that seemed to recommend itself to certain scholars. I am afraid their position has now become definitely weakened by the discoveries above referred to.

Unfortunately no further help is given to us by the new inscription for restoring the missing words in the beginning of the inscription on the pedestal of the Bōdhisattva statue in the Calcutta Museum. Only the two letters *vapu* in the beginning of line 2 show that I was right in restoring the second word in the Calcutta inscription as *dēvaputrasya*, and further in ascribing the Calcutta statue to the time of either Kanishka or Huvishka. However, this is a very small matter, for which hardly any additional proof was required owing to the occurrence of the name of the *Trēpīṭaka* Bala, the donor of the Calcutta image, in a Mathurā inscription of the year 33 of Huvishka.²

I now edit the inscription from impressions and a photograph, kindly supplied to me by Dr. Vogel.

TEXT.

- 1 [dā]
2. vapu[trasya]
3. [v]ihār[ī]-
4. [sya] [bhikshu]-
- 5 sya [Balasya trēpīṭa]kasya
6. dānaṁ Bōdhi[sat]tvō chh[a]trāṁ³ dāndaś=cha
7. Śrāvastīyē [Bhagavatō chārī]ka[m]ē Kōsambā-
8. [kuptiyē śāhā]r[ī]y[ā]nāṁ Sarvvā[s]t[ī]vādina[m]
9. [pa]r[ī]gra[hā].

•No. 43—TWO BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS FROM SARNATH.

By STEN KONOW.

During the excavations in Sarnāth in February 1907, I found a fragment of a stone umbrella lying between the bases of two small brick *stūpas* to the west of the main shrine exca-

¹ Dr Vogel informs me that Paṇḍit Dayā Rām Sahni has discovered additional proof, that even in the days of Gōvinda-chandra of Kanauj, the traditional identity of the two places was still alive. See *Journal R As Soc* 1908, pp 971 and ff.

² See above, Vol. VIII, p. 182.

³ It is doubtful, if the word was written *chhātrāṁ*, as in the inscription on the pedestal. However, the next word clearly is *dāndaś=cha*, and not *dāṇḍāś=cha*, as it is spelt on the pedestal of the statue.

vated by Mr Oertel in 1905. On the inner cavity of the fragment a Brāhmī inscription was engraved in four lines, the fourth running along the rim. The inscription, which is complete, covers the whole inner surface of the fragment, and the umbrella had therefore probably been broken when it was engraved.

The fragment is $17\frac{1}{2}$ " long and $5\frac{1}{2}$ " broad, and the umbrella to which it belongs must have had a diameter of nearly six feet. The letters are deeply cut, and their height varies from $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

The characters are Brāhmī of the second or third century A.D. The forms of *ma* and *sa* are ancient, and the same is the case with *ya*. The shape of individual letters is not, however, constant. Thus the *na* of *imāni*, l 1, differs from the *na* in *gimāni*, l 4, the *du* in *dukkha* in lines 2, 3 and 4 has different shapes, the *dha* of *nirōdhi*, l. 1, 3, is angular, while it has been rounded in l 4, etc. The form of the compound *kkha* is of some interest, the *h* being open at the bottom. In *bhikkhavā*, l 1, however, the bottom line has apparently been added by mistake under the following *vā*. The two *kkhas* in l 2 differ from each other and on the whole, the form of this ligature is not the same in any two places.

The language is the Pālī of Buddhist literature, but with several misspellings, and other mistakes. Thus in l 2, we find *dukkhavā* instead of *bhikkhavā*, and *ariyasachchāni*, l 3 *ariyayachchāni*, and in l 4 *arisachchāni*, all instead of *ariyasachchāni*. Those slips taken together with the uncertainty in the formation of the individual letters, can only be accounted for by the supposition that the inscription was cut by an engraver who did not understand the original. The occasional introduction of the Sanskrit *samādhi* = *samulāya ariyaya(sa)chchāni*, l 3, points in the same direction.

The inscription contains a short enumeration of the four *ariyavachchās*, the fundamental doctrines of the Buddhas. These four truths form the essence of the famous Benares sermon, and our inscription is accordingly very appropriate in the spot where the Buddha first "turned the wheel of the law". In this connection it is of interest to note that the great majority of the statues unearthed in Sarnāth represent the Buddha in the *Dharmachakramudrā*, delivering his first sermon. The enumeration of the four noble truths or axioms is of the same conventional kind which is so common in Pālī literature, and though I have not found the exact quotation, I do not doubt that the passage cut on the stone is meant as a quotation from the Canon. Our inscription therefore, furnishes a valuable *epigraphical* proof for the existence of a Pālī Canon in the second or third century A.D. It is also of interest as the first old Pālī inscription found

North India. I here take the word Pālī to mean the language of the Southern Canon, the only use of the word which I consider as justified.

TEXT¹

- 1 Chatti[ā]r-imāni bhikkhavā ar[ī*]yasachchāni
- 2 kutamāni chhattāni dukkha[m] di(bh)ikkhavā arā(m)ayasachcha[m]
- 3 dukkhasamudaya² ariyaya(sa)chchāni dukkhanirōdhi³ ariyasachchāni
- 4 dukkhanirōdha-gāmini cha⁴ paṭipadā ar[īya*]yasachchāni

TRANSLATION.

Four, ye monks, are the noble axioms. And which are these four? The axiom (about) suffering, ye monks, the axiom (about) the cause of suffering, the axiom (about) the suppression of suffering, and the axiom (about) the path leading to suppression of suffering.

¹ Taken in original stone.

² The stone perhaps has *nirōdha*.

³ Re *igam*.

⁴ The act itself seems to be *chāka*.

Another inscription written in Pali was discovered during the excavations carried on by Mr Marshall and myself in the winter of 1908, on the back of a slab containing conventional representations of scenes of the Buddha's life. I publish it here from impressions prepared in my office. The writing covers a space of $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, and the height of the individual letters is $\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$.

The characters belong to the 4th, or, perhaps, the 3rd century A D. The tripartite *ya* is almost identical with the *ya* of the Allahâbâd *prasasti*, while the *sa* has the older form with a hook, and not with a loop. The date of the inscription is of interest for the history of Buddhist iconography.

The language is mixed Pali, the forms *-prabhavâ* in line 1, and *-sramanô*, l. 6, not belonging to the dialect. The inscription contains the common formula *yâ dhammâ*, etc.

TEXT.

- 1 Yâ dhammâ hôtu-prabhavâ
- 2 têsam hêtum tathâga-
- 3 tô avôcha têsam cha
- 4 yô nirôdhô ô-
- 5 vam vâdî mahâ-
- 6 sramanô.

No. 44.—SPURIOUS LAPHA PLATE OF THE HAIHAYA KING PRITHVIDEVA SAMVAT 806

By HIRA LAL, B A, NAGPUR

At the request of Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., Zamindârî Settlement Officer, Bilâspur District, I have examined a copper plate in the possession of a Zamindâr at Lâphâ, named Dahirâj Singh, who is over sixty years of age and whom I had the pleasure to meet. He was good enough to lend it to me for taking an impression to accompany this note. He informed me that the plate was given to one of his ancestors, who first came from Delhi and took service at Ratanpur as one of the gate-keepers of the Ratanpur Fort and also as a guard of the Rânî's palace. He used to live in the Bhôjîmûdâpârâ, one of the quarters of Ratanpur town. This portion of the town was eventually given to him as a *mâl'âfi*, and afterwards the present copper plate grant is said to have been given bestowing on him 120 villages belonging to the Lâphâ Fort. The present Zamindârî contains only 75 villages and the Zamindâr informed me that before Mr. Chusholm's settlement in the year 1868, there were only 60 villages in it.

The plate is rectangular, measuring $9\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, having a smooth surface, inscribed on one side only. There are two small holes on the top. The writing covers $7\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$, leaving out the *Śrî* at the top.

The record consists of 8 lines surmounted by a prefatory one, the middle portion of which is spaced down, apparently for ornamental purposes. This line and the word *Śrî* at the top together with *Śrî* 5 at the commencement and *subham=astu* and the date in figures at the end are in prose. The rest is in verse, consisting of 5 *anushubh* *śloka*s which are numbered, except the *ast*. There are altogether 206 letters including 9 figures.

The style of writing is Ōṛiyâ, and there are not less than 25 letters which are distinctly borrowed from the alphabet of that language. All the *mâl'âra*s or vowel signs have been marked according to what is in vogue in the present Ōṛiyâ writing. The letters *ya*, *da* and *va* have been invariably written in the Ōṛiyâ form. The language is Sanskrit with spelling mistakes. Thus in verse 2 we find *vârasîmantu-* instead of *târasîmantu-*.

The inscription purports to record the gift of 120 villages appertaining to the Lamphā (Lāphā) fort to a noble named Lungā, who had come from Delhi, by the Haihaya king Prithvi dēva, on the 1st day of the dark fortnight of Māgha in Śaivāt 806. For what services the gift was made and on what conditions, is not stated, but it was to be hereditary and it was given because the king's "mind was pleased with the *Kauraviya*"¹ which apparently means that he was pleased with the Kaur tribe, to which the donee belonged, presumably for their military services. What strikes one most at the first glance is the freshness of the metal, the clean cut and the modern characters, and this rouses suspicion. The intermixture of Ōṛiyā letters is in itself suspicious. They might, however, be old and indicate that the plate is an old one. On looking for the date such an idea gets partially confirmed, but the suspicion again revives as soon as we learn from the Zamindār that, since the grant was made, only 27 generations have supervened. The Zamindār thinks the date to be of the Vikrama era, so that the plate would be about 1,159 years old. This would give, on the average, 43 years to a generation, which is absurd. A critical examination of the record affords as easy an evidence of its being spurious. The characters are in reality all modern, having been taken from the Hindi and Ōṛiyā alphabets. The inscriptional alphabet of the Chhattisgarh Haihayas has a peculiarity of its own, not easily describable, but which distinguishes it from the modern alphabet. The most distinctive letters are *cha*, *ja*, *dha*, *bha* and *śa*, but in all instances where these letters occur in the present plate, they have no such distinctive features. The style of the record is also modern. I have not come across any Haihaya inscription with a *śrī* at the top, which modern writers usually put in. Again the word *śrī Kṛṣṇamahendra*, which is apparently meant as an invocation, is a modernism, similar phrases being *śrī-Rāma*, *śrī-Gaṇḍa*, etc. In all Haihaya inscriptions, the invocation is *Om namah Śivāya*, i.e. I bow down to Śiva. The forger, who, I believe, had seen many of the Haihaya inscriptions, forgot the distinctive Haihaya invocation owing to the story of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa being uppermost in his mind, and he thought that as Kṛṣṇa was so well pleased with Mayurāditya, the supposed ancestor of the Haihayas, an invocation to that deity would be most appropriate. The next phrase, calling the record *vijaya-lēkha* or the victorious writ, meaning royal record, is another novelty of the Ōṛiyā type, in which, as in Dravidian languages, the addition of *vijaya* or victory to every act done by a high personage is a matter of etiquette. A *Rāja* does not go, he conquers; *vijaya karuchhanī*, he does not eat, he conquers the kitchen, he does not answer the call of nature, he conquers the latrine, and so on. I have not come across any other grant being distinguished as *vijaya-lēkha*. The next phrase refers to a seal, which is nowhere to be found. The prefatory phrases done, the record proper again begins with a modernism, viz *śrī* 6. This reminds one of a Hindi letter-writer which was used in schools, some years ago, in which there was a couplet to the effect that 6 *śrīs* should be recorded for a preceptor, 5 for a master, 4 for an enemy, 3 for a friend, 2 for a servant, and 1 for a wife or son. This must have occurred to the writer's mind, more particularly because he was, as I suppose, a school-master himself and was probably teaching the *Paṭrahaṭṭasānī* to his pupils.

Now with regard to the date, the Vikrama year 806 or 749 A.D. is impossible. It goes back to a period when probably the Haihayas had not at all come to Chhattisgarh. From inscriptions we have a date 1114 of Jājallādēva² I, who was fifth in descent from Kalingarāja, the first Haihaya, who is said to have conquered Dakṣiṇakōśala. Taking then the date of Kalingarāja to be 1000 A.D., the present grant would have been made by the Haihayas 250 years before they began to rule in Chhattisgarh. Even if we suppose that it refers to the Kalachuri era, it would be equivalent to 1054 A.D., i.e. almost contemporaneous with the commencement of Haihaya rule. Prithvirāja was fourth in descent from Kalingarāja and was the father of Jājallādēva I. The date of this plate would place a difference of 60 years between

¹ [Perhaps *Kauraviya* is intended.—S. K.]

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 24.

ॐ कृष्णाय नमः

श्रीशक्तमुद्राचतुस्र

विजयशक्ति

श्रीय॥ सखि श्रीमन्महाभारतविनीतः सति केतनादा पृथोद्वेदिम
 न्नादं निरालयुता सिपदं भुजि ॥ १ ॥ नृदेवप्राज्ञाजिसोविता स्तनश्रीमन्ना
 संसिवातः ॥ नन्नाद उभटाका सिनेनृन्दी निगगोवृद्धा ॥ २ ॥ दिव्यीयति
 मुद्रा नृद्विदुः ॥ यान्हा निमन्ना ॥ ३ ॥ यत्तु नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः
 धीः ॥ ४ ॥ लोकादिनिविश्रामविशेषो नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः
 नृसाभाष नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः
 लोकादिनिविदुः ॥ ५ ॥ नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः
 ता ॥ ६ ॥ नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः नृद्विदुः

father and son, if we suppose that both records were written in the first year of their reigns This is again improbable These kings moreover had not then gone to Ratanpur

On the whole, I come to the conclusion for reasons stated above that this grant to Lungá is a lungá affair and was perpetrated somewhere between 1860 and 1870 by a Sanskritist of Ratanpur, whom I do not desire to name out of respect for his Sanskrit learning I suppose 'chill ponary' induced him to undertake a work which he would not have otherwise done The record does not show any adequate cause for the grant being made, and it is noteworthy that exactly double the number of villages of those which the Zamindari contained before Mr Chisholm's settlement were recorded as granted by the Haihaya Rāja. It may be noted that when this record was written the change of the tribal name of the donee or his descendants from Kavar to Tawar had not been mooted or at least had not been seriously taken up, otherwise we should not have had the phrase *Kauraviya-prasannadhih* in verse 3 There is a family genealogy of the Lāphā Zamindār, written in the year 1927 or 1870 A D, which shows that the tribal name had then been changed to Tawar

TEXT.²

Sri.

Śrī Kṛṣṇachandra

Śrī-lōkhaka-mudrā chatuṣraśā

vijayalōkhā

- 1 Śrī 5 || Svasti śrīman-mahārājādhirājah kṣhīti-nvēkarāt³ || (1) Prithvidēvo ma-
- 2 hōddarśi-maulyudbhāsi-padāmva(bu)jā⁴ || 1 || Haihayāsmarāja⁵-savitā śūra-sāmanta-
- 3 sāvita⁶ || (1) mahōdbhata-bhaṭṭakīrpa-sainyō varigaṇaprahā || 2 || Dīvy-āgata-
- 4 susūśīya⁶ Luṅg-ākhyāya mahātmanō || (1) dādē vṛttim⁷ vamsaparām
- Kauraviya-prasanna-
- 5 dhīh || 3 || Lāphā-durgam-ayī(pu) grāma-vimōttaratāṣṭānmitām || (1) samvatsarē
- 6 ras-abhr-āṣṭ-ātītē Māgh-āṣit-ādikē || 4 || yē bhavishyanti bhūpālāḥ pā-
- 7 lānyā sad-ōti taiḥ || (1) maddattā likhitā tāmra-patrē Mādhavasūri-
- 8 nā || Śubham-āstu⁸ || Māghē vadi || 1 || Sammansarē⁹ 808

TRANSLATION.

Sri

The illustrious Kṛṣṇachandra.

The Victorious writ

The illustrious writer's regular seal

Śrī 5. Hail.

(Verse 1.) The illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja* Prithvidēva, the king of many countries (is) very intelligent (His) lotus feet are shining with the diadems (of kings prostrating before him).

(V. 2) (He is as it were) the sun amongst the descendants of the Haihayas and is served by his brave feudatories. His army is full of very extraordinary soldiers. He is the destroyer of his enemies.

¹ The word in Hindi means " mischievous "

² Read *kṣhīti-anthardī*.

³ Read *śūra-sāmanta*.

⁴ Read *vṛttim*.

⁵ Read *-astu*.

⁶ From the original plate

⁷ Read *Haihayāsmarāja*

⁸ Read *śūśīya*

⁹ Read *Sakvatsarē*

(V 3-4) His mind being pleased with the Kauraviyas¹ (Kawars) he gave to the very brave noble named Lungā, who had come from Delhi, 120 villages with the Lamphā fort for maintenance from generation to generation, on the first day of the dark fortnight of the Māgha month in the expired year (symbolically expressed by) flavour (3) sky (0) and eight (8)

Future kings should always respect my gift written on the copper plate by Mādhava Sūri
Let good fortune attend The first day of the dark fortnight of Magha in the year 808

No 45 — ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA KALACHURI SAMVAT 347

By K B PATHAK, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA

These two plates belong to a Rajput family residing at Ābhāpa, a village in the Kelavāna taluka of the Nānk district. I obtained them on loan through my friend Mr N C Kelkar. They are inscribed on one side only, and measure 9½" x 7". The writing is carefully engraved and is in a good state of preservation.

The characters belong to a variety of the southern alphabet which is well-known from the Sarsavī plates of Buddhārāja edited by Dr. Kielhorn in this Journal, Vol VI, pp 294 and ff. They include numerical symbols for 300, 40, 7, 10 and 5 in line 34. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five imprecatory and imedictive verbs in lines 28-33, the text is in prose.

The inscription is one of Śaṅkaragana, the son of Krishnarāja, of the family of the Katochchūris. It records an order of Śaṅkaragana, issued from his camp at Ujjayini, to the effect that he granted a hundred *niṣartikas* of land in the village of Vallisikā situated in the district of Bhōgavarddhana to a Brāhmana named Ālmanasvāmin, of the Gautama gotra, belonging to the Taittiriya śikṣā, who was a resident of Kallāvāna, at the request of Gōgga. The inscription is dated, in words and numerical symbol, on the 15th day of the bright half of Śrāvāna of the year 347,² which must be referred to the Kalachuri era, so that the date corresponds to the 27th July A.D. 595.

The Katochchūri Śaṅkaragana is identical with the father of Buddhārāja, who issued the Sarsavī grant. The wording of the two inscriptions is practically identical, with the exception of the portion referring to the grants themselves. There is, of course, nothing in our inscription to correspond to lines 14-17 of the Sarsavī plates, which refer to Buddhārāja.

Of the localities occurring in our inscription, Kallāvāna is the modern Kalavāna in the Nānk district. Vallisikā and Bhōgavarddhana I cannot identify.

In line 20 of the present inscription we find the technical expression *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāṇḍyam*, which so frequently occurs in other inscriptions, and which has usually been rendered "not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers." I invite the attention of Sanskrit scholars to the following passage, in which Śaṅkarachāṭya uses it,³—

*tasmāt tārṅhika-chāṭa-bhaṭa-rāj-dprāṇḍyam abhayaṁ durgam idam alpabuddhy-agamyam
kāstra-guru-prasāda-rahitaṁ cha. Ānandajñāna gives the following explanation,—
adevāt virōdh-antar-abhāvāt-pi tārṅhika-samaya-virōdhāt-st-ity-ādāṅky-dha tasmād
vā | pramāna-virōdh-abhāvaṁ tach-ahhād-ūrtiḥ | āryanyaryādām bhūmā-*

¹ Or, if we read *Kauradyas*, "he gave to the very brave and noble Kaurava (Kawar) named Lungā."

² [In the photo-lithograph 347 has been wrongly printed instead of 347—M K.]

³ *Bṛihadaranyakā* a śikṣābhṣyaśikṣā, Ānandasāraṇa edition, pp. 311 and ff.

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STEN KONOW

SCALE 08

FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY D. R. BHANDARKAR

W GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH

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nās chāt evakshyantē | bhāṣās tu śivakā mthyā-bhūṣaṇas teshām suriśāṁ
rājānas tārkikās ta r aprarīṣyam anākrāmanyam idam balaṁvāhitaṁ
yātut

TEXT

First Plate, Second Side

- 1 श्री¹ स्वस्ति[॥*] विजयस्कन्धवारादुज्जयनीवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगनतलविमल-
विपुले
- 2 विविधपुरुषरत्नगुणकिरणनिरावभामिते महासत्त्वापात्रयदुर्लभे गाभीर्यवति
स्थित्य-
- 3 नृपालनपरे महोदधाविव कटञ्जुरीणामन्वये सकलजनमनोहरया चन्द्र-
कयेव कीर्त्या
- 4 भुवनमवभासयन्नाजन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाश्रयपरङ्कलङ्घदोषरहितकुलकुसुद-
- 5 वनलक्ष्मीविवोधनचन्द्रमा इव श्रीलक्ष्णराजो यस्मांश्चयविशेषलोभादिव सकले-
राभिगामिकै-
- 6 गितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतसम्पन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदात्मन्याहितशक्तिसिद्धिर्वात च
रुचिरव-
- 7 शंभिरा नियतमस्त्रलितदानाः प्रदत्तमन्त्रगरिम्हा वनवारणयूथपेनेवावि-
- 8 शङ्खं विचरता वनराजय इवावनिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नवा-
णाय विग्रहपर-
- 9 भिमानभ्रूय शिञ्जितं विनयाय विभक्तं एतानां प्रदानं धर्माय
धर्मैः श्रेयोवा-
- 10 मये तस्य पुत्रः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथयतु रूढधिमल्लिखिततयशा धनद्वयैव
नृक-
- 11 समप्रतापः स्वानुग्रहोपातोर्जितराजयोऽप्रतापा(पा)तिशयोजनतसमग्रसामन्त-
- 12 मण्डलः परस्परपोहितधर्मार्थकामनिषेवो प्रथममाश्रुपरितोपगभीरोऽन्त
- 13 हृदयस्यम्यकप्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणनावामधर्मकिञ्चिरोत्सवा-
- 14 नां नृपनिर्देशानां प्रतिष्ठापयितात्युष्कृतानामुन्मूलयिता दीनाम्ब-
लपणसमभिल-
- 15 पितृमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदः पूर्वापरसमुद्रान्तादिदेशस्वामी मातापितृ-
- 16 पादानुध्यातः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशङ्करगणः सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिविषय-
- 17 पतिराष्ट्रमामहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समाप्रापयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिः

Second Plate, First Sub

- 18 भोगवर्धनविषयान्तर्गतवत्तिसिकाग्रामि उभयचत्वारिंशकनिवर्त्तनिना(नेन)
 19 भूमेर्निवर्त्तनशतम् सर्वोदानसंग्राह्यं सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहोण भूमि-
 20 च्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रार्क्षार्णवक्षितिस्यतिसमकालीन पुत्रपोत्रान्वय-
 भोग्यं
 21 कल्लावनवास्तव्यगौतमसगोत्रतैत्तिरीयसत्रह्यचारी आह्वानस्वामिने वलिचरुवैश्व-
 देवा-
 22 निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययथोभिहृष्ये गोमा-
 विज्ञापनया
 23 उदकातिमग्नंशतिसृष्टं यतोऽहंश्चैरन्यैर्वागामिष्टपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवन-
 24 प्रेरितोदधिजलतरङ्गचक्षुलं जीवलीकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयस-
 25 थ गुणानाकलय्य भोगसामान्यभूतदानफलेऽसुभिः शशिकररुचिरं चिराय
 यशश्चोर्षुभि-
 26 रयमन्महायोनुमन्तव्यः(पालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमति-
 राच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्य-
 27 मान वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैश्चयुक्तस्ययादित्युक्तश्च भगवता
 वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [2*]
 28 षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः[1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
 तान्येव नरको वसेत् ॥ विख्याट-
 29 वीध्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं
 हरन्ति ये ॥ बहुभिर्व्य-
 30 सुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यश्च यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
 फलम् ॥ पूर्व्वदत्तां
 31 द्विजातिभ्यो यद्वाह्यं युधिष्ठिर [1*] मर्हो महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेद्योनुपालन-
 मपिच ॥ यानीह
 32 दत्तानि -पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्हीनानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्भुक्तमाश्रयप्रति-
 मानि तानि को नाम साधुः
 33 पुनराददीत ॥ संवत्सरशतत्रये सप्तचत्वारिंशदुत्तरके आवश्यशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां
 महापितृ-
 34 पतिपाशुपतदूतकं स्त्रिषितमिदं महासन्धिविश्रवाचिकरवाचिहृतवाटचक्षि-
 नेति ॥ सं ३०० ४० ७ आवश्य शु १० ५

¹ The Sanskrit plates read *admdnya-bhōga-bhō*.

TRANSLATION.¹

Line 1. Om! Hail! From the victorious camp pitched at Ūjjayini. In the lineage of the Kātechchūris, which, like the great ocean, is extensive and spotless as the firmament, clear on the approach of autumn, illumined by the mass of the rays of the excellences of many jewels of men (as the ocean is adorned by the rays of its gems); which is difficult to be crossed, because it is the home of men of great vigour (as the ocean is of large animals), full of gravity and desirous of keeping within the bounds of what is proper (just as the ocean is full of depth and desirous of keeping within its shores), there was the glorious Kṛishnarāja, who illumined the world with his fame, as the moon with light, agreeable to all men, who was from his birth solely devoted to Paśupati (Śiva), just as the moon solely rests on Śiva, who (though) free from defects, yet like the moon (who has a spot) revives the beauty (prosperity) of his family resembling a forest of night lotuses, who was resorted to by all virtues which attract² men to a king and by other qualities, as if through a desire to obtain a very suitable abode, who was endowed with all the constituent parts of royalty; who had properly enjoyed the fruits of his regal powers; who resplendent with his illustrious family, the flow of his liberality being ceaseless and the majesty of his power well-known, roaming fearlessly, subdued the regions, as the chief in a herd of wild elephants, with the ceaseless flow of its rutting juice, displaying the greatness of its strength, roaming about fearlessly breaks down rows of forests, whose sword was used to protect the helpless; whose wars were made to humble the pride of his enemies; whose learning aimed at modesty, who acquired wealth to make gifts, who made gifts in order to acquire religious merit, and acquired religious merit in order to obtain final bliss

(L. 10) His son, the glorious Saṅkaragana, a great devotee of Śiva, the lord of countries bounded by the eastern and western ocean, and other lands, who meditated on the feet of his parents, who had no rival in the world, whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans; whose might was equal to that of Kubera, Varuna, Indra and Yama, who acquired the fortune of great kings by the strength of his arm, to whom, by reason of the excess of his prowess, the circle of all feudatory kings bowed, who enjoyed religious merit, wealth and pleasure without allowing them to encroach upon one another, whose profound and lofty mind was satisfied with mere submission, who performed religious acts by giving away, in charity, the immense wealth acquired by properly protecting his subjects; who re-instated families of kings who had long been dethroned; who uprooted those that were too proud, who granted to the afflicted, the blind and the poor, the object of their desires which exceeded their sanguine expectations,—issues this order to all kings, feudatories, bhōgikas, heads of provinces, districts, and villages, officers and others —

Be it known to you. For the increase of the religious merit and fame of our parents and ourselves we have granted, at the request of Gōgga,³ with pouring out of water, a hundred *nivarttana*s of land,—by a *nivarttana* measuring forty on both sides,—in the village of Vallisikā situated in the province of Bhōgavarddhana, together with all receipts, free from all *ditya*, forced labour, and *prātibhēdika*, according to the maxim of bhāṁschandra, not to be encroached upon by rogues and servants who tell lies,⁴ to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons for as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth endure,—to Āhmapasvāmin, a resident of Kallāvana belonging to the Gautama gōtra, and a student of the Taittiriya śākhā, for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites,—wherefore future kings and governors, whether of our own family or others, reflecting that this world of living beings is as unstable as a wave of the waters of the ocean, moved by a strong gale, that

¹ [Compare the translation of the Sarsavī plates and the notes accompanying it, above, Vol. VI. pp. 299 and ff.—S. K.]

² *Kāmandakīya Nītiśāstra*, chap. IV verses 6-8

³ Gōgga was probably the name of the queen of Śankaragana.

⁴ See the introductory remarks

riches are perishable and unsubstantial, and that virtues endure for a long time,—wishing to participate in the fruit of a gift of land, which is an object of enjoyment by all, and desiring to accumulate fame as bright as the rays of the moon for a long time, should consent to this our gift of land and preserve it. Whoever, with his mind covered by the veil of the darkness of ignorance should take it away, or allow it to be taken away, shall be guilty of the five great sins. And it is said by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas —[Here follow five well-known imprecatory verses]

(L. 33) In three hundred years increased by forty-seven, on the fifteenth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, this edict, the *dātaka* of which is the *Mahāpīlupatī* Pāśupata, was written by the *Mahāsandhanugrahādāhikaranādāhikṛta* Vātohalin Sam 800 40 7 Śrāvaṇa su 10 5

No. 46.—ARIGOM SARADA INSCRIPTION

LAUKIKA SAMVAT 73

By STEN KONOW.

Ārigōm is a village in the Nāgām pargana, 74° 45' long., 33° 56' lat, about 15 miles south west of Śrinagar, as the crow flies. Dr. Stein, in his note on the *Itiṭyaturāṅgī* I 340, identifies Ārigōm with Hādigrāma, where Gōpāditya is said to have established an *agrahāra*, and states that some remains of temples were traced there by Paṇḍit Kāśī Rām in 1891. Hādigrāma is further mentioned by Kalhaṇa (VIII, 672) as one of the strongholds of the Pāmara Prithivihara. In the troubled times following on the accession of Jayasinha in A D 1128, "Hādigrāma, where King Sussala and those of his side had lost their renown, was burned by Sujji, whose valour was mighty" (VIII, 1586), and the place is further mentioned in connexion with the incursion of king Lōthana during the same period (VIII, 2195).

In June 1908, Paṇḍit Mukund Rām, who had with great courtesy been placed at my disposal by the Kashmir Darbar, was informed by a friend of the existence of an inscribed stone in the house of a Brāhmaṇ in Ārigōm, and at my request he went up to inspect it. According to information gathered by him on the spot, the stone in question was found about twelve years ago in a piece of uncultivated land near the Masūd Malik Sahib by a cultivator, who was digging there, and sold to a Brāhmaṇ for some corn. The Brāhmaṇ kept the stone for some time and did *pūjā* to it. But people who saw it, told him that the writing probably contained information about hidden treasure, and that the stone therefore properly belonged to the Mahārāja. He got frightened, and first hid the stone under the wall of his house, but later on he threw it into a pit at the entrance of his *gōśālā* and covered it up with cow-dung. Paṇḍit Mukund Rām further informs me that images, pedestals, stones and bricks are found all over the place, and it is probable that excavations would yield interesting results.

The stone mentioned above is square, measuring 20" each way, and being 4½" high. On the top is a raised circle, apparently the base of an image. One of the four faces of the stone is inscribed with five lines in Śāradā letters.

The writing covers a space of 17½" × 3", and the height of the letters averages ½". They are distributed over five lines, the fifth of which contains the date. The beginning of the first two lines and the last letter in lines 1-3 and the three last letters in line 4 have disappeared.

The characters are Śāradā, and they are very well cut. *Ja* has the older form as in the Baijnāth *prastāvi*. The final form of *m* occurs in line 3. The diphthong *ē* has been marked in two different ways, by means of a horizontal line above, as in *bhagavatē*, l. 1, or by a vertical before the consonant as in *tē*, l. 2. Similarly *ḍ* is sometimes marked by adding a horizontal above, sometimes by prefixing a vertical to the consonant accompanied by the sign for *ḍ*. Compare

Āryāvalōkitēśvarāya, 1 1, and *lōkanāthāya*, 1 2 A third method occurs in *lōkā* at the end of line 1, where a wavy line has been added above the sign for *la*. Of initial vowels only *ā* occurs in *āryā-*, 1 1. Among ligatures I may note *kya*, 1 1, *kkra*, 1 3, *kva*, 1 4, *nga*, 1 2, *āya*, 1 3, *rya*, 1 1, and perhaps *lhna*, 1 3. The numeral symbols for 7, 3 and 5 occur in line 5.

The language of this inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation of *Āvalōkitēśvara* in 1. 1, and the date in 1 5, the whole is in verse. There are altogether two verses. The first is apparently a *ślōka*. The second *pāda*, however, contains three syllables too much, but these *aksharas* are probably simply a repetition of part of *pāda* 1. The second verse is a *śārdūlavikrīṣita*. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vihāra* built of *pakka* bricks, by *Rāmadēva*, the son of *Kulladēva*, in order to replace a wooden structure which had been built by a *vaṇḍya*, whose name I read *Ulhna*, and which had been burnt down by king *Simha*. This *Simha* must be identical with *Jayasimha* (from A.D. 1128), in whose reign *Hādigrāma* was burnt down by *Suṣṇi*.¹ It then becomes highly probable that the *vaṇḍya* *Ulhna* is identical with *Ulhana*, the son of *Sahadēva*, who was a supporter of *Suṣṇi*.² *Sahadēva* is described as a *Rājaputra*,³ which fact can of course be well reconciled with his son *Ulhana*'s being a *vaṇḍya*. The constructor of the brick *vihāra* was *Rāmadēva*, whom I cannot identify. His father *Kulladēva* was perhaps in charge of the old wooden *vihāra*, if I am right in interpreting *tad-rata* (1. 4) as "devoted to, attached to him, viz., *Āvalōkitēśvara*."

The word *vihāra* is used with more than one meaning. In our inscription, however, there cannot be much doubt that it signifies a shrine, as it has been characterized as "the abode of *Lōkanātha*." The stone upon which this epigraph has been incised is most probably the actual base of the statue of *Lōkanātha* here alluded to. *Lōkanātha* is, of course, identical with *Āvalōkitēśvara*, who is invoked in lines 1-2. Our inscription thus furnishes valuable proof of the fact that Buddhism was still lingering in Kashmir in the 12th and 13th centuries.

The mention of the materials used in building the old and the new shrines, is also of interest. We learn that the former was constructed from wood, while the latter was built from *pakka* bricks.

The old *vihāra* is stated to have been built in the vicinity of *Gaṅgēśvara*. This is now called *Gaṇēśvara*, and is the place where the present inscription was dug out. The modern corruption of the name is not of very old date. The old name was at least remembered about 40 years ago. This is proved by a *janmapatira*, which *Pandit Mukund Rām* found in *Ārigōm*, and which was written by *Pandit Gaṇēśa Khurao* in *Laukika* Samvat 4939, i.e. A.D. 1862-63. It speaks of a person as *Gaṅgēśvara-pādamaṇḍal* *Ārigrāmē vāstavya* residing in *Ārigōm* at the feet of *Gaṅgēśvara*. *Gaṅgēśvara* was originally probably a *Śiva* temple, and it is not unlikely that it could be identified by means of excavations.

The inscription is dated Samvat 73, *Mārga* sūti 5. This date must be subsequent to the burning of *Ārigōm* during the reign of *Jayasimha*. Now *Jayasimha*'s father was murdered in the *Laukika* year 4203, and the burning of *Ārigōm* took place in the first part of his reign. It is therefore as good as certain that we have to understand the date of our inscription as 4273 on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of *Mārgaśīrṣa*, corresponding to Sunday, the 16th November 1197.

TEXT

1 ...⁴ नमो भगवते आर्यावलोकितेश्वराय ॥ १[नै]लोकालोकभूताय लोका-
[लो]-

¹ *Edjatarahyint*, VIII 1586

² *Ibidem* vv 2066, 2082, 2097

³ *Ibidem* v 198

⁴ I cannot restore the beginning. The *akshara* preceding नमो looks like नै. *Pandit Mukund Rām* suggests to read नौ

⁵ Metre *Ślōka*. There is something wrong in the second *pāda*

- 2 [ख]..[स]मवच्छिदे [१*] जमदानन्दधन्वाय श्रीकृष्णाय ते नमः ॥[१*]
 'प्राग्विष्णुरसि[ख]-
 3 श्री [सुम]तिमान्वैद्योरुदुदेवाभिधसन्ने दारुमयं विहारममलं श्रीलोकनाथास-
 दम [१*] तस्मि[सं]-
 4 हृदयेष कालययतो दन्धेय पक्षेष्टिकायेष्टं तद्रतकुसदेवतयोमं रामदेवो
 [व्यधात् ॥] [२*]
 5 सं ७३ मार्ग शुति ५

TRANSLATION.

Line 1 Salutation to the exalted noble Avalokitēśvara.

(Verse 1). Salutation to thee, the Lord of the World, who hast become a light to the three worlds, . . . who destroys transmigration, the moon of delight to the world.

(V. 2) Formerly the *vaidya* Ulpadēva³ by name made a spotless *vikāra* of wood, an abode for the Lord of the World, in the vicinity of the Gaṅgōśvara (temple). After this, by the will of fate, had been burned by king Śiṃha, Rāmadēva, the son of Kulladēva, who was devoted to him (Avalokitēśvara), made yonder (*vikāra*) excellent with burnt bricks.

Line 5 Samvat 73, the 5th day of the bright (half) of Mārga(śirsha).

No. 47.—CHANDRAVATI PLATE OF CHANDRADEVA
 SAMVAT 1148.

By STEW KOMOW.

The plate containing this inscription was found on the inner slope of the left bank of the Ganges, near the water's edge, under the fort at Chandravati, in the Benares District. Mr. Chhote Lal, the District Engineer of Benares, informs me that, owing to the erosive action of the river, portions of the fort were undermined and fell down from time to time. The plate fell into the river along with the walls of the fort, and was seen and picked up by the Public Works Department's boatman, who deposited it in the District Engineer's office at Benares. In March 1908 it was then finally handed over to the Director General of Archaeology in India.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures 15½" x 11¼". The edges are fashioned thicker and raised into rims. In the upper part of the plate is a hole, through which passes a ring, about ½" thick and 3" in diameter. On the ring slides a bell-shaped seal, 2½" from top to bottom. The surface of the seal is circular and 2¼" in diameter. It represents in relief, on a slightly countersunk surface, a Garuḍa, with the body of a man and the head of a bird, kneeling and facing the proper right. Across the centre is the legend *śrīvadach-(śrīmaoh)-Chandradēvaś*, and at the bottom a conch shell.

The plate contains 23 lines of writing. Parts of it are much worn, and the portion containing the date cannot be made out with certainty. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. With regard to orthography I shall only note that *va* is used both for *va* and for *ba*, and that the dental sibilant is often used instead of the palatal one; thus, *astā-*

¹ Metro Śāridālavikrīdita

² It is possible that the name should be read Alipadēva.

for *aiṭa*, 1 1, -*vaiṣa*- for -*vaiṣa*-, 1 2. There are several other misspellings and slips, especially towards the end.

After the invocation to *Śrī* common in other plates of the same family, our inscription proceeds to give the genealogy of the donor in four verses, which are well known from other inscriptions. We are told that Yaśōvīraha had the son Mahīchandra, whose son again was Chandradēva, the issuer of the present grant. The inscription then goes on in prose, stating that the victorious king Chandradēva issues the following order to all the people assembled, residing in the Vaḍagavā-village in the Vāvana-pattalā, and also to the *Rājas*, *Rājās*, *Yuvāḍyas*, councillors, chaplains, warders of the gate, generals, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gyneciums, messengers, the officers in charge of elephants, horses, towns, mines, *sthānas* and *gōkulas*.

"Be it known to you that the aforesaid village, with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with its fishing places, with its ravines and saline soil, with and including its groves of *mādhūka* and mango, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abutments, up to its proper boundaries, has today, on the day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, Samvat 1148, been given by us for as long a time as moon and sun endure, with the pouring out of water from the palm of our hand, purified with *gōkarna*¹ and *kusa*-grass, to the Brāhmaṇ Varuṇśvayaśarmaṇ (-śvaraśarmaṇ), the son of Varāhaśvāmī, the grandson of Aparudha, of the Vasuṣṭha *gōtra*, and whose only *pravara* is Vasuṣṭha, for the increase of the merit and fame of our parents and ourselves, after having today bathed here in the neighbourhood of Sauri (Sauri)-Nārāyaṇa, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities, saints, men, beings, and groups of ancestors,² after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is skilled in rending the veil of darkness, after having worshipped Vāśudēva, the saviour of the three worlds, and after having sacrificed to the Fire an oblation with abundant milk, rice and sugar."

The first point here that is worthy of notice is the date, which is the earliest known for Chandradēva, the other copper plate of his time being dated in Samvat 1154.³ It will be seen that the portion of it containing the *tithi* and the week day is illegible. Mr Chhote Lal, who has examined the original, writes about this point,—

"Ordinarily, it might be thought that the excessive corrosion and incrustation of rust at this particular part of the plate was purely accidental, but from a minute examination of the imperfect and damaged letters which are still discernible, I am led to conclude that the excessive incrustation at this point was due to the fact that the surface of the plate was already damaged by somebody in his endeavour to make a correction in the date. It is remarkable that the name of the place or that of the stream in which the donor took his bath, is not mentioned in the inscription. Nor is there any mention of the occasion (eclipse, *saṅkrānti*, etc.) at which the gift was made. It would appear that Sauri-Nārāyaṇa was in those days a very well-known place of pilgrimage requiring no further details to localise it, that the occasion presumably was the ordinary Kārttika-*endana*, and that the date originally entered on the plate was *pañchadasyāśm gaurā*, but was afterwards attempted to be corrected into *śuklādasyāśm ravaṇa*. The *ś* of the latter just overlaps the *pa* of the former; the *kā* of the latter being rather large has been so formed as to include the *ca* and to cover the space occupied by *da* of the former; while the space occupied by *syāśm* of the former has been utilised for the rather clumsily large *da* of the latter. It will thus be seen that the space originally occupied by the word *pañchadasyāśm*, which was of normal size, was subsequently occupied by the much larger letters, *ś*, *kā* and *da*, and there being no more space available for the final syllable *syāśm*, it was omitted. Similarly, the *ra* of

¹ Compare Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* XV p 10, Note 57.

² See *ibidem*, note 55.

³ *Ind. Ant.* XVIII. pp. 9 and 2.

rauu overlaps the *gu* of *gurau* and *rau* of the latter has been deformed into something like *van* of the former. Now the question arises, "Why was the date corrected?" The reason may be that the grant was originally intended to be made on the *purnimadasi*, on the occasion of a *lunar eclipse* which was expected to take place on that date. A little calculation will show that the eclipse did actually occur on the specified date (corresponding to Thursday, the 7th of November, 1090 A.D.), but as the time of its occurrence was early in the following morning (according to calculation), it must have been very doubtful whether it would be visible at the place visited by Chandradēva. This circumstance may have been anticipated, and it may have been decided to make the donation on the preceding *Prabhāṭini Bhādasi* (Sunday, the 8th of November, 1090 A.D.) which was a most suitable day for the purpose, being the day on which Vishnu—the deity worshipped by Chandradēva—rises from his four months' sleep. I say all this may have been the cause of the alteration in the date, for there is no *a priori* reason against this supposition. But I consider it very unlikely that a Mahārāja, who changed his mind about the actual day of performing a religious ceremony, could have allowed a correction—and a clumsy correction at the best—to be made in the copper plate inscription recording the gift of a whole village, when the entire inscription could have been cut on a new plate in a day's time. The fact seems to be that it is no honour to a Brāhmap to receive a gift on the occasion of an eclipse, and there are certain sects of Brāhmap, e.g. Sarjuparis and Kanauyias, who would promptly excommunicate any member of their community who was known to have received a gift on account of an eclipse. The Brāhmap who received the munificent gift from Chandradēva probably belonged to one of these sects, and, after the king had made the gift and departed, he seems to have thought of concealing his disgraceful conduct and to have caused the original and genuine date to be altered as explained above."

Mr. Ohhot Lal further identifies *Vaḍagavā* with the present Baragaon, a village 14 miles north west of Benares. He thinks it, however, also possible that it was the old name of Chandravatī, which was afterwards changed in honour of king Chandradēva.

After the mention of the grant, we find some of the usual imprecatory verses, and, at the end, the name of the writer, the *śhakkura* Mahapanda.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Ōm² svasti || ³akumṭh-ōtkanṭha-Vaikunṭha-kanṭha-plṭha-lanṭhat-karab | saṁrambbhaḥ
suraśārambbh⁴ sa Śriyaḥ śrēyaś-ō-stu vaḥ || ⁵śaid-as(ā)ṭadyu-
- 2 ti-vamśa-(śa)-jāta-[kahmā]pāla-māśu divanḥ gaitāu | śākhād-Vivasvān-iva
bhūrdhāmā nāmā Yaśōvigraha ity-udārah || ⁶tat-sūt-ō-bhūt(n)-Mahālohamdra-
- 3 ś-ōha[m*]dradhāma-nibham nijan | yēn-āpāram-akṣpāra-pārē vyāpāritam⁷ yajāḥ ||
⁸tay-ābhūt-tanayō nay-nikarasilab krānta-dvishan-mamdhālā(mamdhāl)
⁹viddhaat-ōddhata-
- 4 dhira-yōdha-timirab śrī-Chandradēvō nripab | yēn-ōdāśara-pratāpa-sa(śa)mit-
śśēha-prajōpadraṇam śrīmad-Gādhipur-ādhirājyam-asamam dōrvikra-
- 5 mēn-ārjitar || ¹⁰tūthāni Kāśī-Kuśik-(śik)-Ōttarakōśal(sal)-Endra(h)sthānyākāni
paripālayat-ābhigamyaḥ(ya) | hēm-ātmatulyam-anisam(śan) dadatā dvjōbbhō
- 6 yēn-āmitkā vasmatī śataśa(śa)-tulābhīḥ || sa oha paramabhattāra-ka-mahārājā
dhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-niyabhujōpā[r*]jīta-śrī-Kā-
- 7 nyakuvj(bj)-ādhipatyā-śrī-Chandradēvō vjayī ||¹¹ Vāvana-pattalāyām Vaḍagavā
grāmē niyā[sinō]nikhila]-jana-padān-upagatān-apī oha rāja-rājāt-juvat-

¹ From the original plate.² Metre: Indravajrā.Read *vidhast*.

This sign of interpunction is superfluous.

³ Expressed by a symbol.⁴ Metre: Anushtubh.⁵ Metre: Vasantatīlaka.⁶ Metre: Anushtubh.⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

[illegible]

- 8 ja-mamtri-purôhita-pratibhara-sênâpatî-bhâmdâgârik-âkhepatalika-bhushaka(shaḡ)-naumi-
[ttik-âmtâhpu]rika-dûta-kanturagapatânâkarasthâgâ[ku].
- 9 lâdhikâmpurushân=âjñâpayâ(ya)ty=âdîsatî cha yathâ viditam=astu bhavatâm
yathôpâ[rilikkhi]ta-grâma[h*] sa-jala-sihalah sa-lôha-lavaṇ-âkaraḡ sa-ma-
- 10 [t*]sy-âkaraḡ sa-garît-ôsharaḡ sa-madhûk-âmra-vana-vâtikâ-trina-yûti-gôchâra-
paryamtaḡ s-ôrdh[v*]-âdhas=chatur-âghâta-visu(śu)ddhaḡ sva-simâ-paryantaḡ
[samvat]
- 11 1148 Kârttika su di ady-êha Śau(śau)ri-nârâyana- samipê
snâtva vidhivan=mamtra-dêva-pu(mu)ni-manna-bhûta-pitṛ-gaṇâms=tarppayivâ ti-
- 12 mira-patala-pâtana-pa[ṭu-ma]hasams(sam=)[uahpa-rôchi]sham samabhyarchya tribhu-
vana-¹trâtur=Vâsudevasya pûjâm vidhâya praohura-pâyasêna havishâ
havirbhujam [hu]tvâ
- 13 mâtpûtrôr=âtmana[ś=cha] puṇya-pra(ya)[śô-bhuvriddhaya] ² Vasishtâgôtrâya ²
Vasishth-sûka-pravarâya ³ Anarudha-paurâya Var[â*]hasvâmi-putrâya ³
Varupêsvaya(śvara)-
- 14 sa(śa)rimaḡê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya gôkarsa(rpa)-kusalatâ-pûta-karatal-ôdakên=âsmâbhîh
âchamdrârkkaḡ yâvavv(oh=ohh)âsanikṛtya pradattâh | matvâ yathâdîyamâna-
bhâgabbhō-
- 15 gâkara-pravaṇikara-turushkadevîdâ-kumaragadîâṇaka-prabhîrîn-samastâ [n*] = n i y a t â s
nyat-âdîyân-âjñâ(du)-vidhêyi-bhûya dâsyatha
- 16 iti || bhavanti oh-âtra paurâṇikâ[h*] ślôkâh || || ³bhûmim yaḡ pratagrûpâti
yâś=cha bhûmim prayaohohati | ubhau tau puṇyakarmâṇau m-
- 17 yatu svargna(rgga)-gâmunan || sa(śa)mkham bhadrâsanam ohohhatam⁴ varâsvâ
(śvâ) varavâraṇṡ | bhûmi-dânsaya ohinâm phalam=⁵ s(ś)tat=Paramâra ||
shashṭ(h)îrî varâsha-sahasrâ-
- 18 nî svarggê vasati bhûmidaḡ [i*] âohohhettâ ch=ânumanâ cha tân[y=*]êva
narakam(kê) vasê || svadattâm paradattâm vâ yô harêd(ka)=vasumdharam |
sa viâṭhâyaḡ kṛmir-bhûtvâ
- 19 pitṛbhîḡ sôha majjati || vârihînêshv=arapyêshu śushka-kôtara-vâsinah | kṛishpa-
sarppâś=ra(cha) jâyamê dêva-vra(bra)hma-sva-hâriṇah || na viham vi[sha]m-
ity-â-
- 20 hu[r*] vra(bra)hma-svân viham=uchyata(tâ) | viham=êkâknam hamti(r=)
vra(bra)hma-svân puvrapautṛikam(putrapautṛikam) || ⁶rgâm-akâm svarêḡm-
êkân bhûmêr=apy-êkam=amgalsm | haram(haran) narakam=âpnôti yâvad-â-
- 21 bhûta-sa[rh*]plavah || tadâgânâm sahasrâpî ⁷asvam(ê)dhassatâni cha | gavân
kâ(kô)ti-pradâna(nâna) bhûmi-hartâ na suyaḡ(śudhyati) || va(ba)hubhur=
vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhîḡ Cha(Sa)ga-
- 22 râdibhî[h] || (i) yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis-tasya tasya tadâ phalam || ⁸yân-
tha dattâm purâ narê[n*]dra[r*] dânam ⁹varmâpîyasasakarâpî [i*] m-
[rmâlyavânta-prati]-
- 23 mâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuh punar-âdadhita || || ¹⁰lakkhîtam=îdam
tâtmrapâṭaka[rh*] ṭhakkura-êri- Mahâpamda ||

¹ The engraver originally wrote *tribhuvana*, but corrected it

² These signs of interpunctuation are superfluous.

³ Metre of this and the following verses: Anuṣṭubh.

⁴ The 4-stroke has been put over the *pu* of *Paramâra*.

⁵ Read *gâm-êkâm svargam-êkam cha*.

⁶ Read *asvamâkâśatâni*.

⁷ Read *dharmâpîyasas*.

⁸ Read *châttaram*.

⁹ Metre *Indravajrâ*

¹⁰ Read *lakkhîtam*.

No. 48 —BURHANPUR SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF ADIL SHAH.
SAMVAT 1646.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Burhānpūr in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces is an ancient historical site¹ It was the chief seat of the Fārūqī kings. They ruled over Khāndēsh, which name the Muhammadans derived from their title of Khān Their rule lasted from 1370 to 1600 A.D., when it was displaced by the Mughals One of these Fārūqī kings built the Jam'a Masjid, in which besides Arabic inscriptions he had one carved in Sanskrit, which gives his genealogy and the date of the construction of the mosque This inscription is in the northern corner and is written within an arch, so that the lines, which are 6 in number, are of unequal length. They contain five verses, besides the invocation *Sri śrīṣṭīkārtr̥ namah* in the commencement and the date in the end, both of which are in prose.

The letters are Nāgarī and are raised, not incised, in the same fashion as Persian letters are usually found carved. Orthography hardly calls for any remarks. The sign of *avagraha* has been omitted throughout. Over the *na* of *-khāna-* (l. 3) we find the Arabic sign of *tashdīd* or double consonant

The date is recorded in great detail, giving both the Vikrama and Śaka years, which are stated to be 1646 and 1511 respectively, the cyclic year being Virāḍhi The mosque is stated to have been completed on Monday, the 11th of the bright fortnight of the month Pausa, the exact moment in *ghaṭī* and the *nakṣatra*, *lagna*, *yōga*, *karana*, etc., being added most precisely² The date in the Hijra era is given as 987 in Arabic above the inscription Its English equivalent was kindly calculated for me by the late Professor Kielhorn, C.I.E., who found it to be Monday, the 5th January 1590. The astrological details are unique in a Muhammadan mosque and show the religious tendency of the later Fārūqī kings. In Burhānpūr much of the beliefs of the two religions (Hinduism and Islām) got mixed up, traces of which are still conspicuously present there. As an instance may be cited the preachings of the *Pīrādās*, who are Musalmāns and who say that God will now become incarnate as *Nīshkalakṣī*.³ The Fārūqīs undoubtedly believed in astrology, as this inscription shows, and although the builder of the mosque took every care to erect it in the most auspicious moment completing it exactly in one year (as an Arabic inscription carved in the middle of the Masjid discloses) and wished by his pious act to ensure the long continuance of his dynasty, yet uncompromising destiny snatched away the crown from them, only ten years after the construction of the edifice. In fact Bahādur Khān, the builder's son, was so much infatuated with superstition, that, in spite of his possessing the impregnable Asirgarh fort with ten years' provisions, enormous treasures and numerous horses and cattle, he could not hold his own against Akbar, of whom he believed that he was a necromancer and that magicians accompanied him to reduce the fort A pestilence which broke out among the animals, was attributed to the black art, and he saw no way but to surrender to the mighty wizard. This mosque was thus destined to receive another inscription, which Akbar triumphantly caused to be carved recording his victory of Khāndēsh in A.H. 1009 (A.D. 1600), annihilating the glory of the mosque builder's dynasty for ever This inscription is in Persian and is conspicuously inscribed on the outside wall of the left hand minar

¹ It was here that the famous Mumtāz Mahall (Arjumand Bānū Bēgum) breathed her last.

² For details see translation at the end

³ I have seen some Sanskrit manuscripts in Persian character in the possession of some Maulvis of Burhānpūr, preserved as heirlooms from their ancestors, who apparently studied them under State encouragement. Unfortunately most of these valuable records have been destroyed by the fire of 1897 and 1906 which caused damage to the extent of about 57 lakhs besides loss of life.

The chief interest of our inscription lies in the genealogy of the Fāruqīs given in it. According to it the first king was Rāja Malik, whose son was Ghazni (Khān). His son was Kaisar Khān, whose son was Hasan, from whom was born Ādil Shāh, whose son was Mubārakh. Ādil Shāh, the constructor of the mosque, was the son of this Mubārakh. This genealogy differs from those given by Firsihta and Abul Fazl. According to the former Ādil Shāh was the 6th descendant from Malik Rāja, and according to the latter the 8th, while according to our inscription he was the 7th. The tables given below will show at a glance how matters stand —

Sanskrit inscription	Briggs' <i>Firsihta</i> , Vol IV, p. 280.	Jarrett's <i>Āin-i-Akbari</i> , Vol II, p. 226
Rāja Malik	Malik Rāja	Malik Rāj
Gazni (Khān).	Nasir Khān	Ghazni Khān, title Nasir Khān.
Kaisar Khān		Miran Shāh <i>alias</i> Ādil Shāh
		Mubārak Shāh Chaukhandi.
Hasan (Khān).	Hasan Khān.	Ādil Shāh Aynā <i>alias</i> Ahsan Khān.
Ādil Shāh.	Ādil Khān	Ādil Shāh
Mubārakh.	Mubārak	Mubārak Shāh
Ādil Shāh.	Rāja Ali Khān.	Rāja Ali Khān, title Ādil Shāh.

The *Āin-i-Akbari* states that "Bahādur Khān (who was the son of Rāja Ali Khān) was 9th in descent from Malik Rāj." This has led Colonel Jarrett,¹ as it would indeed lead others, to suppose that the list given there is genealogical and that Ahsan Khān, the fifth king, was identical with Hasan Khān, who, as a matter of fact, was never a king. Hasan Khān belonged to a collateral branch of the family, whose son became king on the failure of male issue in the main line.

The *Āin-i-Akbari* has mixed up the succession list with the genealogical table. Miran Shāh, the third descendant, was really a grandson of Malik Rāja, but the point missed is that he was not the direct ascendant of the last Ādil Shāh or Rāja Ali Khān. The crown first went in Miran Shāh's line up to Ādil Shāh Aynā, who was succeeded by his brother Dāwūd Khān, and the latter by his son Ghazni Khān, who was poisoned two days after ascending the throne. Abul Fazl does not mention Ghazni Khān at all, probably because his succession to the throne was only nominal. Ghazni Khān left no son,² and hence the crown went to Rāja Ali Khān's grand-father Ādil Shāh or Ādil Khān. The three kings Miran Shāh, Mubārak Shāh and Ādil Shāh were not thus direct ascendants of Rāja Ali Khān. The *Āin-i-Akbari* list should therefore be left out of consideration, and the question must be decided between our inscription and Firsihta's list. Briggs³ takes Hasan to be the son of Nasir Khān, relying on Firsihta's assertion that "Ādil was the son of Hasan and grandson of Nasir Khān." If Hasan were the son of Nasir Khān, he would be the brother of Miran Shāh, who was crowned king after his father's death. We would, therefore, have to suppose that Miran's nephew came to the throne after the expiry of three

¹ See his *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 226, footnote.

² Briggs' *Firsihta*, Vol. IV, p. 303.

³ *Loc. cit.*

generations, which is an unlikely supposition. There is nothing to show that Ādil Khān (Hasan's son) was extraordinarily long-lived.¹ It, therefore, seems very probable that there was an intervening generation between Nasir Khān and Hasan Khān, and the missing link is supplied by the Sanskrit inscription in the person of Kaiser Khān, son of Nasir and father of Hasan Khān. In the inscription Kaiser Khān is merely called a *vīra* or hero and not a king, and although Hasan was also never a king, the epithet of *kahitisa* was apparently added to his name by way of courtesy, to tickle the ruling prince. Regarding the sources of his information Firsihta records² that when he visited Burhānpūr in A. H. 1013 (A. D. 1604), he asked Mirāṭ Ali Isfahānī if any history existed of the Fārdī family. The Mirāṭ replied that he knew of none, but said that he once saw a genealogy³ of the family down to Malik Rāja, which he copied and took along with him. It would thus appear that no history of the kings later than Malik Rāja existed at all. So the information he collected was apparently from traditions or other casual records, while the writer of the Sanskrit inscription must certainly have been supplied with information from the royal family, as it was intended to be a permanent record in one of the greatest works the king built. It is therefore, more reliable than Firsihta and leaves no room for doubt as to its authenticity.⁴ A revised genealogy of the Fārdī kings will be found below on p. 310.

TEXT⁵

- 1 ॥ श्री सृष्टिकर्त्रे नमः । प्रव्यक्त(क) व्यापकं नित्यं गुणातीतं विदामक
[1*] व्यक्तस्य(व्यक्तस्य) कारणं वंदे व्यक्ताव्यक्तं तमीश्वर' ॥१॥ यावद्वन्द-
र्कतारा-
- 2 दि क्षितिः स्यादंबरांगणै(णै) [1*] तावत्तादृक्किंवंगीसी चिरं वंदतु
भूतले ॥२॥ वंशेय तस्मिन्किल फारकींद्री वभूव राजा मलिकामि-
धानः [1*] तस्याभवत्सुनु-
- 3 बदरचेताः कुक्षावतंसो गजनीनरेयः⁶ ॥३॥ तस्मादभूत्केसरखानवीरः पुत्र-
सदीयो हसनक्षितीयः [1*] तस्मादभूदेदलयाहभूपः पुत्रोभवत्तत्प-
सुबारखेदः ॥४॥

¹ The average for a generation in the line of which Ghazni Khān was the last, is 23 years, while in the line of Rāja Ali Khān it is 29 years. According to the Sanskrit inscription the average for the latter is reduced to less than 26, taking the reckoning up to the death of Miran Muhammad in 1576, but for the minority of whose son Hussain Khān, Rāja Ali Khān would have had no opportunity to sit on his brother's throne.

² It may be noted that the visit was paid 14 years after our inscription was carved.

³ Firsihta gives this as follows:—

Malik Rāja, the son of Khān Jahān, the son of Ali Khān, the son of Uthmān Khān, the son of Simion Shāh, the son of Ashab Shāh, the son of Arman Shāh, the son of Ibrahim Shāh of Balkh, the son of Ādam Shāh, the son of Ahmad Shāh, the son of Mahmūd Shāh, the son of Muhammad Shāh, the son of Āsim Shāh, the son of Ashghar, the son of Muhammad Ahmad, the son of the Imām Nasir Abuljalil, the son of Omar ul-Farūq entitled Khalifa or representative of the last of the prophets.

⁴ If anybody would assert that the Sanskrit composer might have made a mistake in understanding the genealogy, all doubts would vanish by reading the Arabic inscription on the top of the Sanskrit one reproduced in the accompanying plate. Line 3 as deciphered by Munshi Inamullah Kūn, Manager of the Mosque, reads as follows:— 'Ādil Shāh bin Mubdrak Shāh bin Ādil Shāh bin Hasan Khān bin Qasir Khān bin Ghazni Khān bin Malik Khān al-Fārdī al Ādil.

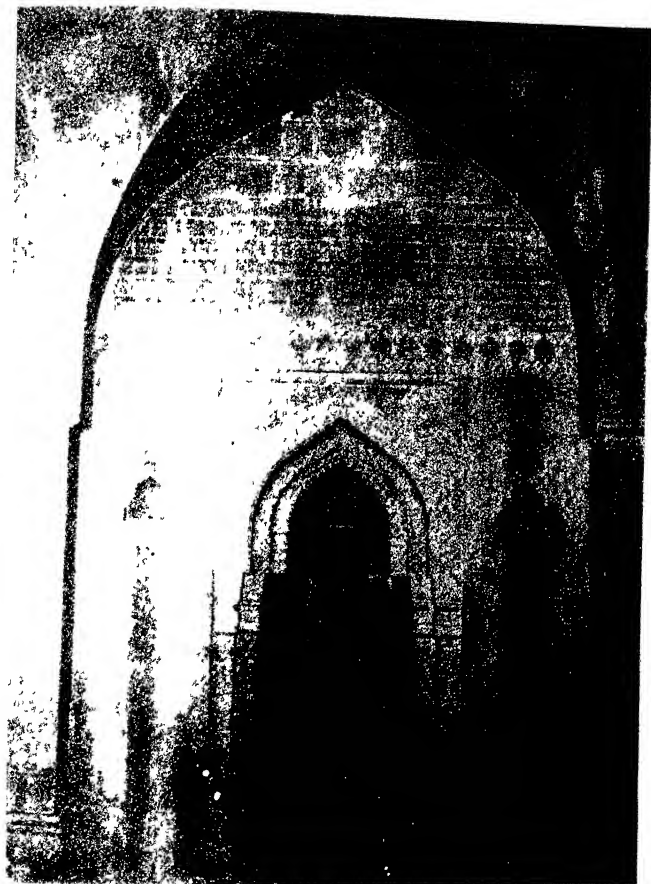
⁵ From my personal transcript from the original and two subsequent ones kindly supplied by Mr. B. Bal kishna Bhāte, Headmaster, Middle School, Burhānpur, and a photograph.

⁶ Read 'कृच्छे नमः'

⁷ This and the next verse are in the Anushtubh metre

⁸ The s and the next are in the Uṣṣajī metre

Purhanpur inscription of Adil Shah—Samvat 1646



- 4 तत्कृनुः चित्तिपालमौलिमुकुटव्याघृष्टपादांबुजः सत्कीर्तिर्विलसन्नतापवशगा-
मिवः चित्तीशेश्वरः]।*] यस्याहर्निशमानतिगुणगणातीते परे ब्रह्मणि
श्रीमानेदलभूपति-
- 5 विजयते¹ भूपालचूडामणिः² ॥५॥ स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १६४६ वर्षे शक्रो³
१५११ विरोधिसंवत्सरे पौषमासे शुक्लपक्षे १० घटी २३ सहैका-
दश्यां तिथौ सोमे [क]त्तिकाघटी ३३ राह्⁴ रोहि-
- 6 ष्ठां शुभ घटी ४२ योगे षण्जिकारषेस्मिन् दिने रात्रिगतघटी
११ समये कन्यालन श्रीसुवारखशाहसुतश्री⁵ ७ एदलशाहरात्री
मसीतिरिय निर्मिता स्वधर्मपालनार्थ ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1). Salutation to the glorious Creator of the world.

(Verse 1). I bow down to the Imperceptible, the (All-)pervading, eternal (one who is) past (all) qualities, whose essence is mind, who is the cause of what is manifest—to that God who is both manifest and non-manifest.

(V. 2) As long as the moon, the sun and the stars, etc., exist in the firmament, so long may this Fāruki family live happily on the face of the earth.

(V. 3). In that family there was first the lord of Fārukis by name Rājā Malik, whose son was king Ghazni⁶ (Khān) who was of an exalted mind, the diadem of the family.

(V. 4). From him was (born) the hero Kaisar Khān whose son was Hasan (Khān), the lord of the earth. From him was born king Ādil Shāh, whose son was lord Mubārakh.

(V. 5). Victorious is his son, the illustrious king Ādil, the crest jewel of (other) kings, whose lotus feet are rubbed by the diadems in the crowns of kings (prostrating themselves before him), (who is) of good reputation, and whose enemies have submitted to his prowess, (who is) the lord of kings (and) who bows day and night to the Supreme Being who is past all qualities

(Lil 5—6). Hail! Prosperity! This mosque was built by the king Śrī 7⁰ Ādil Shāh, son of the illustrious Mubārakh Shāh, for fostering his own religion, in the Samvat year 1646, Śaka 1511, in the Virōdhi *samvatsara*, in the month of Pausa, in the bright fortnight, on the 10th *tiṭhi* (lasting for) 23 *ghaṭis*, followed by the eleventh *tiṭhi*, on Monday, in the Kṛttikā (*nakṣatra* lasting for) 33 *ghaṭis* with (i.e. followed by) Bōhini in the Śubha *yōga* lasting up to *ghaṭi* 42, in the Vapija *karama*, at the time when 11 *ghaṭis* of the night on this day had passed and in the Kanyā *lagna*.

¹ Read विजयते.

² Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

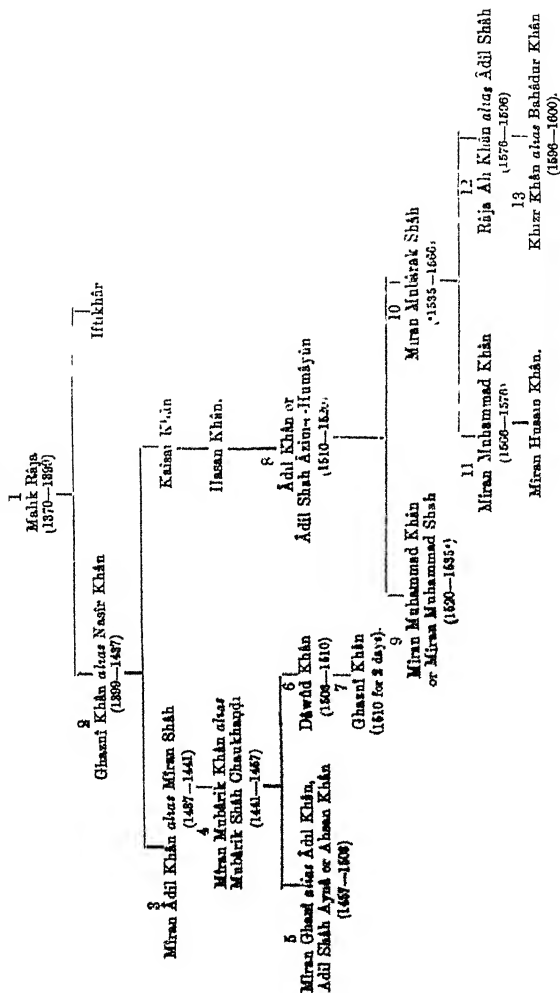
³ Read शक्रो

⁴ Read राह्

⁵ This king is well-known by the name of Nasir Khān, the title which he adopted on ascending the throne. General Cunningham erroneously took Ghazni *narīshāh* to mean King of Ghazni (see his *Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 117), not being aware that Ghazni was a personal name. Firuṣṭa omitted this name, but Abul Fāz has mentioned it (see Jarrett's *Asiatick*, Vol. II., p. 226).

⁶ The number of *ṛsis* written for Rājās is usually 108, but here a single figure stands for the highest number, as 6 are written for a preceptor, 5 for a master, 4 for an enemy, 3 for a friend, 2 for a servant, and 1 for a wife or a son.

Genealogy of the Fārūqī Kings of Khândesh.



MR.—Figures on the top of names indicate the order of succession, and those within brackets the periods of their rule.

MR.—This date is doubtful, British being inconsistent. See Briggs' translation Vol. IV, p. 143, which gives the date of his death as A. H. 948 whereas on p. 313 it is given as A. H. 949. As Bahādur Shāh died on 14th Feb. 1537 (542 p. 143) Miran Muḥammad Shāh, who succeeded him also in Gujarat, was evidently his son.

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No 49.—NARAYANPAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF GUNDA MAHADEVI
THE SAKA YEAR 1033

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Nārāyanpāl is a village 23 miles north-west of Jagdalpur, the capital of the Bastar feudatory state attached to the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It is situated on the right bank of the "splendidly picturesque" Indrāvati, one of those minor rivers of India than which none is more interesting.¹ It "traverses the most untrodden regions of the peninsula. Here in the deepest recesses of the wild forests which cover the Mardian hills, is the home of the Gōnd races—one of the aboriginal Dravidian peoples, whose origin is indistinct, a people who still erect rudé stone monuments and use stone implements, unwitting of the procession of the centuries and the advance of civilization to their borders." And yet the very place which has today all the signs of a primeval forest, may a thousand years back have compared favourably with any of the civilized provinces of those times. At least such seems to be the irresistible conclusion from the discovery of the antiquarian remains left by the forgotten Nāgavamsi kings of that little known state. Nārāyanpāl is one of those places which enjoyed celebrity in their times, a place to which "people of various countries resorted," and which instead of having a long row of wooden peg gods, which now adorn the village turf, possessed the temple of Nārāyana, "the basket of the gems of knowledge" which no doubt the residents duly picked up. The Indrāvati was to Bastar what the Narmadā has been to India, the separating boundary between the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples. It is therefore no surprise to find all the inscriptions to the north of the Indrāvati written in Nāgarī characters, while all to the south are written in Telugu. It appears that the Nāgavamsi kings, though ruling on both sides of the Indrāvati, had fixed that river as the ethnic or at least the linguistic boundary for the convenience of the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples under their sway. Our inscription being found in Nārāyanpāl on the north bank of the river is therefore in Sanskrit characters. Its discovery is due to the efforts of Rai Bahādur Pandā Baijnāth, B.A., who kindly sent me five impressions. Another impression has since been prepared by Mr Venkoba Rao of the Madras Archaeological Survey. I have made use of all these materials for my edition. The inscription is engraved on a stone slab, standing near the temple of Nārāyana, to which it belongs. In this temple there is still an exquisite image of Nārāyana, 2' high. Above the ground the slab measures 7' 4" × 2' 3", and the writing covers a space 5' 9" × 2' 2", including the imprecatory figures and the additions to be referred to presently, but leaving out the top *Śrī mahā*. The original inscription apparently contained only 35 lines, beginning with *Svasti sahasra-phandamāni* and ending with *maṅgala mahā-śrī*, underneath which the usual imprecatory figures of a cow and a calf, the dagger and shield, the sun and moon and the Śiva linga, the meanings of which I have elsewhere² explained, were carved. The additional 11 lines, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d) by me, appear to be later additions, and are either interpolations or were inserted when the ownership of the land changed hands either by succession or otherwise. They generally give the names of persons to whom the land was apparently transferred. The lines marked (a), (b), (c) have been inserted in the blank spaces between or on the sides of the imprecatory figures. Under all these a straight line has been drawn, and the four lines marked (d) have been inserted. These give the name of a queen different from the donor of the inscription proper. This may have been done when the land changed hands after the death of the original donor, when, in the ordinary course, the successor of the donor would be shown as the transferor or grantor.

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol I (New Edition, 1907), page 44.

² Above, pp 164 and 175

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, except the two imprecatory verses in lines 33 to 35, and the characters as stated before are Nagari. They are boldly written but the size is not uniform throughout. While in the top line *Śrī-mahā*, they are as big as $2\frac{1}{2}$ " the average size in the first four lines is $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". The engraver apparently finding them too big reduced them to 1" in line 5, but in subsequent lines he again began to increase the size maintaining an average of $1\frac{1}{4}$ " throughout the rest, which forms the major portion of the inscription. In the later additions also, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d), the size varies. In (a) it is less than an inch and in (d) it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ " and in (b) and (c) midway between these two.

As regards orthography, *h* is not distinguished from *r* and there is a confusion in the use of *s* and *ś*, for instance, we have on the one hand *Kuśyapa* (ll. 3, 13), *śaranīgata* (ll. 6, 10, 16), *śāsana* (ll. 7, 37 (b) and 46 (d)), *Saka* (l. 19), *-satana* (l. 34), *saśana* (l. 34), *śudhyata* (l. 35), on the other hand we have *śvarggatī* (l. 17) and *śahura* (ll. 1 and 34). The *anusvāra* is usually preferred to the class nasals, though the latter are sufficiently represented throughout. Letters with a superscribed *ripha* have been invariably doubled. The letters *ksha*, *dha*, *ra*, *sa*, and, in most places, *bha* appear in their antiquated form, and the top *mātra* for *ē*, *ō* and *au* is some times placed vertically before the letter to which it is attached, as in *-lhaṭta-* (l. 8), *paṭṭa* *kratōttamāṅga* . . . *pārthivāmdra-* (ll. 8-9), *-saṃjanyu-* (l. 10), *-muṇiṇyū-ā-* (l. 11), etc. In *Sōmśvaradēva* (l. 17) *mē* has the top stroke, while *dē* has the vertical stroke preceding *da*. In line 23 in *-śhityudadhā-* the *mātra* of *u* is peculiarly attached in the middle of the letter as we at present attach it to the letter *ra* alone.

The inscription records the grant of the village *Nārāyaṇapura* to the god *Nārāyaṇa* and some land near the *Kharyuri* tank to the god *Lokēśvara*, and it is dated in the Śaka year 1083 on Wednesday, the full moon day of the *Kārttika* month in the *Khara samvatsara*, corresponding to the 18th October 1111 A.D. The donor was *Guṇḍa Mahādēvi*, the chief queen of the *Mahārāja Dhārāvārsha*, the mother of *Sōmśvaradēva* and the grandmother of *Kanharadēva*, who was then ruling after the death of his father, as stated in line 17. The dynasty claims to be *Nāgavāmśī* of the *Kāśyapa gōtra* and to have a tiger with a calf as their crest and to be the lords of *Bhōgāvati*, the best of cities. There can be little doubt that it was connected with the *Sinda* family of *Yelburga*. The *virūdas* of the two are strikingly similar. The *Sindas* also claim to be *Nāgavāmśīdhava*, born of the race of the *Nāga* (cobra), and the lords of *Bhōgāvati*, which city is a mythical place in the nether world. The discoveries hitherto made show the existence of the rule of the family at the diagonally opposite corners of this state, viz. south-west and north-east. I feel confident that if we could "explore the serpent city well," we should find at least a replica of it somewhere in the *Nizām's* dominions in a position intermediate between these two points. The *Rāmāyana* seems to confirm this, for *Rāma's* route to *Lankā* lay between the two and passed through *Bhōgāvati*.

As Dr Fleet¹ says, there appear to have been more branches than one of the *Sinda* family, and it appears to me that they were distinguished from each other by some variations in their crests (*lāhohhanas*) and banners (*dhvajas*, *patākus* or *kētanus*). The *vyāghra-lāhohhana* (tiger-crest) seems to have been common to all, probably because the original ancestor of the dynasty which received its name after him, was believed to have been brought up by the king of serpents on tiger's milk.² The *Bāgalkōṭ* branch had simply the tiger crest and the *phāṇ-kētaṇa*, or banner of hooded serpents. The *Bastar* branch, or more properly the branch represented by our inscription, had a *śavatsa-vyāghra-lāhohhana*, or a tiger with a calf or child, thus depicting probably the story of their origin in a clearer way. The banner is not mentioned. In *Bastar* there were apparently two branches, the other one being that of *Bhramarakōṭya-ma-*

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 572.

² *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 60, and above, Vol. III, p. 231.

phala,¹ whose *lāñchhana* was *dhanur-vyāghra* (bow and tiger) and whose *dhvaja* was *hamala-kadalī*, or lotus flower and plantain leaf. The Halavur² branch of the Banvāsī tract had the *vyāghra-mṛga-lāñchhana*, or crest of a tiger and a deer, and the *niladhvaja*, or blue banner. To judge from their titles *Paramēśvara Paramabhairāka Mahārāja*, the Bastar branch appears to have been more independent than the other branches of this dynasty. But more light is likely to be thrown on the history of the family when all the inscriptions found in Bastar have been deciphered. It would therefore be premature to discuss the subject here.

There is one phrase in this inscription, which to my mind appears so interesting that it should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. It is incidentally mentioned in line 32 where the land is said to be given *grāma-nīlaya-nāḍa-sarva-vādhā-parihārēna*, which apparently means "free from the interference of the dwelling-group and territorial assemblies, and all other molestations." This throws a sidelight on the village communities of those days. With regard to *nāḍa*, Mr Baden-Powell³ says, "All over the south of India we have traces of the *nāḍu*, which was often a sort of county, and in some places there is a clearly surviving tradition of the purpose of this division. Thus in part of Madras known anciently as the Tondaimandalam, we find first a number of *kuffam*—the name probably indicating the fort which was the seat of the territorial chief, each of these primitive territories was afterwards reorganised into *nāḍu* and each *nāḍu* contained a number of villages (called *nattam*, i.e. the village site). The chief of the *nāḍu* was called *nāthan*.⁴ In Malabar we have evidence of how these *nāḍu* divisions were governed by the *nāḍa-kuffam* or assembly of representative elders out of the family groups of *tara*, of the ruling class, in each *nāḍu*." It appears from our inscription that this *nāḍa* system was prevalent in Bastar and the word *nīlaya* apparently stands for *tara*, the original local term for "the family aggregate" of dwellings, consisting of the houses occupied by the members with a few humbler abodes for servants and artisans." *Tara* is said to mean street or hamlet. The *grāma* or village was also recognised, but apparently had no fiscal significance, beyond being a physical aggregate of clan areas with an exotic population. It will be noticed that Nārāyaṇapura is described as full of outsiders, who had come from different countries. These apparently contributed nothing to the income of the village, and in the business portion of the charter (ll 25 to 33) we therefore find no mention of the village, but only of the land given. The names of the owners of plots occupied by the family groups have been duly enumerated, and it is they who have been enjoined to pay the rents to the temple. The transaction has been ratified by eight persons, which was probably considered a requisite number⁵ for such business. These probably formed the executive committee of the *nāḍa-kuffam* or territorial assembly. As would appear from the inscription, it consisted of the *pregaḍḍa* or minister, the *karana-kuffam* or Secretary of the assembly, the *bhaṇḍārī* or treasurer, the *sādhu* or priest, and four *nāyakas*, who, as has been already shown, were chiefs of *nāḍas*. One of these *nāyakas* is styled *bhaṭṭanāyaka*, perhaps a superior title to that of ordinary *nāyakas*. The mention of his name immediately after that of the minister indicates his superior position.

Our inscription mentions only one territorial name, viz the Nārāyaṇapura village, which is certainly the present Nārāyaṇpāl, where the inscription has been found, and where the temple of Nārāyaṇa, to which the village was dedicated, still exists. The tank *Kharjuribandha*, which was apparently named after the *kharjurs* or wild date trees on its banks, is difficult to locate at this distance of time, as these trees live for about fifty years⁶ only.

¹ See above, pp. 174 and ff.

² *The Indian Village Community*, p. 231.

³ Baden-Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. III, p. 148.

⁴ See above, p. 168-10.

⁵ Dr Watt in his *Economic Dictionary*, Vol. VI, Part I, p. 211, says "The age of a tree (wild date) can of course be at once counted by enumerating the notches and adding six or seven, the number of years passed before the first year's notch. I have counted more than 40 notches on a tree, but one rarely sees them so old as that."

⁶ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 577.

⁷ Also *nāyaka*; see *ibid.*, p. 167.

TEXT.

Śi mahā.

- 1 Om¹ Svasti sahaśra(sra)-phaṇāmāni-kirana-nikai-āvabhā[su]-
- 2 ra-Nāgavamś-odbhava Bhōgāvati-puravar-i-svara-su-
- 3 vatsa-vyāghra-lānōbhana-Kasya(sya)pa-gotra-prakṛti-kṛita-
- 4 vijaya-ghōṣhana-lavdha(bdha)-visva-viśvambhūta parama-svara-pa-
- 5 mahattānika-Mahōśvara-charaṇa-kamja-kimj dka-pumja-pumjarta-bhāmarāyamāna
- 6 satya-Harischam-
- 7 dra-sa(sa)ra-āgata-vajra-pamjara-śiṃud-rājubhūṣṇana-mahāśja-Dhārāvarashadeva-
- 8 pād[ā]-
- 9 nām pattamahādēvi jagad-eka-mātā śā(śā)śura putra dārā nāma nāmātā(tā)
- 10 Gam-
- 11 gā-jala-[dhan]ta-parama-pavitra-kṛitottamāngi-Dhārāvarasha-mahōśvara-ārdhāngi-pā-
- 12 [rth]vōndra-kul-āmganā Purvati-bhasanī chira-śhā[gi]ra[thi] parama pativratā
- 13 dhara(a)-Arandhuti(Aum dhuti) saumjya-Saravva(svati-sa(sa)rapāgata-rakshā
- 14 manī va(ba)mdlu-chintāmanī
- 15 sauvindya-ābhina[v]ja-Sāvitri kṛitā mādāra dharitri śrīmad-G[ū]pāda-mahādēvi
- 16 sām putra-nāmāni sahasa-phū[ā]-māra-kirana-nikai-āvabhāśura-Nāgavamś
- 17 dhava-Bhōgāvati-pumj[ar]-sva-jā-mavāt-sv-jāghra-lam[ā]-lilajam-Kā[rya](śya)pa-
- 18 gōti-paku-
- 19 tī-kṛita-[vij]ja-ghōṣhana-[lavdha](bdha)-visva-v[ā]visvambhūta-parama-svara parama
- 20 bhattā-
- 21 raka-Mahōśvara charaṇa-kamja-kimjaka pumja pumjarta-bhāmarāyamāna-sa-
- 22 tyā-Harischandra-su(sa)ra-āgata-vijja-pu[mī]*pūma-pūti[granda]-bhāra-śrīmad-āya
- 23 bhāṣana mahāśja-Someśvaradeva(vō) śva(sva)rg-gatā tūhāna putrasya
- 24 śāśm up[ā]t[āh]
- 25 samastī tājāvali-v[ā]jyamā[pa] śiṃud-vāna-Kanharadevasya kalyāṇa-vijaya tā-
- 26 jyō Saka-nripa-kal atite dāsa sata-trayat[ā]mś-ādīku¹ Khara-samvatsara
- 27 Kārtti-
- 28 ka-pauruṇamāśyām vuddha(budha)-vā[rō] samastā samudr-ō[ti*]tāra-pa-taśmāśya
- 29 jñ[ā*]na ratna-karanda-
- 30 ya svaigg-ārggal-ōdghāṣana-kāśja śrīmad-āya dīvāya śrīmad-Gunda
- 31 mahād[ā]vyā
- 32 sakulūma[n]itjameadhruvam-śā(śā)śvatarā dīvāśvā svaygg-ārggal-ōdghāṣana
- 33 ārtthā Nārāyaṇapurō
- 34 nāma grāmō nām-dōsiya-jan-[ā]kirāṇas chandrarakka-sihity-ādudhī-kālam yāva
- 35 pradattā | tathā śi-Lokēśvaradevya Kharjuriya(ba)mcha-samūpsthā bhūṇi
- 36 pradattā
- 37 Śīmat pregadā Āditya[n]nena¹ bhāttanāyaka Prōptiyō² karaṇa³
- 38 [Ku]driyama-
- 39 Viṇaya nāyaka Sōmana nāyaka Rāmanakāśana nāyaka M[ā]rjya bhāṇā
- 40 Aitana sādhu Vakōmaraya || Etēlām bhū[ā]n[ā] ukatana pradattā || [Sā]
- 41 māsa-śiślthi⁷

¹ Expressed by a symbol.² Perhaps danda.³ Read Saka nripa kal-atite dāsa śat trayastri.⁴ Perhaps Adityamayenna.

P.

⁵ Perhaps Kārttyamavirama⁶ Perhaps Kārttyamavirama⁷ Perhaps Kārttyamavirama

- 29 Chhā[drū] vāmaṇa¹ śrōshthi Ghughu Śrīdhara sādhu Nānā kōsa[ā] Pālā[su]
Pādmāsi-
- 29 nivrā² mālī Gōi[m]daprata³ tal[i]ka [Ja]sadhavala vāvū(bābū) Milāpi
nāvējānam[du]
- 30 pālā[ghu]kā sa[mur]idārana Dhavala m[ā]nyā[sthi] śrī-V[ā]sādēva ētaur=[grīha-ve]-
- 31 taka-r[ā]pēna śrīman-Nārāyana-dēva-pādēshu sadā sth[ā]tavyam kalam cha
dātavyam
- 32 śrī(i)mat-pamdiṭa-Purushōttamāya gāma-māya-nāda saivva-vā(bā)dhā parihāṭēna
ch mdr-ā-
- 33 rka-kālārṇ piadatta || Svadattām paadattām vā yō haiēd(rēta)=vasumdhārā[m]
[i*] sa viśthāyam kri-
- 34 mī(mur) [bhū]tvā kulajai[h] saha sīdati | Tadāgānām sahasrē(sīē)na as(aś)-
vamēdha-suta(satō)-
- 35 na cha [i*] gō(ga)vām kōti-piadinēna bhūmi-harttā na su(su)dhyaṭi ||
Mangala mahā śrī
- 36 (a) Sātīadhiṭa Raṇavirāya bhūmi pradattā
- 37 (a) akarēna
- 36 (b) Adhikāi Chhādrūkasya bhūmi akarēna
- 37 (b) dattā || Brahman[ā]kasya bhūmi dattā sāsa(sāsa)-
- 38 (b) nam akarēpa Ma[ha]ṇḍeka-
- 39 (b) sya tathā [Kānarasāi]
- 40 (b) Nāgāk[u]la[m]dhya[ra] ē-
- 41 (b) tēshām bhūmi aka-
- 42 (b) rēpa dattā pū(pri)thunā
- 39 (c) Bhattāra-
- 40 (c) ka Bhāva-
- 41 (c) [dō]vāya
- 42 (c) bhūmi akarēna datā
- 43 (d) Svasti śrī-Dhārana-mahādēvi-[vayyā] sarvva vā(bā)[dhā]-parihāṭēna aka[rē]-
- 44 (d) pa bhūmi dattā dēva śrī-Nārāyanasy-āi thē Mahanaka Dēvadāsa
- 45 (d) [Jaggatī] || Sādhu Humasutta dē[danaṇitā?] Lakhmana Chaudhari
- 46 (d) [śrī]-Dhārana-mahādē bhūmi [dāturu ara śrī dē sāsa dattā³]
bhūmi dattā | akarēpa

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1—6). Hail The *paṭṭa-mahādēvi* of the *Mahārāja Dhāravarshadēva*, who was born of the Nāgavamsa, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand hood-jewels, who was the lord of Bhōgāvati, the best of towns, whose crest was a tiger with a calf, who was of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who had made his shout of victory (universally) known, who had acquired the whole earth, the *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭāraka*, who was like a bee rendered yellow by the collection of pollen of the lotus feet of Mahēśvara, who was a Harischandra in truthfulness, who was an adamantine cage (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection, a glorious ornament among kings,

(Ll 7—11) (she who was) the only mother of the world, called the turbaned queen consort (chief consort) ; whose head was wholly sanctified by being washed in the water of the Ganges, who was (as it were) half the body of Dhāravarsha (just as Pārvatī is half the body

¹ Perhaps Chhādd brāhmana.

² Probably Gōvīndapūtra [or Gōvīndaputra — S K]

³ This perhaps stands for dattā akarēna śrī dēva dēvyā dattā

of) Mahesvata, a noble lady of royal birth, resplendent (like) Pārvatī, beautiful (like) the Ganges, who was exceedingly devoted to her husband, a lovely Arundhati, a Sarasvatī of goodness; an amulet for those who sought her protection, a magical gem to her relatives, a new Sāvitrī of good breeding, capable of liberal support like the earth (was) Gunda-mahādēvi

(Ll 12—17) After the *Mukhārjū Sōmēśvaradēva*, who was known as her son, who was both of the *Nāgavamsa*, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand hood jewels, who was the lord of *Bhōgāvatī*, the best of towns, whose crest was a tiger with a calf, who was of the *Kāsyapa gōtra*, who had made his shout of victory universally known; who had acquired the whole earth, the *Parameśvara*, *Paramahastaraka* who was like a bee rendered yellow by the collection of pollen of the lotus feet of Mahesvata, who was a Hanischandra in truthfulness, who was an adamantine cage (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection, who was terrible to the refractory (or, rivals), a glorious ornament amongst kings,

(Ll 17—24) had gone to heaven, in the auspicious and victorious reign of his son, and her grandson, the illustrious hero Kanharadēva, resplendent in the row of all kings, when (the year) ten hundred increased by thirty-three of the era of the Śaka king had expired, in the *Khara samvatsara*, on the day of full moon of Kārtika, on a Wednesday, the village of *Nārāyanapura*, full of people come from various countries, was given by the illustrious Gunda-mahādēvi for so long as the moon, the sun, the earth, and the ocean endure, to the glorious god *Nārāyaṇa*, who is a ferry for crossing the ocean of transmigration, who is a basket (full) of the gems of knowledge, who opens the bolt of heaven's (door), seeing that everything is transient, unsteady and inconstant, in order to open the bolt of heaven's (door). Likewise the land near the *Kharijibandha*-tank was given to the glorious god *Lōkōśvara*

(Ll 25—34) The illustrious minister *Ādityama Penna*, the *bhaffanāyaka* *Prōptiyō*, the *karana* *Kudriyama Virama*¹, the *nāyaka* *Sōmana*, the *nāyaka* *Rāmanākāsana*, the *nāyaka* *Mārayā*, the *bhāṇḍārī* *Aitana*, the *nāḍhu* *Vakōmārya*. The land of these was given revenue free The *śrīśhṛīṇa* *Samara*, the *brāhmana* *Chhādrā*, the *śrīśhṛīṇa* *Ghughi*, the *sādhu* *Śrī dhara*, the *kuṣujā* (cocoan producer) *Nānā*, the *māṭī* *Pālānu* *Padmāsinivirā*, the oilman *Gōvinda pātra*, the *bābū* *Jasadhavala*, *Milāpi* the glorious *Vāsudēva*. these should always remain at the feet of the glorious *Nārāyaṇa* as *grīhavesakas*, and the tribute should be paid to the illustrious *paṇḍit* *Purushōttama*. The land has been given free from all obstructions incumbent on the village, the *nīlaya*, and the *nāḍa*, for so long a time as moon and sun endure (Here follow two imprecatory verses)

(L. 35). (Let) great happiness (attend). Hail.

(Ll. 36^a—37^a). Land is given to the *sātradhāra* *Ranavira*, free from taxes.

(Ll 36^b—42^b). The land of the *adhikārīṇa* *Chhādrūka* is given, free from taxes. (Also) that of *Brahmānjhāka* as a grant, free from taxes. The land of *Mahapāka*, *Kanharasāi*, and *Nāgakuṇḍadhvara* is given, free from taxes.

(Ll. 39^c—42^c). To *bhaffāraka* *Bhāvadēva* land is given free from taxes.

(Ll 43^d—46^d) Hail The illustrious *Dhārāpa-Mahādēvi* gave land for the sake of the god, the illustrious *Nārāyaṇa* free from all obstructions, and free from taxes. (Witnesses are) *Mahapāka*, *Dēvadāsa*, *Jaggatī*, the *sādhu* *Himasutta* . . . , *Lakhmaṇa*, *Chāḍḍharī*. The land was given by the illustrious *Dhārāpa-Mahādēvi* free from taxes. The land was given by the queen consort free from taxes.

¹ We should perhaps read *karapa-kuffiyama Virama*, *Virama*, the writer of the *buffam*. Compare *Baḍar Powell, Indian Village Community*, p. 167.

No 50 —TIMMAPURAM PLATES OF VISHNUVARDHANA I VISHAMASIDDHI

By PROFESSOR E. HULTSCH, PH.D., HALLE (SAALE)

This short inscription is on three copper-plates which were "discovered in the ground in October 1907 by one Sukuru Ramaswami while digging a hole in his vacant house site in the village of Timmapuram in the Sarvasiddhi taluka" and were sent by the Collector of the Vizagapatam district to Rai Bahadar Venkayya, who describes them as follows —

"The plates measure $2\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches and are stung on an oval ring, the diameters of which are $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 inches. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a nearly circular seal which measures between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. In the centre of this seal is the legend [शिवविष्णु] in the same alphabet in which the plates themselves are engraved. The third plate of the inscription is blank, and the grant itself ends in line 2 of the second side of the second plate."

The alphabet and orthography do not call for any special remarks. The final *i* occurs in line 1¹ the *upadhāniya* in l. 5, and the Dravidian letter *ḷa* in l. 11. The language is Sanskrit prose. The panegyric portion (ll. 1—11) is comparatively correct—probably because it was copied from a form preserved at the royal secretariat. The grant portion, however, must have been drafted by a person who knew very little Sanskrit. It contains a Prākṛit word *chattāḷisa* (l. 12) = Sanskrit *chaturviṃśat*, and several grave grammatical blunders which I have corrected in the footnotes.

The inscription records a grant by Vishnuvardhana-Mahārāja surnamed Vishmasiddhi,² who was the younger brother of Satyāśraya-Vallabha-Mahārāja, the son of Kirtivarman, the grandson of Raṇavikrama, and the great-grandson of Raṇarāja of the Cha[lu]kya family. This short pedigree establishes the identity of the donor of this grant with Vishnuvardhana I. Vishmasiddhi, the founder of the eastern branch of the Chalukya dynasty. That he was the younger brother of Satyāśraya, i.e. the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśin II, and the son of Kirtivarman (I), is stated in many Eastern Chalukya inscriptions, and his grandfather Raṇavikrama, i.e. Pulakēśin I., is mentioned also in his Sātārā plates.³ The reference to his great-grandfather Raṇarāja is of some interest, because this name is known only from a few records of the Western Chalukyas.

Both Vishnuvardhana I. and his elder brother receive the title *Mahārāja*, but the second is stated to have 'subdued the circle of the whole earth' (l. 5 f.), while the former claims only to have 'humbled the circle of all the vassals' (l. 6 f.). This distinction implies that, at the time of this grant, Vishnuvardhana I. was still a dependant of his elder brother, the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśin II. He professed to be a worshipper of Bhagavat (l. 10), i.e. Viṣṇu, and resided at Piṣṭapurā (l. 1), the modern Piṭhāpuram in the Gōdāvari district. In the Aihole inscription⁴ the capture of this fortress is ascribed to his elder brother and sovereign Pulakēśin II.

The grant portion differs from that of other records in two respects. It lacks at the end the usual imprecations and other particulars, and the donees are not mentioned by name, but simply stated to have been forty Brāhmanas of the Chhandōga school. The object of the grant was some land at Kumūlūra—a village which I am unable to identify—in the Palaki-vishaya.

¹ See note 6 on p. 318.

² This surname occurs both in line 8 and on the seal of the present grant. It forms also the legend of certain copper coins discovered in the Vizagapatam district, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV p. 322 f.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 309.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI p. 11, verse 27.

The same district seems to be referred to in the Chipurupalle plates of Vishnuvardhana I, where the name has been read doubtfully as 'Puki-vishaya',¹ but, if the facsimile² can be trusted, the engraver has written in reality *Iḷaki-vishay*, which may be meant for *Paḷaki-vishay*.

TEXT.³

First Plate

स्वस्ति⁴ ॥

- 1 'श्रीमत्पिष्टपुरवासकात्' स्वभुजविजितदनुतनयम(१)हासेनेन म(१)हा-
- 2 सेनेनाभिवर्जितानान्निभुवनमातृभिर्मातृभिर्भरिषतानां' मानव्यस[गो]-
- 3 चाणां [ह्रा]रितिपुत्राणां 'चक्यानामन्वयसुसमयितुमसज्जदनु[भू]-
- 4 'तरणरागस्य रणरागस्य ¹⁰नसासङ्गविक्रमस्य रणविक्रमस्य पौ[त्रो]
- 5 विपुलकीर्त्तः कीर्त्तिर्वर्मण<प्रियसुतः शक्तिप्रयविजितसकलमहीम¹¹
- 6 ण्डलस्य सत्य[१*]श्रयवत्तममहाराजस्य प्रियानुजः स्वासिधार[१]नामित[स]-

Second Plate, First Side.

- 7 मस्तसामन्तमण्डलः स्वरूपगुणयौवनश्रीया¹² दूरमतिशयित-]
- 8 मकरध्वजः स्थलजलादिदुर्गविषमेष्वपि लब्धसिद्धिवाद्द्विषमसिद्धिर[त्थि]-
- 9 जन(ः)[नि]त्यप्रसूतकामधेनुः लोकातिशयविक्रमतया नरलोक[वि]-
- 10 [क्र]म[१]¹³ परमभागवतः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानुधर[१*]तः श्रीविष्णु-
वर्धन]-
- 11 म(१)हाराजः (॥) पञ्चविषये (१¹⁴) कुम्भलूरनामग्रामि पूर्वदिग्¹⁵ लेखे च-
- 12 [त्वा]रि सङ्गन्नवि[त्ती]नानि¹⁶ छेदं कृत्वा (॥) [पोटुशू]व[१*]स्तव्याय(१)¹⁷
चत्त[१]लीस

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol XX. p 16, text line 18.

² Dr. Burnell's *South Ind. Pal.*, 2nd ed., Plate xxvii.

³ From two sets of ink-impressions recovered from Kasi Bahadur Venkayya

⁴ This word is entered on the left margin of plate 1. opposite the beginning of line 4. The sign of punctuation after it runs into the following *akshara* त; it resembles in shape the symbol called in Tamil *Piḷasyār-fuḷ*.

⁵ The *t* of श्री^o is obliterated.

⁶ The final *t* of वासकात् is entered at the top of the next *akshara* स. Another final *t* is entered at the top of the र of the preceding word "पुर"; perhaps the writer wanted us to read "पुरान्".

⁷ The three *aksharas* मातृभिर् are engraved over रमिर्, which was evidently done because they had been originally omitted through an oversight of the engraver.

⁸ Read चतुष्वा^o.

⁹ See note 4 above

¹⁰ The न is engraved over मा; compare note 7 above

¹¹ Read 'वशी^o.

¹² Read 'श्रीया.

¹³ The न seems to be engraved over स न; compare notes 7 and 10 above. Instead of 'विक्रम; I suspect 'चिक्रम; to be intended by the scribe.

¹⁴ This mark of punctuation runs into the next *akshara* कु

¹⁵ Read 'दिशि.

¹⁶ Read निवर्त्तनसङ्ग्राह.

¹⁷ Read 'वासवोयस्यारिभते श्राद्धोष्ठी शान्तिोष्ठीसप्तमस्तोत्रपारिष्ठी यमनिवसपरेष्ठः षट्कथानितोष्ठी वेदपारिष्ठी दत्तवा ॥

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Colotype by G. P. P. P.

Full Size

From ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya

E Hultzsch

Second Plate, Second Side.

13 ब्राह्मणः नानागण वन्द्योऽसन्नञ्चारिणो यमनियमपारगाय षट्[की]-

14 निरताय(1) वेदपारगाय दत्तः [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! (Line 1) From (*his*) residence in the prosperous Pishtapura,—the great-grandson¹ of Banarāga, who repeatedly indulged in the passion of fighting in order to elevate the family of the Cha[lu]kyas, who were Hāntiputras, who belonged to the *gōtra* of the Mānavyas, who were protected by the Mātṛas, the mothers of the three worlds, (*and*) who were rendered prosperous by Mahāsena,² who by his own arm had defeated the great army of the sons of Danu,³

(L 4)—the grandson of Raṇavikrama, whose valour was insuperable, the dear son of Kirtivarman, whose renown was extensive, (*and*) the dear younger brother of Saty[ā]śraya-Vallabha-Mahārāja, who had subdued the circle of the whole earth by the triad of (*regal*) powers,

(L 6)—the devout worshipper of Bhagavat, the very pious one, who meditated at the feet of (*his*) mother and father,—Śri-Vishnuvardhana-Mahārāja, who by the edge of his own sword humbled the circle of all the vassals, who by the splendour of his own beauty, virtues and youthfulness far surpassed Cupid,⁴ who (*was surnamed*) Vishvasiddhi because he had obtained success (*siddhi*) in impassable straits (*vishama*) on land, on sea, *etc.*, who was a cow of plenty (*kāmadhenu*) constantly yielding milk to suppliants, (*and*) who was the [Tri]vikrama (Vishnu) of the world of men because his valour surpassed (*that of all*) mankind,

(L 11)—has granted four thousand *nivartanas*⁵ in the fields on the eastern side of the village named Kumūlūra in the Paḷaki district (*vishaya*), having portioned (*them*) off, to forty Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras*, residing in [Poṭunūka], belonging to the school of the Chhaudōgas observing the greater and smaller rules, engaged in the six duties, (*and*) familiar with the Vēda.

No. 51 — SARNATH INSCRIPTION OF KUMARADEVI

By STEN KONOW

The slab on which the inscription published below is incised was found during the excavations carried on by Mr. Marshall and myself in Sarnāth, in March 1908. It was dug out to the north of the Dhamēkh *stūpa*, to the south of the raised mound running east and west over the remnants of the old monasteries of the Gupta period. The writing covers almost the whole of the surface of the stone, *viz* 21" × 15½", and it is in a perfect state of preservation. The average size of the letters is ¼".

The characters are Nāgarī, of a very ornamental type, and the engraving has been done with considerable skill. Of individual letters, the form of the cerebral *ṣa* in *-bhaṣaḥ* and *kāṇḍapa-ṣkaḥ* in line 8 is worthy of notice. There are comparatively few orthographical peculiarities. *V* is used for *b* throughout, and *na* is used instead of the *anusvāra* in *sudhānsūt*, line 11. There are some few miswritings such as *harmmd-* for *dharma-*, l. 6; *prakṣātī* for *prakhyaṭī*, l. 8, *vishmayakarō* for *vismaya-* and *aśmādrīśaḥ* for *asmādrīśaḥ*, l. 13; *anēnābhīrāma-* for *-nēn-*, l. 15, *nri-* for *tri-*, l. 22; *mahābhūjaḥ* for *mahābhujāḥ*, l. 19, *etc.* The forms *Kumaradēv*,

¹ For other instances in which *napitṛ* has this meaning, see above, Vol. IV. p. 329 and note 2.

² *I.e.* the god of war.

³ *I.e.* the Dānavas or demons.

⁴ Literally, 'the bearer of the *makara*-banner.'

⁵ This would give 100 *nivartanas* for each of the 40 donees.

ll 11 and 22, and *vihāra* in ll. 23 and 26, on the other hand, are vouched for by the metre *Kumara* instead of *kumāra* is common in Maharashtra Prakrit, and a form *Kumaravāla* for the usual *Kumāravāla* occurs in Hémachandra's *Deśanumamāla*, l. 104, 88¹. And *vihāra* instead of *viḥāra* is justified by Pāṇini VI, 3 122

The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception in the invocation to *Vasudhārā* in l 1, the whole of the inscription is in verse. There are altogether twenty six verses. Of these thirteen (Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23 and 24) are in the Saṁdālavikrīḍita, five (Nos. 1, 10, 14, 15 and 20) in the Mālinī, four (Nos. 4, 16, 22 and 25) in the Vasantatilakā, three (Nos. 8, 9 and 26) in the Anashtubh, and one (No. 2) in the Stupdhmā metre.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vihāra* by *Kumaradēvi*, one of the queens of *Gōvindahandra* of Kannauj. The wording of verses 21-23, in which her gift is mentioned, is not quite clear. We are first told, in verse 21, that a *vihāra* was constructed, which apparently contained an image of the goddess *Vasudhārā*. The following verses are not quite clear. *Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya* has suggested the following explanation, which I think is a very plausible one. *Jambūki* drew up a copper plate, in which she represented to *Kumaradēvi* that the *Dharmachakra-Jina* originally set up by *Dharmāsoka* required to be repaired or set up again. This copper-plate must have contained information about the original setting up of the *Dharmachakra Jina* and further details about its maintenance and repairs. *Kumaradēvi*, who was apparently a stranger to the country round Benares, accepted her representation and raised her to the rank of "the foremost of *pattalikās*." Moreover, she restored the *Jina* or set up a new one and placed it in the *vihāra* built for *Vasudhārā*, or in another one constructed for the purpose, and the wish is expressed that, after having been placed there, he may remain there for ever. It seems necessary to infer that the *Śrīdharmachakra Jina*, which is said to have existed in *Dharmāsoka's* time, was an image of the Buddha, and that the *vihāra* built by the orders of Queen *Kumaradēvi* for him, was a shrine, a *gandhakūṭi*. It is difficult to explain the wish that he, i.e. the image, may reside there for ever, under any other supposition.

The inscription can be divided into four parts. After an invocation of *Vasudhārā* (v. 1) and the moon (v. 2) vv. 3-6 give some information about some rulers or generals of *Pīṭhi* or *Pithikā*. We learn that, in the lunar race, there arose a chief called *Vallabharāja*, the lord of broad *Pithikā* (v. 3). The following verse introduces the lord of *Pīṭhi* *Devarakshita*, without saying anything about his relationship to *Vallabharāja*. He is described as the full moon of the lotus of the *Ohhikkōra-vamsa*, and we are told that he even surpassed *Gajapati* in splendour. *Devarakshita* is again referred to as the lord of *Pīṭhi* in the second part of the inscription, and it therefore seems necessary to interpret vv. 5-6, which apparently refer to a son of his (*tasmād-āsa*, etc.) as an explanation of his relationship to *Vallabharāja*, who would then be his father.

The second part of the inscription, vv. 7-13, contains the information that *Devarakshita* was defeated by *Mahāpa*, the maternal uncle of the *Gauda* king, who thus firmly established the throne of *Rāmapāla*, and subsequently bestowed his daughter *Sankaradēvi* on the *Pīṭhi* lord. Their daughter was *Kumaradēvi*, in whose praise the present inscription was written.

The third part, vv. 14-20, then contains the genealogy of the *Gahadavāla* family, to which *Kumaradēvi's* husband *Gōvindahandra* belonged. It agrees with the list given in most inscriptions of this latter king, but does not carry us farther back than to his grandfather. We are first introduced to *Chandra*, the *Chandradēva* of *Govindahandra's* inscriptions. His son

¹ See Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* § 81

² *Pattalikā* is the feminine form of *pattalaka*, which occurs in the *Buguda* plates of *Mādhavarman*, above Vol. III, p. 44, l. 83, in connexion with *vasudevika*.

was Madanachandra, elsewhere known as Madanapāla, who again was the father of Gōvinda-chandra. He is said to have saved Benares from the wicked Turushka soldier.

The fourth part of the inscription (verses 21-23) specifies the gifts of Kumaradēvi, and her praise is sung in verse 24. Verses 25-26 then inform us that the inscription, which is here called a *pratiṣṭhā*, was composed by the poet *śrī* Kunda, and engraved by Vāmana.

Gōvindahandra is the well-known king of Kanauj, whose inscriptions are dated between A.D. 1114 and 1154. Our inscription teaches us that he guarded Benares against the Turushkas, i.e. the Muhammadans. We do not know of any Muhammadan expedition against Benares in Gōvindahandra's time. In A.D. 1033 a Muhammadan army under Ahmad Nialgīn arrived at the town, but only stayed there for a day,¹ and there is no indication of a permanent settlement. We know, on the other hand, that Musalman settlers remained in the country about the Jamma from the days of Mahmūd and down to the end of the 12th century.² It seems probable that Gōvindahandra took some action against such settlers, and the term *turushkadanda*, which occurs in many of his and his predecessors' inscriptions, gives us a hint as to the nature of this action. The word *turushkadanda* has been variously translated as "tax on aromatic reeds" and "Muhammadan amerements."³ The information furnished by our inscription seems to show that it was in reality a tax on Muhammadans, the exact nature of which cannot, however, be determined.

Our inscription introduces us to a new queen of Gōvindahandra, Kumaradēvi, the granddaughter of Mahāpa. Three other queens are already known from inscriptions, viz. Nayanakēlī-dēvi,⁴ Gōsaladēvi⁵ and Dāhpadēvi.⁶ While Gōvindahandra was himself an orthodox Hindū, his fourth wife Kumaradēvi was a Buddhist. According to information kindly supplied by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstri, the king had still another Buddhist wife Vāsantadēvi, who is mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript of the *Ashṭasādhārīkā* in the Nepal Darbar Library (No 381 of the third collection). The colophon runs *-śrī-śrī-Kānyakubjādhipaty-asvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājya-trayādhipati-śrīmad-Gōvindahandradēvasya pratāpavastatah rūṇi-śrī-pravara-Mahāyīna-yāyīnyāḥ paramōpādēkai-rājāt-Vāsantadēvyā dēyadharmō-yaṃ*. It is possible that Vāsantadēvi and Kumaradēvi are one and the same person, one of the meanings of *vāsanta* being "youth" = *kumāra*. It is, however, more probable that they are two different persons.

Some information about Mahāpa, the father of Kumaradēvi's mother, and about the lord of Pithi, her father, can be gleaned from Sandhyākara Nandī's *Rāmacharita*, which work has been brought to light by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstri.⁷ We are there told that Mahāpa was the maternal uncle of the Gaṇḍa king Rāmapāla. Vīgrahapāla, the father of Rāmapāla, made a successful war against the Ohādi king Karna of Dāhāla, of whom we possess an inscription dated Kalachuri Samvat 493 = A.D. 1042.⁸ Karna's reign probably extended over a long period.⁹ We cannot, therefore, determine when the war against Vīgrahapāla took place. We have an inscription of the time of Vīgrahapāla's grandfather Mahīpāla, dated A.D. 1026,¹⁰ and Mahīpāla's son Nayapāla reigned at least 15 years.¹¹ Vīgrahapāla's accession cannot, therefore, be placed earlier than A.D. 1041. His son Rāmapāla, who was preceded on the throne by two brothers Mahīpāla II and Śūrapāla, was a contemporary of

¹ See H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II 1869, pp. 112 and ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 260 and ff.

³ See Führer, *Journal Bengal Society*, Vol. LVI. Pt I p. 113.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV p. 108.

⁵ Kielhorn, *Northern List*, Nos. 127 and 131.

⁶ See Führer, loc. cit. p. 115, l. 19.

⁷ *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1900, pp. 70 and ff.

⁸ Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No 407.

⁹ See Kielhorn, above, Vol. II pp. 302 and ff.

¹⁰ Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No. 59.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 642.

Śaṅkaradēvi, the mother of Gōvīndachandra's queen Kumārādēvi. It therefore seems probable that Vīraḥapāla's accession should be placed about A.D. 1050, and Rāmapāla's reign in the last part of the eleventh century. Mahana, Śaṅkaradēvi's father, would then be a contemporary of both of them. The *Rāmacharita*, which calls him Mathana or Mahana, states that he was a Rāshtrakūṭa, and the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla. It therefore becomes probable that Vīraḥapāla married a Rāshtrakūṭa princess in addition to the daughter of the Chēḍi king Karṇa who was, according to the *Rāmacharita*, given to him after the war alluded to above. Mahana was Rāmapāla's right hand, and was of great assistance in the war against Bhīma. Among the feudatories of the Pāla king in that war, the *Rāmacharita* mentions Vīraguṇa, the *rāja* of Pīṭhī who is described as the lord of the south. Dēvarakṣita of Pīṭhī is also mentioned, but not as a feudatory. He must be identical with the Dēvarakṣita of our inscription, and it becomes probable that the Pīṭhī ruler Vīraguṇa had originally stood on Rāmapāla's side, while Dēvarakṣita later on rose against him. He hailed from Pīṭhī or Pīṭhikā, which according to the *Rāmacharita* was situated in the south. Now *pīṭh* or *pīṭhikā* is synonymous with *pīṭha*, and it is therefore possible that Pīṭhī is identical with Pīṭhāpuram.¹ We know that a branch of the Eastern Chalukyas reigned in Pīṭhāpuram in the second half of the twelfth century, and that the town had already been conquered by Pulikēśin II. No historical information is forthcoming about the earlier Chalukya princes of the Pīṭhāpuram branch. The real history of the family only seems to begin with Vijayāditya III, whose coronation took place A.D. 1158.² It should also be noted that the genealogy given in the Pīṭhāpuram inscriptions hardly can be correct. Mr. Sewall has drawn my attention to the fact that only four generations are enumerated between Bēta, who reigned in A.D. 925, and Vijayāditya III., who was crowned in A.D. 1158.

Before this branch became established in Pīṭhāpuram, the place was one of the strongholds of the Vēṅgi province of the Eastern Chalukyas. In the last part of the 11th century, the reigning king was Kulōttuṅga Chōḍadāva, who first was ruler in Vēṅgi but who in A.D. 1070 was anointed to the Chōḍa kingdom. Vēṅgi was then ruled by viceroys, first by his uncle Vijayāditya VII then by his sons Rājārāja (1077-78) and Vira Chōḍa (from 1078). Mr. Venkayya suggests that this latter viceroy may be identical with the Vīraguṇa of the *Rāmapālacharita*. Dēvarakṣita was then probably a general under the viceroy of Vēṅgi. He is said to have surpassed even the glory of Gajapati. As this epithet is used by some of the Eastern Gāṅgas, it is possible that it here refers to Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The *Kalīṅgati Param*³ describes an expedition undertaken by Kulōttuṅga I. against this king, and Dēvarakṣita may have played a rôle in it. We do not know anything about the Chhakkra family, to which Dēvarakṣita belonged.

The marriage of Dēvarakṣita's daughter to king Gōvīndachandra perhaps accounts for the relationship between the Chōḷas and the Gāhaḍavālas commented on by Mr. Venkayya in his Annual Report for 1907-08, para. 58 and ff. An incomplete Gāhaḍavāla inscription has recently been found immediately after a record of Kulōttuṅgaḍāva of A.D. 1110-11, in Gaṅgaikōṇḍa chōḷapuram, which it is tempting to bring into connexion with Gōvīndachandra's marriage. Mr. Venkayya carries the acquaintance of the Gāhaḍavālas with the Chōḷa kings farther back to the expedition of Rājendra Chōḷa towards the kings on the banks of the Ganges, mentioned in the Tiruvālaṅkāṇ plates, and it seems very probable that this expedition led to the establishment of friendly relations with the north. Among the princes conquered by Rājendra Chōḷa was Dharmapāla of Daḍḍabhukti, and the lord of Daḍḍabhukti figures amongst the feudatory kings who, according to the *Rāmapālacharita*, assisted Rāmapāla in his war against Bhīma.

¹ Compare the forms Pīṭhāpuram and Pīṭhāpari, above, Vol. IV p. 37, 357. Note 4.

² See Hultzsch, above, Vol. IV. p. 223.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 329 ff.

The relationship between the various persons mentioned in our inscription will be seen from the table which follows —

Vallabharāja of Pithi	Mahana, of the Rāshtrakūta family.	Chandra, of the Gahadavāla family.
↓	↓	↓
Dēvarakshita, married	Śankaradēvi	Madanachandra
	↓	↓
	Kumaraḍēvi, married	Gōvindaachandīa.

According to verse 25, the inscription was composed by Kunda, who describes himself as a lion to the *tirthika*-elephants, a Rōhana mountain, full of the splendid gems of poetical composition, a poet in eight *bhāṣās*, and an intimate friend of the king of Vanga. He is not elsewhere known. His name does not occur in the *Sādūktikarnāmra*,¹ nor, so far as I know, in any other anthology. The engraver was the *śilpī* Vāmana

TEXT.

- 1 श्री² नमो भगवत्यै शायंवसुधाराये ॥ 'समवतु वसुधारा धर्मपीयूषधारा-
प्रशमितवङ्गविश्वोद्दामदुःखोरुधारा । धनकनकसमृद्धिं भूर्भुवः शः³ किरन्तो
तद्-
- 2 खिलजमदेन्याम्याजयन्ती जगन्मि ॥ [१*] 'नेत्रैरुत्कण्ठितानां चरणमुपनयसा-
रुचन्द्रेपलानाम्मानयन्मिभिन्दन् सह कुसुदवनीसुद्रया मानिनीनाम् ।
दग्धन्दग्धेश्वरेणा[स]-
- 3 तनिकारकरैर्जीवयन् कामदेवं काम्नीयं कौमुदीनां स जयति जगदाख्योद्धदीप्र-
प्रदीपः ॥ [२*] 'वशे तस्य नमस्यपीरुषक्षुषि प्रस्कारकीर्त्तितुषि द्राक्
शौचेन सु[राप]-
- 4 गामदसुषि प्रत्यर्थिलक्ष्मीरुषि । वीरो वल्लभराजनामविदितो मान्यः स
भूमीभुजां जेतासीत्युपुपोठिकापतिरतिप्रौढप्रतापोदयः ॥ [३*] 'खिकोरवशकु-
सुदोदयपूर्व-
- 5 चन्द्रः श्रीदेवरक्षित इति प्रथितः प्रथिव्याम् । पोठीपतिर्नजपतेरपि राज्य-
लक्ष्मीं लक्ष्म्या जिगाय जगदेकमनोहरश्रीः ॥ [४*] 'तस्मादास पयोनि-
घेरिव विधु-
- 6 क्षावस्थलक्ष्मीविधुर्नेत्रानन्दसमुद्रवर्धनविधुः कीर्त्तियुतिश्रीविधुः । सौजन्यैकनिधिः
स्फुरद्गुणनिधिर्गार्भीर्यधाराविधिर्हर्माह्वितनिधिः⁹ स च[ण्डि]म-
- 7 निधिः शस्त्रैकविद्यानिधिः ॥ [५*] ¹⁰दीनानामभिवाञ्छितैकफलदः प्रत्यक्ष-
कल्पद्रुमो दृष्ट्यैरिगिरीन्द्रमेदनविधौ दुर्वारवज्रश्च यः । कामान[१*]भद-

¹ Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. III pp 134 and ff ² Expressed by a symbol

³ Metre : Mālinī.

⁴ Read ख .

⁵ Metre : Śragdharā.

⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁷ Metre : Vasantatilakā

⁸ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁹ Read शर्माह्वित.

¹⁰ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita

- 8 नन्वरोपशमने सिद्धौषधीपङ्क्तवो वाङ्मयस्य वभूव भूतलभुजामन्तसमत्कारिणः
॥ [६*] ¹गौडेहैतभटः सकाण्डपटिकः चक्षैकचूडामणिः ²प्रघातो
- 9 महणाङ्गपः क्षितिभुजाम्भान्योभवन्मातुलः । त(तं) जित्वा युधि देवक्षि-
तमघात् श्रीरामपालस्य यो लक्ष्मीं निर्जितवैरिरोधनतया देदीप्यमानो-
दयाम् ॥ [७*] ³कन्या महण-
- 10 देवस्य तस्य कन्येव भूभृतः । सा पीठोपतिना तेन तेनेवोढा स्वयम्भू(भु)षा
॥ [८*] ⁴ख्याता शङ्करदेवीति तारैव करुणाशया । व्यजेष्ट कल्पवृक्षाण-
क्षता दानोद्यमेन या ॥ [९*] ⁵श-
- 11 जनि कुमारदेवो हन्ता देवोय ताभ्यां शरदमलसुधाक्षीशारुक्षेखिव रम्या ।
दुरितजलधिमध्याक्षीकमुहूर्त्तुकामा स्वयमिह करुणार्ता तारिणीवावतीर्षा ॥
[१०*]
- 12 ⁶यामेधाः प्रविधाय शिखरचनाचातुर्यैर्दर्य व्याधाद्यहक्षेण गितस्तुषारकिरणी
क्षीणः स खस्योभवत् । रात्रावुद्गममातनोति मलिनो जातः कलङ्को ततस्त-
- 13 स्याः सुद(सुन्द)रिमा स ⁷विषयकरो वाचः ⁸किमस्मादृशैः ॥ [११*] ⁹चित्त-
क्षलदृक्कुरङ्गमवधूयन्धस्फुरद्वागुराम् विभ्राणा तनुसम्पदस्युविससत्काम्याभिकान-
श्रिया ।¹⁰
- 14 खेलक्षोरसमुद्रसाम्प्रक्षरिषावप्लवक्ष्मीसुषं सोषं शैलसुतामदस्य दधती सौभाग्य-
गर्वेण सा ॥ [१२*] ¹¹धर्माहैतमतिर्गुणाक्षितरतिः प्रारब्धपुण्याक्षिति-
- 15 दानोदारधृतिर्मतङ्गजगतिर्नेत्रा(त्रा)भिरामाकृतितः । श्रास्मृत्यस्तानतिगनोदिततुतिः
¹²कारुण्यकेलिस्थितिनित्यश्रीवसतिः कृताघविहतिः स्थायिगुणाङ्क-
तिः ॥ [१३*] ¹³जगति गह्वरवाक्षे क्षत्रव(वं)शे प्रसिद्धेजनि नरपतिचन्द्रश्चन्द्र(मा)-
नामा नरेन्द्रः । यदसहजनृपाणाङ्गामिनीवाप्यवाङ्(ः) शितितरमिदमासीद्या-
सुन(नं) तू(नू)नमभः ॥ [१४*] ¹⁴नृ-
- 17 पतिमदनचन्द्रश्चभूपालचूडामणिरजनि स तस्माद्भिन्नदेकातपत्र[म्*] । धरणि-
तलमनन्यप्रौढतेडो(जो)नलक्ष्मीः श्रियमपि च मघोनः स्वश्रियाघो दधानः
॥ [१५*] ¹⁵वाराण-
- 18 श्रीं भुवनरक्षणदक्ष एको ¹⁶दुष्टान्मुहुरक्षसुमटादवितुं हरेश । उक्तो हरिश्च
पुनरत्र वभूव तस्माद्भोविन्दश्च इति प्रयिताभिधानः ॥ [१६*] ¹⁷वक्ताः
कामदुष्टां कथा-

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.⁷ Read विषय°.¹⁰ The sign of interpunctation has been engraved in the beginning of next line.¹¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁴ Metre: Mālinī.¹⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.² Read प्रख्यामी.⁵ Metre: Mālinī.⁸ Read °मन्त्राहम्.¹² Read °नतिर्न°. °क्षितिर्नि°.¹⁵ Metre: Vasantatillakā.³ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.⁶ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹³ Metre: Mālinī.¹⁶ Read दुष्टाणु°.

Sten Konow

- 19 नपि पयःपूरस्य ¹पातु न ते चित्रं प्रागलभन्त याचकमनःसन्तोषनित्यव्ययात् ।
 त्यागैर्यस्य ²महीभूजः प्रसुदिते तद्याचकानाञ्चये स्वच्छन्दहितनित्यनिर्भरपय-
 20 पानीत्ववैरासते ॥ [१७*] ³यद्विद्देशिमहीभुजां पुरवरे प्रभष्टहारावलीव्याधास्तन्मृग-
 पाशवन्धमनसा गच्छन्ति नैव भ्रमात् । व्याधाः सस्तसुवर्षकुण्डलमहि-
 भ्रान्त्या
 21 तदत्यायतेर्दण्डैर्द्रागपसारयन्ति च भयप्रोक्त्वम्पिहस्तसजः ॥ [१८*] ⁴यस्योत्सववि-
 रोधिभूपतिपुरप्रासादपृष्ठोपरि प्रत्यग्रस्फुरदुग्रशय्यकवलव्यालोलवाजि-
 22 व्रजः । आदित्यस्त्वभवत्स मन्तरयश्चन्द्रोपि मन्दोभवत् घासप्रासविरूढलोभहरिणः
 रचन् पतन्तन्ततः ॥ [१९*] ⁵अहह कुमरदेवी तेन र[१*]ज्ञा प्रसिद्धा नि-
 (त्रि)जगति
 23 परिगीता श्रीरिवेहाच्युतेन । प्रविलसदवरोधे तस्य राज्ञोऽङ्गनानां नियतममृत-
 रश्मिलेखिका तारकासु ॥ [२०*] ⁶वोहारो नवखण्डमण्डलमहीहारः कृतोय-
 न्तया
 24 तारिण्या वसुधारया ननु वपुर्विम्भाणयालंकृतः । यं दृष्ट्वा प्रविचित्रशिल्परच-
 नाचातुर्यैसीमाश्रयं गोवर्षीः सुदृश[च्च] विस्मयमगाद्भागिश्वकर्मापि सः ॥ (॥)
 [२१*] ⁷श्रीधर्मचक्रजि-
 25 नशासनसन्निवर्षं सा जम्बुकी ⁸सकलपत्तिलिवायभूता । तत्ताम्रशासनवर(रं)
 प्रविधाय तस्यै दत्त्वा तया शशिरवी भुवि यावदास्ताम् ॥ [२२*]
¹⁰धर्माशोकनराधिपस्य समये श्रीध-
 26 म(र्म)चक्रो जिनी यादृक् तन्नयरचितः पुनरयश्चक्रे ततोप्यङ्गुतम् । वोहारः
 स्थविरस्य तस्य च तया यद्वादयङ्कारितस्तस्मिन्नेव समर्पितश्च वसतादा-
 चन्द्रचण्डयुति ॥ [२३*] ¹¹तत्कीर्त्तित्य-
 27 रिपालयिष्यति जनी यः कश्चिदुर्वीतले सा तस्याङ्घ्रियुगप्रणामपरमा यूय जिनाः
 साक्षिणः । तस्याः कश्चिदनिश्चितो यदि यशोव्यालीपकारी खलः तं
 पापीयसमा-
 28 य शासति पुनस्ते लोकपाला क्रुधा ॥ [२४*] ¹²एकस्तीर्थिकवादिवारणघटा-
 सङ्घट्टकण्ठीरवः साहित्यो[ज*]ज्वलरत्नरोहणगिरिरीं द्रष्टव्यमाकविः । स्थातो
 वङ्गमहीभजः ¹³

¹ Read पातुं² Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita³ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁵ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁶ Read 'सुग'; the final *vara* has been engraved in the beginning of line 29⁷ Read 'सुग';⁸ Read 'भवद्वा' °बदलोभहरिणं⁹ Metre: Vasantatāḷaka¹⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita¹¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita¹² Metre: Mālinī.¹³ Read 'पद्मशिका'.¹⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

29 प्रणयभूः श्रीकुन्दनामा कृती तस्याः सुन्दरवर्षगुम्फरचनारभ्यां प्रशस्तिं व्यधात्
 ॥ [२५*] ¹ एषा प्रशस्तिरुत्तीर्षा वामनेन तु शिल्पिना । राजावर्त्तस्य
 सापत्न्यवधाने प्रस्तरोत्तमे ॥ [२६*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail Obeisance to the exalted noble Vasudhārā.

(V. 1) May Vasudhārā protect the worlds, who abates the broad stream of unlimited misery in the manifold universe by the nectar stream of *Idharma*, who pours out riches of wealth and gold over earth, skies and heaven, and who conquers all the misery of man in them.²

(V. 2) Victorious be that lover of the lotuses, the flashing torch for the illumination of the world, who causes oozing of the lovely moon-gums and (brings tears into) the eyes of longing people; who opens the knot of pride in haughty damsels and also the closed lotuses, who with his nectar-filled beams revives the god of love, who was burnt to ashes by *Īśvara*, (who had been) smitten (by him).

(V. 3.) In his (the moon's) lineage, which enjoys a valour worthy of homage; which is resplendent with shining fame, which speedily annihilates the pride of the river of the gods by its purity, which destroys the splendour of its adversaries, was a hero, known by the name of *Vallabharāja*, honoured among princes, the victorious lord of broad *Pīṭhikā*, of increasing mighty prowess.

(Vv. 4-5.) The full moon expanding the lotuses of the *Chhikkōra* family, known on earth as *Śrī-Dēvarakshita*, the lord of *Pīṭhī* (who) surpassed even the splendour of *Gajapati* by his splendour, whose glory alone ravished the hearts of the world, was descended from him (*Vallabharāja*), as the moon from the ocean, a (veritable) *Viṣṇu* (*Vidhu*), to the *Lakshmi* of beauty, a (veritable) moon in causing the rise of the ocean, viz. ocular pleasure (as the moon raises the ocean); a second moon, the lustre of whose light was his fame (or, a second *Viṣṇu* with *Śrī* in the shape of the lustre of his fame), an incomparable treasure of goodness, a treasure of resplendent virtues; an ocean of profundity; a peerless store of religion, a store of energy, the only depository of the lore of arms, —

(V. 6.) Who was the veritable celestial tree in bestowing desired objects on supplicants, who was an irresistible thunderbolt in accomplishing the splitting of the mighty mountains, viz. his haughty foes, a marvellous man, whose arm was like a sprout of a marvellous herb in healing the fever of *Cupid* in enamoured women, and death to kings.

(V. 7.) In the *Gauḍa* country there was a peerless warrior, with his quiver,³ this incomparable diadem of *kehotriyas*, the *Atga* king *Mahapa*, the venerable maternal uncle of kings. He conquered *Dēvarakshita* in war and maintained the glory of *Rāmapāla*, which rose in splendour because the obstruction caused by his foes was removed.

(V. 8.) The daughter of this *Mahapādava* was like the daughter of the mountain (viz. *Pārvatī*), she was married to the lord of *Pīṭhī* as (*Pārvatī*) to *Svayambhu*;

(V. 9) She was known as *Saṅkaradēvī*, full of merriment like *Tārā*, and she excelled the creepers of the wishing tree in her efforts to make gifts

(V. 10) To them, forsooth, was born *Kumardēvī*, like a *dēvī*, lovely like the charming streak of the spotless autumnal moon, as if *Tārā* herself, prompted by compassion, had descended to earth with a wish to free the world from the ocean of misery.

¹ Metre *Anuṣṭubh*.

² Mr *Venkaya* suggests to read *dānyat-tyāgaganit*.

³ The meaning of *kehotriyas* is uncertain. The word is usually translated 'screen'. But this meaning

(V 11.) After having created her, Brahmā was filled with pride at his own cleverness in applying his art, excelled by her face the moon, being ashamed, remains in the air, rises at night becomes impure and subsequently full of spots, how can this her marvellous beauty be described by people like us?

(V 12.) She, who in a wonderful way possesses a beautiful body, which is a glittering net for entrapping female antelopes, viz. the moving eyes, and which robs the wealth of beauty of the lense waves of the playful milky ocean by her brilliant charm of lovely splendour; who does away with the infatuation of the daughter of the mountain (i.e. Pārvatī) by her proud grace

(V 13.) Her mind was set on religion alone, her desire was bent on virtues, she had undertaken to lay in a store of merit, she found a noble satisfaction in bestowing gifts, her gait was like that of an elephant, her appearance charming to the eye, she bowed down to the Buddha, and the people sang her praise, she took her stand in the play of commiseration, was her permanent abode of luck, annihilated sin, and took her pride in abundant virtue

(V 14.) In the royal Gahadavāla lineage, famous in the world, was born a king, Chandra by name, a moon (*chandra*) among rulers. By the streams of tears of the wives of the kings who could not resist him, the water of the Yamunā forsooth became darker

(V 15.) The king Madanachandra, a crest jewel amongst impetuous kings, was born from him, the lord who brought the circle of the earth under one sceptre, the splendour of the fire of his valor being great and mighty, and who even lowered the glory of Maghavan by his glory

(V 16.) Hari, who had been commissioned by Hara in order to protect Vārānasi from the wicked Turushka warrior, as the only one who was able to protect the earth, was again born from him, his name being renowned as Gōvindaachandra,

(V 17.) Wonderful, the calfs of the celestial cows could not formerly get even drops of the milk stream to drink, on account of its continuous use for satisfying the hearts of supplicants, but after the multitude of these supplicants had been gladdened through the liberality of that king, they sat down to the feast of drinking the milk which is always plentiful and applied according to their wishes,

(V 18.) In the excellent cities of his adversaries, hunters by mistake do not pick up fallen necklaces, thinking them to be nooses for the deer in it, and hunters quickly remove the fallen gold ear-ring with sticks, the garlands in their hands shaking with fear, mistaking it for a snake on account of its large size.

(V 19.) The chariot of the sun was delayed because its span of horses were greedy after the mouthful of fresh, shining, thick grass on the roofs of the palaces in the towns of his uprooted foes, and also the moon became slow, because he had to protect the gazelle (in his orb), which was falling down, having become covetous after the grass

(V 20.) Kumaradēvi, forsooth, was famous with that king, like Śrī with Viṣṇu, and her praises were sung in the three worlds, and in the splendid harem of that king, she was indeed like the streak of the moon amongst the stars.

(V 21.) This *vihāra*, an ornament to the earth, the round of which consists of nine segments, was made by her, and decorated as it were by Vasudhārā herself in the shape of Tāṃpī, and even the Creator himself was taken with wonder when he saw it accomplished with the highest skill in the applying of wonderful arts and looking handsome with (the images of) gods.

(V 22.) Having prepared that copper-plate grant, which recorded the gift to śrī-Dharma chakra Jina, for so long a time as moon and sun endure on earth, and having given it to her, that Jambukī was made (?) the foremost of all *pattalākās* by her (Kumaradēvi)

(V 23) This Lord of the Turning of the Wheel was restored by her in accordance with the way in which he existed in the days of Dharmarakṣa, the ruler of men, and even more wonderfully, and this *chakra* for that *chakra* was elaborately created by her, and might he placed there, stay there as long as moon and sun (*padma*.)

(V 24) If anyone on the surface of the world preserves her fame, she will be intent on bowing down at his pair of feet. You Jin is shall be witnesses. But if any fool robs her fame, then those *lōkapālas* will quickly punish that wicked man in their wrath.

(V 25) The poet in eight *bhāṣās* known as the trusted friend of the Banga-king, Śrī-Kunda by name, the learned who was the only hon to attack the crowds of the elephant like heretics, who was a Rōhina mountain of the flashing jewels of poetical composition, he made this eulogy of her, charming with strings of letters beautifully arranged.

(V 26) This *prasasti* has been engraved by the *śilpa* Vamana on this excellent stone which rivals the *rājivarta* (i.e. *Japra* *Lazuli*).

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NO 52 — KRISHNAPURAM PLATES OF SADASIVARAYA.

SAKA SAMVAT 1189

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M. A., MADRAS, AND RAO SAMI T. RAJAHAYAN, B. A., REVENUE OFFICER, MADRAS COLONIZATION.

The temple of Śrī Vēṅkatāchalapati to which this set of copper-plates belongs, is situated in the middle of Krishṇapuram, a village six miles south-east of Innaveilly. The temple has some fine sculptures and a few inscriptions of later times. The copper-plates were kindly secured for us by Mr. N. Gōpālasvāmī Ayyangār, B. A., B. L., Deputy Collector, Kōllecōl, and we now edit them from impressions prepared under our supervision.

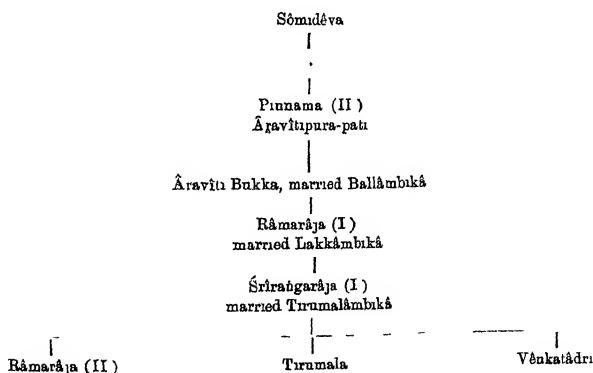
The plates are five in number, bound together by a ring which has also a seal loosely strung to it. The upper half of the surface of the seal bears the figure of a standing bear facing the proper right, near its face is a dagger placed with its point downwards, and over it are cut out the figures of sun and moon. The lower half has a design not uncommon to the Vijayanagara seals. On the top of the first plate and immediately above the inscription is engraved the *Srīvāṣṇava nāmam* (of the Tēṅgalai sect) flanked on either side with the conch and the discus (of Viṣṇu). The plates (except the first) are numbered in Kannada-Telugu numerals engraved on the right-hand corner of the first side of each plate. The rims of the plates are raised, and the first and last plates are engraved on one side only.

The characters are Nandināgarī, and the language, excepting the obeisance to Ganapati at the beginning, is Sanskrit verse. The signature at the end is as usual, the name of the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara kings, *Srī Virūpākṣa*, and is written in the Kannada alphabet. There are a few orthographical peculiarities worth noticing. The long vowel *ē* is represented by the usual sign for *ē* with a secondary *e*-stroke on the top. This new long *ē*, as employed in our record, is the same as the vowel *ai* as written at the present day, but in the present inscription, this latter sound is represented by an ordinary short *e* with two secondary *e* symbols on it, e.g. *Aśvāśipura* occurring in line 114, *Aṇakula* in line 145, *Ebrudarāyara*, in line 191, and *Ekava* in line 210. The Dravidian rough *r* is represented, as in other Vijayanagara plates written in the Nandināgarī alphabet, with a secondary *r* on the top of a common *r*, e.g. *Māru* occurring in line 94, *Savalakkaraṇa* in line 141, *-pāra* in line 146, *Śrīyā* in line 150, and *-Aravira* in line 159. There are several minor errors in the inscription

such as omissions of letters, and of the *anusvāra* and the *visarga*, wrong repetitions of the same words and phrases, etc., these are noticed in footnotes under the text. The *virudas* of the king and of the chiefs are known from other sources.

The inscription belongs to the reign of Sadaśivarāya of Vidyānagarī. It records that at the request of Tirumala, who was in his turn requested by Krishnappa Nāyaka or Krishnabhūpati as he is called in the inscription, Sadaśivarāya granted a number of villages to the god Tiruvēnkatanātha set up at Krishnapuram by Krishnappa Nāyaka. The first part of the inscription gives in detail the genealogy of king Sadaśiva which is identical with that given in the British Museum plates of the same king published by Prof. Kielhorn¹ and No. 58 of the Nāgamangala tāluk of the Mysore District, published by Mr. Rice². Herein also Sadaśivarāya is described as being installed on the throne by the chief ministers at the instance of Rāmarāja, who is here, as in the other plates,³ called his sister's husband. Later on (vv 84-95) the inscription details the pedigrees of the family to which Tirumala belonged.

The genealogy begins with Nanda, who is said to have been born in the race of the moon. In his race was born Chalikka and in the latter's Bijjalēndra. Sōmidēva, who captured seven forts, was born in his line. His grandson was Pinnama "lord of Āravītūpura". His son was Āravīti-Bukka, whose wife was Ballāmbikā. Their son was Rāmarāja who married Lakkāmbikā. To them was born Śrīrangarāja (I) and his wife was Tirumalāmbikā. Their sons were Rāmarāja (II), Tirumala (I) and Vēṅkatādri. Tirumala is styled in the plates a Bhōja in poetry. Appended below is a genealogical tree of Tirumala's family —



We learn from the British Museum plates that Rāmarāja II, Tirumala and Vēṅkatādri belonged to the same family, from which Kōṇḍarāja of that grant was descended (see table above, Vol IV, p. 4). Tirumala bears (vv 98-101) the family *virudas* of antembaragamda,

¹ Above, Vol. IV., p. 1

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol IV., p. 219 of the Romanised text portion

³ Compare the British Museum Plate Inscription, above, Vol IV, p. 3 f., No 7 of the Hassan tāluk, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V., Part I; and No. 188 of Chennappaṭṇu, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol IX. Compare Prof. Kielhorn's remarks on the meaning of "sister" in this connection

erimandaliṣṭaganḍa, birudamanniyavibhala, dharaṇṭarāḥa, Kalyāṇapurandātha and *Vēṅga-tribhuvanīmalla*¹ At the time at which the present grant was made, Rāmarāja, the powerful general and minister of Sadāśiva, and his brother Vēṅkaṭādrī had both been dead two years, they having fallen in the famous battle of Tālikōta on the 23rd January A.D. 1566. Tirumala, the second brother of Rāmarāja, now became the minister and commander and was the *de facto* king. In the course of the same or the beginning of the next year he was to become eventually the *de jure* king and founded the third dynasty of Vijayanagara.

Kṛṣṇanappa Nāyaka, at whose request the present grant was made, is described as the grandson of Nāgama Nāyaka and the son by Nāgama of Viṣṇanātha Nāyaka.² He has the *birudas*, *Kāñchīpuravarādhisvara, Mōḷāliputtavarādhana, Samayadīśharagandā, Samayakōḷīhala, Aṣṭavalipuravarādhisvara, Pāṇḍyakulasthupavāḥhirya* and *lakṣmīnāmasuvardhīpati* (vv 49-52).

In connection with the conquest of the Pāṇḍya country by the kings of Vijayanagara, we might notice that Narasā Nāyaka, as he is more commonly called, is said to have subjugated Mānabhūṣa, the king of Mādura.³ We know that Narasā Nāyaka lived about the last quarter of the 15th century⁴ and that Mānabhūṣa or Aṅkasa Parākrama Pāṇḍya began his reign in 1422 A.D.⁵ and ruled for at least 42 years, i.e. till about 1466 A.D.⁶ It is quite likely that this Pāṇḍya king was the one referred to as defeated by Narasā Nāyaka.

Our inscription is dated (vv. 44-45) in the Śaka year 1489, computed by the *nīḍas* (9), *vārānas* (8), *vīdas* (4), and *indus* (1), in the year Prabhava, on the Makara saṃkrānti corresponding to the new moon *tithi* of the month Pushya, on a Monday. Sadāśivarāja was then encamped on the island of Śrīraṅgam and made the grant in the presence of the god Ranganātha. The last known date for Sadāśivarāja is 1537 A.D.,⁷ some ten months earlier than that of our record, and hence it is likely that the king, after the disaster that befell him at Tālikōta two years previously, was spending his last years, Śrīvaishnava as he was, at the sacred shrine of Śrīraṅgam. Of all Śrīvaishnava places of pilgrimage, Śrīraṅgam is the most sacred, and the Tuluva kings of Vijayanagara, at least those beginning with Kṛṣṇaśaṭvarāja, were very staunch Śrīvaishnavas.⁸ Achyutadevarāja, during his expedition against the Tiruvadi kingdom, is described, in the *Achyutarāyabhyudaya* of Rājannāthakavi, as having halted at Śrīraṅgam and sent the son of one Sagalarāja⁹ to conquer the Tiruvadi rāja.¹⁰ Hence it might not be wrong to suppose that Sadāśivarāja ended his days in Śrīraṅgam, but we have not any positive proofs to support our surmise.

¹ Compare verses 144-146 of the British Museum plates, where Koṅḍarāja of this family wears similar *birudas*, above, Vol. IV, p. 21.

² Verses 53-54.

³ Verse 11. The word has been treated as an ordinary noun by Profs. Hultzsch and Kielhorn.

⁴ The Devanagiri plates give Ś. 1427 as a date falling in the reign of Immaṇḍi-Nṛsiṃha; hence Narasā must have lived prior to this. See also footnote 7, above, Vol. VII, p. 79. [It should be noted that Immaṇḍi Nṛsiṃha was a Śāṭva, and not a Tuluva like Narasā. — B. K.]

⁵ Śendambī, Vol. IV, p. 117, and above, p. 229.

⁶ Śendambī, Vol. IV, p. 117.

⁷ South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I, Nos. 43-45, p. 70.

⁸ The Śāṭva kings were the disciples of Tālichārya. See *Prapanṇamṛitam*. Kṛṣṇadeva wrote *Amṛita mālyada, Viśvaśaktiśayam*, works relating to the life incidents of the Śrīvaishnava saint Periyāṭṭar and his daughter Aṅḡāl.

⁹ This Sagalarāja was the father-in-law of Achyutadeva and father of his wife Varadāmbā. See *Achyutarāyabhyudaya*, Canto III, verse 48. The printed copy of this work reads the name as Salagarāja; see p. 77; but Mr. T. S. Kappasāmi Śāstri reads it as Sagalarāja, and we follow him in calling the father-in-law of Achyuta, Sagalarāja.

¹⁰ See *Achyutarāyabhyudaya*, Canto V., verse 54.

Krishnappa Nāyaka constructed a temple in the village of Krishnapuram and built a shrine round it and a tower as high as the Mandara mountain over its entrance. In front of the shrine he erected a *rangamanḍapa*, standing on pillars containing exquisite sculptures and decorated with rows of beautiful creepers. In this newly constructed temple he set up the image of the god Tiruvēnkatanātha. He built a big car for the deity and surrounded the temple with broad streets with a view to provide an easy circuit for the car. It was for the conduct of the daily *pūjās*, for offerings, lighting, for incense, flower-garlands, etc., and for the annual celebration of the car and the floating festivals, that he requested and got from Sadasivaiyā the villages mentioned in the grant.

Though the Nāyakas are believed to have usurped the thrones of the Pāndyas, they still call themselves 'the establishers of the Pāndya dynasty'. In corroboration of the claim of the Nāyakas of Malura to the title of *Pāndyakulasthāpanāchāryas*, we see several hundreds of inscriptions belonging to the later Pāndyas, scattered over the country believed to have been ruled over by the Nāyakas, showing that they were also ruling simultaneously with the Nāyakas. One of the later Pāndyas, named Śrivalḷabha, is described, in the Puḍukkōṭṭu plates of Ativirāma Pāndya,¹ as having established the Pāndya kingdom. This Śrivalḷabha must have been a contemporary of Narasā Nāyaka, for he is the brother of Mānabhūsha defeated by Narasā.² How he established the Pāndya kingdom and under what circumstances, is not apparent. But we see as a matter of fact the Pāndyas ruling in a semi-independent condition over their ancestral kingdom till at least 1585 A.D., what political relationship existed between them and the Nāyakas, we do not know.

At the end of the inscription, it is mentioned that Sabhāpati Svayambhū was the composer of the *śāstana*, and Virapāchārya, son of Virapa, was the engraver.

The places mentioned in the record are —

Kiḷavēmbu nāḍu in the Pāndya maṇḍalam, Śrivalḷamaṅgalaśāvedī in the above nāḍu, Ardhatintriṇi (Arappuḷi P), Villamarāyaṇ Nedunguḷam, Svalakkāraṇ kuḷam, Puḷiyanguḷa-ōḍai, Pirāyankuḷam, Bhūṣurataṭāka (Parpagulam, a corruption perhaps of Pāppāṅkuḷam), Kaḷḷikuḷam, Vēlaṅkuḷam Sundarapāndyaṇ puḍukkāḷ, Aḷiya*ṇṇākuḷam, Śrīkuḷam, Eyyāru Peryāḷanguḷam, Kōkkantāmpārai (modern Kongandāmpārai), Paṇṇayanguḷam, Muttūr hill; Puttaṇṇeri, Āriyakuḷam, Kōdikūḷam, Kuttukkāḷ, Muttūr, Rāmaṅguḷam, Itampattu, Śrīyāḷanguḷam, Bāṭṭaikuḷam, Muṇṇappunādu, Āḷikudi and Sri-Krishnapuram.

Of these Vēmba-nāḍu comprises the northern portions of the Native State of Travancore and of the District of Tinnevely, and in the former state there is a large backwater lake known by the name of Vēmba-nāḍu-*kūyal* indicating the ancient name of the country where it is situated. We find the following names in the list of villages belonging to the Tinnevely tāḷuka of the same district and situated near Krishnapuram — Pirāyāṅkuḷam, Pāppāṅkuḷam,³ Vēlaṅkuḷam, Sundarapāndyaṇ kāl, Kōḡandāmpārai, Paṇṇāṅkuḷam, Muttūr, Āriyakuḷam, Muṇṇappunādu, and Krishnapuram. The other places we are unable to identify.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । नमस्तुंगशिरशुबिचद्रचामर-
- 2 चारवे । त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय श्रमवे ।(॥) [१*] हरर्षिर्वाच-

¹ Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1906, p. 72.

² [The Puḍukkōṭṭai grant mentions Mānabhāraṇa as the brother of Śrivalḷabha, and, besides, Mānakaṇṇa, whom Mr. Venkaya identifies with Arikāraṇ Parākrama Pāndya. The identification of Mānabhūsha with any of these two is far from being certain — S. K.]

³ It now goes popularly by the name Pāppāṅkuḷam. This name means "the Brāhmaṇ's tank," and it has been translated into Sanskrit in the record.

From inked impressions prepared by Mr T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

- 3 राहस्य दंष्ट्रादंडस्य पातु वः । हेमाद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री च्छत्र(क्ष)त्रि
 4 यं दधौ ।(II)[२*] कल्याणायास्तु तन्नाम प्रत्युद्धतिमिरापह । यत्तलोप.
 5 गजोद्धतं हरिणापि च पूज्यते ।(II)[३*] अस्ति क्षीरमयाहेवैर्मथ्यमाना-
 6 न्नाह्वधेः । नवनीतमिवोद्धतमपनीततमो महः ।(II)[४*] तस्यासीत-
 7 'नुयस्तपोभिरतुलैरन्वर्थनामा बुधः पुण्येस्य पुरुरवा भुजव-
 8 [क्ष]रायद्विषां 'निघ्नतः । तस्यायुर्नहुषोस्य तस्य परुषो युद्धे यया-
 9 ति[*] क्षिती । ख्यातस्तस्य तु तुर्वसुर्वसुनिभः श्रीदेवयानीपतेः ।(II)[५*] तथै
 10 देवकीजानिर्हिदीपे तिमभूपतिः । यशस्वी तुर्ववेदेषु यदोः क्षण
 11 इवाव्ये ।(II)[६*] ततोभुङ्क्ताजानिगोश्वरक्षितिपालकः । अचासमगु-
 12 णमंशं मौक्किरत्नं महीभुजा ॥७*] सरसादुदभूतस्मान्नरसावनिपा-
 13 लकः । देवकीनंदनात्कामो देवकीनंदनादिव ।(II)[८*] विविधसुकृ-
 14 तोहामे रामेश्वरप्रमुखे 'मुहुर्मदितहृदय स्थाने स्थाने व्यधत्त य-
 15 थाविधि [१*] बुधपरिहृतो नानादानानि' यो भुवि षोडश त्रिभुवनज-
 16 नोद्गीतं स्मृतं यशः पुनरुक्तय ॥९*] 'न्वात्रेरीमाशु बध्वा(बु) बह्मजल-
 17 रयां तां विलब्धैव शत्रु जीवघात गृहीत्वा समिति भुजबला-
 18 संचरान्धं तदीयं [१*] कृत्वा श्रीरंगपुर्वं तदपि निजवशे पट्टणं
 19 यो बभासे (I) कीर्त्तिस्तंभ निखाय त्रिभुवनभवनस्तूयमानापदा-
 20 नः ।(II)[१०*] चेरं चोक्तं च पाशं तमपि च मधुरावल्लभं मानभूषं वीर्यं-
 21 दयं तुरुष्कं गजपतिनृपतिं चापि जित्वा तदाभ्यान् । आगं-
 22 गातीरलंकाप्रथमचरमभूत्तटांतं जितं तं ख्यातः क्षीणी-
 23 पतीनां स्रजमिव शिरसां ग्रामन यो व्यतानीत् ।(II)[११*] तिष्याजीना-
 24 गलादेव्योः कौसल्याश्विमुनिचयोः । देव्योरिव नृसिंहैर्द्रास्रमा-
 25 त्पङ्क्तिरथादिव^१ ।(II) [१२*] वीरो^२ विजयो^३ नाम[स]लक्ष्मणाविव नादने.
 26 जातौ वीरनृसिंहैर्द्राक्षयरायमहीपतो ।(II) [१३*] रंगक्षितीर्द्राभ्युतदे-
 27 वरायौ रक्षाधुरीणाविव नंदसौ^४ । श्रीबांभिकायां नरसक्षि-

Second Plate, First Side.

- 28 तींद्रादुभावभुताभुरगेंद्रसारौ^{१०} ।(II)[१४*] वीरवीमारसिंहस्य
 29 विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्यः कीर्त्या नीत्वा निरस्यज्ञग-

^१ Read 'नय'.

^२ 'त्रि' is corrected from 'ति'.

^३ Read 'पति'.

^४ Read with the British Museum plates 'नरसक्षि'.

^५ Read 'रायद्विषां'.

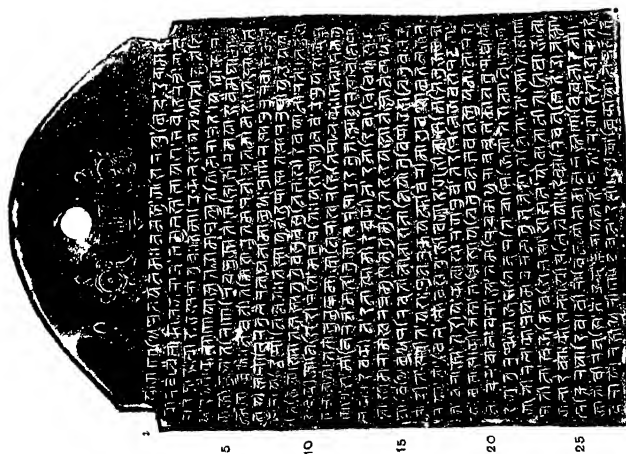
^६ 'य' looks like 'तु'.

^७ Read 'न' in the conjunct consonant 'न्वा', with the previous 'य'.

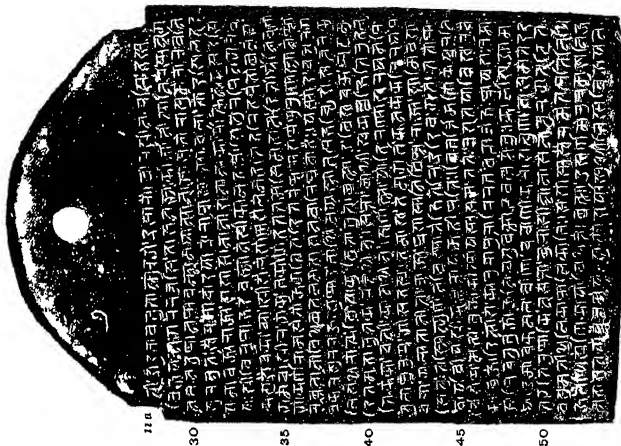
^८ Read 'विजयिनी रामलक्ष्मणाविव'.

^९ Read 'नंदसौ'.

^{१०} The British Museum plates read 'भूताभ्य रत्नैर्', which Prof. Kielhorn proposes to correct into 'भूतां नरैर्' [I would suggest 'तासुरतेभ्यः',—S. K.]



STEN KONOW



HALF SIZE

W GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY T. A. ODHATHA RAO, M. A.

- 30 नऊनहुषानप्यव्यामथान्यान् । आ मेतीरा मुमेरीरवनि-
 31 मुरनुतः खैरमा चोदयाद्रे (I) रा ¹[पा]श्वात्चलातादखिलहृद-
 32 यमावर्ज्य राज्यं शशास ।(II)[१५*] नानादानान्यकार्षीत्कनकसदसि
 33 यः श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवस्थाने श्रीकाकहस्तीशितुरपि नगरे वै-
 34 कटादौ च कांच्या । श्रीशैले शोणशैले² महति हरिहरेहोवके स-
 35 गमे च (I) श्रीरंगे कुंभकोणे हततमसि महानंदितोर्थे निवृत्तौ [॥१६*]
 36 गोकर्णे रामसेतौ जगति तदितरेष्वप्यशेषेषु पुण्यस्थानेष्व-
 37 रत्ननानाविधवह्ममहादानवारिप्रवाहैः । यस्मिंदचतुरंग-
 38 प्रकरखुररजःशुचदंभोधिमग्नक्षामृत्यक्षच्छिदोद्यत्तर(लर)कु-
 39 लिशशरोल्लठिता कंठिताभूत् ।(II)[१७*] ब्रह्मांडं विश्वचक्रं घटमु
 40 दितमहाभूतकं रत्नधेनुं (I) सप्तंबोधीं³ कल्पक्षितिरुहल-
 41 तिके कांचनीं कामधेनु । स्वर्णक्ष्मां यो हिरण्वाश्वरथमपि
 42 तुलापुरुषं गोमह्मं (I) हेमाश्वं हेमगर्भं कनककरिरथं प-
 43 चलांगल्यतानीत् ।(II) [१८*] प्राच्य प्रशास्य निर्विघ्नं राज्यं व्यामिव शा-
 44 सितुं [*] तस्मिन्गुणेन विख्याते चित्तिरिद्रे दिवं गते ।(II)[१९*] ततोप्य-
 45 वायव्योर्वा[*] श्रीकृष्णरायमहोपतिः । विभर्त्ति मणिकेयूरनि-
 46 र्विशेषं महतीं भुजे ।(II)[२०*] कीर्त्या यस्य समंततः प्रयुतया⁴ विश्वं रुचै-
 47 क्यं व्रजे(I)दिव्याशंख्य पुरा पुरारिरभवद्वाक्केच[ण*]ः प्रायशः [*] पद्मा-
 48 क्षोपि चतुर्भुजोजनि चतुर्वक्त्रोद्भवत्वद्भूः⁵ (I) काकी खड्गम-
 49 'थाद्रमा च कमलं वीणां च वाणी करे ।(II)[२१*] शत्रूणां वासमेते दद-
 50 त इति रुषा किं ⁶न् ⁷सप्तांबुरासोन्नानासेनात्तुरगतृटित-¹⁰
 51 वसुमतीधूकिकापाक्रिकाभिः । सशोख्य¹¹ खैरमेतत्पतिनिधि-¹²
 52 जलधिन्नेषिका यो विधत्ते (I) ब्रह्मांडस्वर्णमेरुप्रमुखनिज-
 53 महादानतोयैरमेयेः¹³ ।(II)[२२*] सुख्यौदार्यसुधीभिस्स विजयन-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 54 गरे रत्नमिंहासनस्थः क्षापालान्कृष्णरायचित्तिपतिरध-
 55 रीकृत्य नीत्या नृगादोन् । आ पूर्वाद्रेरथास्तचित्तिधरकटकदा
 56 च हेमाचलातादा सेतोरथिसार्थत्रियमिह बह्मकोक्त्य कोर्त्या

पा looks like प्र.

Read प्रसत्.

⁷ Read °वादेमा.

Read °तुरंगगुटित.

°दृ looks like °स.

² च is corrected from ख.

³ The व of व्व looks like च

Read रु instead of न्

¹¹ Read संशोख्य

³ Read °मोधी°

⁶ Read म instead of न्

⁹ Read °श्री° instead of °से°.

¹² Read °त्पति°

- 57 बभासे ।(II)[२३*] कृतवति सुरलोकं लक्ष्मराये निजाय तदनु तदनु
 58 आ पुष्यकमोच्युतेन्द्रः । अखिलमवनिर्लोकं स्वांशमेत्यारजिता
 59 वि[ल]सति हरिचेता विहदिष्टप्रदाता ।(II)[२४*] अंभोदेन निषीयमान-
 60 सलिलोगत्त्येन पीतोभित्तस्तप्तो^१ राघवमायकास्मिन्निष्यया स-
 61 तप्यमानः सदा । अंतस्थैर्वडवा(वा)मुखानलशिखाजालैर्विगुण्को
 62 [ध्रु]वं (I) यद्दानां बुधनां वरं बुधिरयं पूर्णः समद्योतते^२ ।(II)[२५*] समज
 63 नि नरपालस्त्यधर्मप्रतिष्ठो विजयनगरराजद्रविसिंहा-
 64 सनस्थः ।[*] नृगनरुनहुषादीन्नीचयन्नाजनीत्या^३ निरुपमभुज-
 65 वीर्योदायभूरच्युतेन्द्रः ।(II)[२६*] क्षितिप्रतिष्ठापितकीर्तिदेहे प्राप्ते पदं
 66 वैष्णवमच्युतेन्द्रे । अध्यास्य भद्रासनमस्य सूनुर्वीरो बभौ वैक्टे-
 67 देवरायः ।(II)[२७*] प्रशास्य राज्य प्रशवास्त्ररूपे^४ विहदिष्टो वैक्टेरा-
 68 यभूपे ।[*] अभागधयादधिरात्रजानामाश्रयलावासमयाधिरु-
 69 टे ।(II)[२८*] तिमंवावरगर्भमौक्तिकमणो रगक्षितींद्रासजः क्षत्राक्ष-
 70 करणेन पालितमहाकर्णोटराज्यत्रिया । शौर्योदायदयावता
 71 स्वभगिनोभर्त्ता जग[क्ष]ायिना^५ (I) रामश्चापतिनायमास्तितल्लो-
 72 कूमाभिषेकक्रमः ।(II)[२९*] श्रीविद्यानगरोल्लामनि मङ्गामास्त्राक्षरि-
 73 हासने (I) संतानदु[रि]व स्फुरस्फुरिगरी संज्ञत्य [वि*]वैषिण्य^६ । आ से-
 74 तोरपि चाहिमाद्रि रचयन्नाश्रो निजाप्राकरास्त्रवर्षा^७ पालय-
 75 ते सदाशिवमहारायचिराय क्षमां ।(II)[३०*] विख्यातविक्रातिन-
 76 यस्य यस्य पट्टाभिषेके नियतं प्रजानां । आनदबाणैरभिषि^८
 77 च्यमाना देवीपदं दर्शयते धविनी ।(II)[३१*] गोत्रोत्तरविशारदं कुव-
 78 लयापीडापहारोत्तुरं सत्यायुक्तमति समस्तमुम[न*]स्तीमावने-
 79 कायनं । संजातश्रुतिभूरुचिं सविजयं संनंदकन्नीभरं^९ (I) यं
 80 शंसन्ति यशोदयाचितगुणं लक्ष्मावतारं बुधाः ।(II)[३२*] विख्यातं बहु-

Third Plate, First Side.

- 81 भोगशृंगविभवैरुद्दामदानोत्तुरं धर्मेष्य क्षुतिमच्युतो-
 82 पि भुवने दक्षं प्रजारक्षणे । प्राप्तां यस्य भुजं भुजंगमहिष-
 83 हिन्दंतिकूर्मोपमं (I) पातिप्रत्यपताकिक्षेति चरषो^१ जानंतु स-
 84 र्वं जनाः ।(II)[३३*] यक्षेनाचूकिपाकी शक्वमयकसमुत्पाटने धूमरेखा

^१ Read "विमं" instead of "विमं".

^२ Read प्रश.

^३ Read "विषिण्य".

^४ Read समुद्रणी.

^५ Read "गुविषा".

^६ Read सुत्र.

^७ जी is corrected from ल.

^८ Read विरेषिण्य.

^९ Read चरणी.

- ८५ रोमाञ्चो कीर्त्तिवध्वा इव भुवनमिदं सर्वमतवेक्ष्यताः । [वि]-
 ८६ शी नापीयसीव प्रकटितविह्वतेर्वीरलक्ष्या रणाय (१) शो-
 ८७ त्ये जीमूतपर्ण्डिः^१ किल शकलखलस्त्रोमदावानलाङ्गां [॥३४*] तुगा-
 ८८ सेव दयां पदावुजयुग शोणं च कृष्णां तनुं रक्ता(क्ता) नीलशिता^२
 ८९ त्रिवेणिमनवां बोक्षां गिर नर्मदा [१*] तीक्ष्णानोति^३ [स]मावहत्य-^४
 ९० वयवैः शेषाद्विवासी विभुः प्रायो यस्य विशेषभक्तिमुदितः
 ९१ पट्टाभिषेकश्चये १(॥)[३५*] ^५वोषधिपत्युपमायितगडस्त्रोषणरूप-
 ९२ जितासमकाळः [१*] भाषगेतपुवरायरगडः पोषणनिर्भरभू-
 ९३ नवखडः १(॥)[३६*] राजाधिराजविरुदो राजराजसमाह्वितः । खा-
 ९४ राजराजमानश्रीः[*] श्रीराजपरमेश्वरः १(॥)[३७*] मूर्ध्नायरगडाङ्की
 ९५ मेरुलघियशोभरः । शरणागतमदारः ^६पर[रा]जभयकरः १(॥)[३८*]
 ९६ करदाखिलभूपालः परदारसहोदरः । हिदुरायसरक्षाणस्त्रि-
 ९७ धुराजगभीरर्धिः^७ १(॥)[३९*] विष्टपत्रयविख्यातो दुष्टशार्दूलमर्दनः ।
 ९८ श्रीभगंडभेकुंडो हरिभक्तिसुधानधिः १(॥)[४०*] वर्धमानापदानश्री-
 ९९ रत्ननारीनटेश्वरः । इत्यादिबहुदैर्वादितत्वा^८ नित्यमभिष्टुतः १(॥)[४१*]
 १०० ^९कांभोजभोजकाङ्किंगकरहटादिपार्थिवैः^{१०} । सौविदहपदं प्रा-
 १०१ तैस्सदृशितवृत्तपोपदः १(॥)[४२*] सोय नोतिविशारदः सुरतरुस्फूर्त्त-^{११}
 १०२ विश्राणनस्सर्वीर्वाशनतस्सदाशिवमहारायज्ञमानायकः ।
 १०३ बाह्वावगदनिविशेषमखिलां सर्वसहसुदहन्विद्वन्नायप-
 १०४ रायणो विजयते वीरप्रतापोन्नतः ॥ [४३*] निधिवारणवेदेदुग-
 १०५ पिते शकवस्तरे । प्रभवे बल[रि*] मासि पोषे मकरसक्ते १(॥)[४४*]

कृष्णपक्षे च पु-

- १०६ ख्यायाममायां सोमवासरे । कावेर्याः पावने^{१२} तीरे रंगनाथस्य
 १०७ सनिधौ १(॥)[४५*] काश्यपावन्वरत्नेन शश्वतातुलकीर्त्तिना । शश्वदाराध-
 १०८ नाष्टष्टविश्रनाशार्पितश्रिया १(॥)[४६*] धर्ममर्मविदा चाणकर्मठेन मनीषि-
 १०९ णा । दुर्मदारिमहा(ह्री)पालशर्मदारिभुजौजसा १(॥)[४७*] सत्यादृतातर-

Third Plate, Second Side

- ११० गेण सखृत्याश्रयशोभिना । सहितेनाधिक भूत्या सर्व-
 १११ जग(गु)णशालिना १(॥)[४८*] श्रीमत्कांचीपुरवराधीश्वराङ्कीपशो-

^१ Read 'पतिः'.

^२ Read 'सकल'.

^३ Read 'चित्'.

^४ Read 'तीर्था'.

^५ स is corrected from perhaps स.

^६ Read 'वोषधि'.

^७ Read 'भाषणे'.

^८ 'रा' is corrected from another letter

^९ 'रद्वंशविश्रामसि' in the British Museum plates

^{१०} Read

^{११} Read 'कांभोज'.

^{१२} Read 'पार्थि'.

^{१३} Read

^{१४} Originally पावनी was written.

- 112 भिना । भो कालिपट्टध्वनविख्यातविरुदयिता । (11) [४६*] समयद्वीह-
 113 रगडख्यातिना । मनुनीतिना । प्रख्यातसमयकीनाहलचिह्नेन
 114 भास्वता । (11) [५०*] ऐलावकीपुरवराधीश्वराकेन धीमता । मा[द्या]ति-
 115 रुवटिच्छापसप्तागहरणीजसा । (11) [५१*] यशस्विना^१ पाद्यकुलस्था-^२
 116 पनाचार्यकीर्तिना । मानोन(न्येन) दक्षिणमहासमुद्राधीश्वरेण च । (11) [५२*]
 117 नागमच्छापपौत्रेण नक्रनाभागकीर्तिना । श्रीविश्वनाथभूपा-
 118 लसिधुशीतकभानुना । (11) [५३*] सुशीलनागमागर्भशुक्तिमुक्ताफलात्म-
 119 ना । कृष्णभूपतिना युष्मकीर्तिना करुणा*स्विना । (11) [५४*] परितः प्रण-
 वाकारप्र-
 120 कारवलयंचित । कमनीयशिलास्तंभकदभोत्तमिनांवर^३ । (11) [५५*] विश-
 121 कटविटंकाकीविराजद्रंगमंठपं । विधाय विपुलोज्जंगोप-
 122 रं देवमंदिरं । (11) [५६*] विशालं रथघोती^४ च स्यदन मंदरोपमं । तच्च प्रति
 123 टातार्यश्रीतारकमंत्ररूपिण^५ । (11) [५७*] करुणारसकक्षोत्तवर्णालयचक्षु-
 124 से(षे) । शरणागतगी[र्वी]णभरणाधीनचतमे । (11) [५८*] कालचक्रघटीयं च
 125 स्नानाशिल्पकारिणे । कैवल्यकल्पजित्काकंदकोपन्नकीर्तये । (11) [५९*] कौसुभा-
 126 रुणपाथोजपा[र्श्वे] स्त्रीनाकिमोभया^६ । वनमालिकया चारुवक्षसे हतर-
 127 चसे । (11) [६०*] इंदिराया^७ जगन्मातुर्मंदिरायितवक्षसे ।^८ च्छंदसामादिकंदाय
 128 चंपकद्युतिवासरे(से) । (11) [६१*] शरण्याय वतामिंदुतरस्याकारचक्षुषे^९ । चिरण्या
 129 सुरसंज्ञे^{१०} धरण्या गृहमेधिने । (11) [६२*] कशादिविषुधारातिष्ठिंसाविधपटी
 130 यसे । संसारसागरौर्वाय पुंसामानमतां सतां । (11) [६३*] नवनीतसुये^{११} नंदर
 131 मणीशिल्लीयतां । अभिनीतवते शखदपनीतमतांतये । (11) [६४*] निरलो
 कावचो-
 132 मूलसुरकीमधुरारवैः । तरकीकुर्वते गोपीश्वरकीलापरासुखीः^{१२} । (11) [६५*] अ-
 133 श्मिन्कृष्णापुरे पूर्णसा(सा)निष्ठा समुपेयुषे । तिरुवैकटनाथाय विष्णवे प्रभ-
 134 विष्णवे । (11) [६६*] धूपदीपसुधाहारनामापूजनिवेदनैः^{१३} । नानापुथोपहारेण नै
 135 कदीपप्रदीपनैः । (11) [६७*] वृत्तगीतमहावाद्यच्छत्र(त्र)चामरवैभवं । निलयैमि-
 त्तिका-

^१ Read यशस्वि.^२ Read पौषी.^३ Read मंदिरा.^४ Read चक्षुषे.^५ Read चक्षुषे.^६ Read चक्षुषे.^७ Read चक्षुषे.^८ Read चक्षुषे.^९ Read चक्षुषे.^{१०} Read चक्षुषे.^{११} Read चक्षुषे.^{१२} Read चक्षुषे.^{१३} Read चक्षुषे.^१ Read पौषी.^२ Read पौषी.^३ Read पौषी.^४ Read पौषी.^५ Read पौषी.^६ Read पौषी.^७ Read पौषी.^८ Read पौषी.^९ Read पौषी.^{१०} Read पौषी.^{११} Read पौषी.^{१२} Read पौषी.^{१३} Read पौषी.^१ Read पौषी.^२ Read पौषी.^३ Read पौषी.^४ Read पौषी.^५ Read पौषी.^६ Read पौषी.^७ Read पौषी.^८ Read पौषी.^९ Read पौषी.^{१०} Read पौषी.^{११} Read पौषी.^{१२} Read पौषी.^{१३} Read पौषी.^{१४} Read पौषी.^{१५} Read पौषी.^{१६} Read पौषी.^{१७} Read पौषी.^{१८} Read पौषी.^{१९} Read पौषी.^{२०} Read पौषी.^{२१} Read पौषी.^{२२} Read पौषी.^{२३} Read पौषी.^{२४} Read पौषी.^{२५} Read पौषी.^{२६} Read पौषी.^{२७} Read पौषी.^{२८} Read पौषी.^{२९} Read पौषी.^{३०} Read पौषी.^{३१} Read पौषी.^{३२} Read पौषी.^{३३} Read पौषी.^{३४} Read पौषी.^{३५} Read पौषी.^{३६} Read पौषी.^{३७} Read पौषी.^{३८} Read पौषी.^{३९} Read पौषी.^{४०} Read पौषी.^{४१} Read पौषी.^{४२} Read पौषी.^{४३} Read पौषी.^{४४} Read पौषी.^{४५} Read पौषी.^{४६} Read पौषी.^{४७} Read पौषी.^{४८} Read पौषी.^{४९} Read पौषी.^{५०} Read पौषी.^{५१} Read पौषी.^{५२} Read पौषी.^{५३} Read पौषी.^{५४} Read पौषी.^{५५} Read पौषी.^{५६} Read पौषी.^{५७} Read पौषी.^{५८} Read पौषी.^{५९} Read पौषी.^{६०} Read पौषी.^{६१} Read पौषी.^{६२} Read पौषी.^{६३} Read पौषी.^{६४} Read पौषी.^{६५} Read पौषी.^{६६} Read पौषी.^{६७} Read पौषी.^{६८} Read पौषी.^{६९} Read पौषी.^{७०} Read पौषी.^{७१} Read पौषी.^{७२} Read पौषी.^{७३} Read पौषी.^{७४} Read पौषी.^{७५} Read पौषी.^{७६} Read पौषी.^{७७} Read पौषी.^{७८} Read पौषी.^{७९} Read पौषी.^{८०} Read पौषी.^{८१} Read पौषी.^{८२} Read पौषी.^{८३} Read पौषी.^{८४} Read पौषी.^{८५} Read पौषी.^{८६} Read पौषी.^{८७} Read पौषी.^{८८} Read पौषी.^{८९} Read पौषी.^{९०} Read पौषी.^{९१} Read पौषी.^{९२} Read पौषी.^{९३} Read पौषी.^{९४} Read पौषी.^{९५} Read पौषी.^{९६} Read पौषी.^{९७} Read पौषी.^{९८} Read पौषी.^{९९} Read पौषी.^{१००} Read पौषी.

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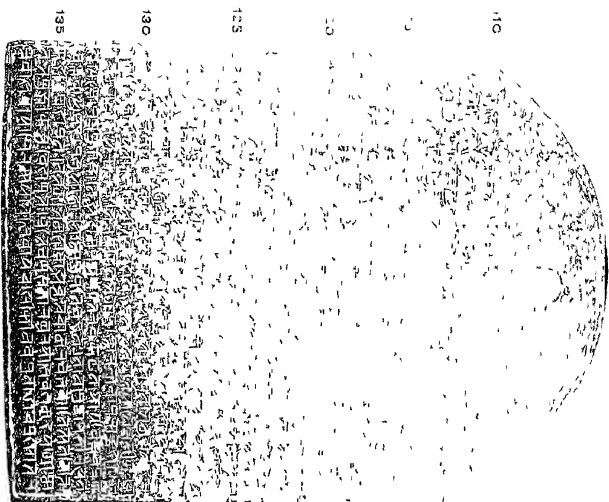
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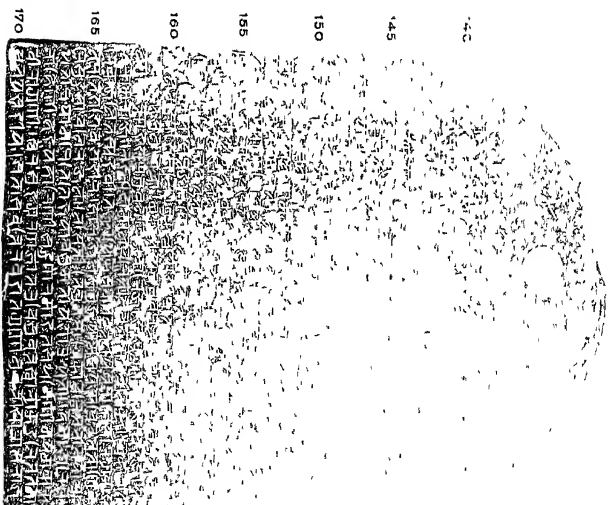
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உருகுவது



3TEN KONOW



HALF SIZE

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO M.A.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH

- 136 नंतपूजां कर्तुं विशेषतः ।(॥)[६८*] प्रतिवर्षसमारम्भरथोत्सवसमृद्धये^१ । श्रीश-
 137 ङ्गवोत्सवायापि रम्ययात्रोत्सवाय च ।(॥)[६८*] श्रीकीर्तव्यप्र(पु)नाडी च प्रख्यात प[र]-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 138 ब्रह्मंडले । तां(ता)मपणीर्नदीतीरे पावने वासमाश्रितं ।(॥)[७०*] श्रीव-
 139 क्षमंगलख्यातचावटावपि विश्रुत । ख्याताहतिचिणीहृत्वा-
 140 दिमार्गशान्धतां श्रितं ।(॥)[७१*] धर्माहिम्नमरायस्य ख्यातादपि नेङ्-
 141 कुलात् । प्राथं श्रीश्रवकक्षारकुळसीमांचलादपि ।(॥)[७२*] पुष्पि-
 142 यकुळोडैकुलपिरायन्कुलतोपि च । भूसुरतटागसीमांच-
 143 लानानेयतां^२ श्रितं ।(॥)[७३*] श्रीमल्लकुळकुळग्रामसीमातादपि दक्षि[णं]^३ ।[*]
 144 श्रीवेलकुळकुल्याया नैरुती दिशमाश्रित ।(॥)[७४*] सुदरश्रीपाडा[पूत]-
 145 कुल्यायाश्चापि पश्चिमं । ^४ऐनाकुळसीमांताहायवीमाश्रितं दिशं ।(॥)[७५*]
 146 श्रीकुळैर्यारुपेयलकुळसीमांचलोत्तरं । कोक्कतांपारंपनयंकु-
 147 ळ्योरुभयोरपि ।(॥)[७६*] अपि ^५सुत्तुर्मलाभिख्यागिरीशान्धतां श्रितं । पु-
 148 सनेरिग्रामकेष ख्यातारियकुळेन च ।(॥)[७७*] कोटिकुळग्रामकेष कुत्तु-
 149 ळग्रामकेष च । सुत्तुरुग्रामकोपि^६ श्रीमद्रामकुळेन च ।(॥)[७८] ईत्तपाङ्ग-
 150 ग्रामकेष शिरियालकुळेन च । शुक्लं पाटैकुलेनापि सयुत सस्य-
 151 शोभितं ।(॥)[७९*] सुरप्पुनाडाकिकुटिभूत्रयोदशमान्वित । श्रीकृष्णापुर-
 152 नामानं प्रख्यातं ग्राममुत्तमं ।(॥)[८०*] सर्वमा(नांचतुःस्त्रीमा)न्यं चतुःस्त्री(सी)-
 153 मासंयुतं च समंततः । निधिनिक्षेपपाषाणसिद्धसाद्यजलान्वि-
 154 तं ।(॥)[८१*] अक्षिष्यागामिसयुक्तं^७ देवभोग्यं सभूरुहं । वापीकूपतटा-
 155 कैश्च कश्चाराभैश्च सयुतं^८ ।(॥)[८२*] अनेन वैकटेशेन भोग्यमाचद्रता-
 156 रकं । दानाधमनविक्रोतियोग्यं विनिमयोचितं ।(॥)[८३*] श्रोतांशो-
 157 वैशरद्वं समजनि नृपतिर्नंदनामाय जज्ञे तत्संतत्यां चलिक्क-
 158 क्षितिपतिरभवतत्कुलि^९ विज्जलेंद्रः । तदंशं^{१०} सोमिदेवोलम-
 159 क्तत विमतासप्तदुर्गाणि कृत्वा पौत्रस्तस्वार्वीटोपुरपतिरुदभू-
 160 त्पिनमच्चोक्षिपाक्षः^{११} ।(॥)[८४*] भूकल्पशास्त्री प्रति(धि)तार्वीटिवृक्षमापो
 161 भवदस्य स्तुतुः । ब्रह्मांबिका तस्य बभूव पत्नी पुरदरस्वय पुलोमकं^{१२}

^१ Read 'समुच्चय'.^२ Read 'दाम्भय'.^३ The metre demands one more letter in this foot and hence we propose to read the name of this village as ऐ[व]नाकुळ. [I would prefer to scan *Āyānād*.—B. K.]

Read 'सिख्य'.

^४ Read 'ग्रामकेषापि' ?^५ Read 'सयुक्तं'.^६ Read 'कश्चाराभैश्च संयुतं'.^७ Read 'भवत्पुत्र'.^८ Read 'तदंशं'.^९ Read 'पौत्र'.^{१०} Read 'कथा'.

- 162 न्या ।(II) [८५*] अस्मादशेषभुवनानवारिजाश्चाश्चुं^१(च्छुं)गारराजवदजाय-
 163 त रामराजः । लक्ष्मीसमानचरिता ललनामतक्षी लक्ष्मीविका रति-
 164 रिवाजनि तस्य देवी ।(II) [८६*] ^२तस्याधिकैसमभवत्तनयस्तपोभिः*] श्रीरगराज
 165 ^३नृपतिशशिवंशदीपः । आसंज्वलस्तु भुजधामसु यस्य चित्र नेत्राणि वै-
 166 रिसुद्रुसां^४ च निरंजनानि ।(II) [८७*] सतीं तिरुमलाविका(कां) चरितलीलयाह-
 167 धतीप्रथामपि तितिक्षया वसुमतीयशो रंधतीं । हिमांशुरिव
 168 रोहिणीं हृदयहारिणीं मङ्गुरैरमोदत सधर्मिणीमयमवाप्य
 169 वीराग्रणीः ।(II) [८८*] स्वैरं सुदूरभरणजातरुचिसृजुत्^५ स्वालोकदूरिततमा-
 170 स्तनयस्तुदीयः । अत्रासवृत्तिरवदातगुणानुवर्त्तो आ(श्री)रामराज-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 171 नरपालमणिर्विरजे^६ ।(II) [८९*] यस्मिन् प्रशामति मही जदेवि^७.
 172 कवीरे भंगो नदीषु पतगेषु च पक्षपातः । वक्षोषु पक्षव-
 173 रुचिर्वनितारतेषु नीवीविमोचनमभून्नियत प्रजानां ।(II) [९०*] स-
 174 त्यानुरत्नेरिदरावहेस्मिन् संस्रके^८ संभृतसर्वलोके । (श्रीरा)
 175 श्रीरामराजे श्रितसत्त्वमौर्यं^९ श्रैरेः पदं शाश्वतमभ्युपेतं ।(II) [९१*] त-
 176 दनु भुवमयेषां पालयन्श्रान्नीत्या तपनतनयजेता दा-
 177 नरीत्या महत्या । भरतमहिमतभूमा भाति तस्यानुजन्मा व-
 178 रतिरुमनराजसाहितीभोजराजः^{१०} ।(II) [९२*] स्वैरं ^{११}मङ्गलकंदको-
 179 थ सुकृतोरकष्टं विधायाखिलं भूकंदारसुदारदानसलिलो-^{१२}
 180 सारैस्समापूर्यं च । संवद्वानघ(कीर्ति)कीर्त्तिसस्यनिवहं
 181 तत्पालिकां विक्रमश्रीकांतां भुजकायमानसिखरे^{१३} धत्ते
 182 हि यस्तेजसा ।(II) [९३*] यस्यानुजन्मा विजयैकगर्भा रामाभिराम[?] -
 183 तुलबाहुधामा । वीरो विरजे^{१४} भुवि वैकटाद्रिगर्भा श्रि-
 184 या निर्जितराजराजः ।(II) [९४*] धर्ममर्मविधस्तस्य^{१५} धरणीक-
 185 ल्यशाखिनः । सोमवशावतंसस्य स्वाधीननयसंपदः ।(II) [९५*] श्री-
 186 विश्वनाथभूपालचिरपुण्यफलात्मना । लक्ष्यभूपतिनाने-
 187 न क[पा]कूपारचक्षुषा^{१६} । (II) [९६*] विभ्रापितस्य विनयाहिमतज्ञांत^१

^१ Read 'समभव'.

^२ Read 'सुवत्'.

^३ Read 'अगदेक'.

^४ Read 'स्माहिती'.

^५ Read 'विश्वरे'.

^६ पा 18 corrected from 'या'.

^७ Read 'नृपतिशशि'.

^८ The letters विरे are engraved over an erasure.

^९ A mistake for संपन्न को.

^{१०} Read 'संज्ञत'.

^{११} Read 'विरजे'.

^{१२} Read 'वृत्ति'.

^{१३} Read 'सुद्रुसां'.

^{१४} Read 'संज्ञत'.

^{१५} Read 'सलिलो'.

^{१६} Read 'विदक्ष'.

- 188 भास्वतः । प्राज्यकर्णाठराज्यश्रीस्थापनाचार्यविश्रुतेः । (॥)[६७*] आ-
 189 नेयगोत्रपाथोजमार्ताडस्य मनस्विनः । अर्तेबवरगंड-
 190 स्य ^१सिध्वंतक्षितिरक्षिणः । (॥)[६८*] ^२वणितेयशेसो नानावर्णश्रीमंड-
 191 लीकगंडस्य । ऐ(ए)विश्वरायराहुतवेस्त्रीकभुजंगविश्वदभ-
 192 रितस्य । (॥)[६९*] ^३विष्ठा[त]विश्वदभनियविभाकूलोस्य विजय-
 193 शीलस्य । विश्वभराभृतिस्फुटविश्वतधरणीवराहवि-^४
 194 रुदस्य । (॥)[१००*] कल्याणपुरनाथस्य शय्यारिसमतेजसः । वैगञ्जि-
 195 भुवनीमल्ललिगस्थिरयशोनिधेः । (॥)[१०१*] श्रीमतिरुमलक्ष्मापशे-
 196 खरस्य दयांजुधेः । विन[यी*]दार्पशीलस्य विन्नमिमलुपालयन् । (॥)[१०२*]

Fifth Plate

- 197 परीतः प्रयत्ने[*] क्षिण्डेः पुरोहितपुरोगमेः । विविधै-
 198 र्विबुधैः श्यौ(श्री)तपथिकैरथि(धि)कैर्गिरा । (॥)[१०३*] सदाशिवमहारा-
 199 यो माननीयो मनस्विनां । सहिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवा-
 200 न्सुदा । (॥)[१०४*]
 201 सरससदाशिवरायक्षितिपतिवर्यस्य कीर्त्तिधुर्यस्य [*] शास-
 202 नमिदं ^५सरासनदानमरधिरमितहेमदानरतेः । (॥)[१०५*] मृदुपदमिति
 203 ताम्र(ताम्ब)शासनार्थं महितसदाशिवरायशासनेन । अभणदु-
 204 गुण वचोमहिम्ना सरसतरेण सभापतिस्वर्यभूः । (॥)[१०६*] सदाशिवमहा-
 205 रायशासनाङ्गीरणात्मजः । त्वष्टा श्रीवीरणाचार्यो व्यलिखतां-^६
 206 म्प्रशामनं (॥)[१०७*] दानपाखनयोर्मध्ये दाना[च्छे]योनुपालनं । दानास्वर्ग-^७
 207 मवाप्नोति पालनादभ्युतं पदं । (॥)[१०८*] स्वदत्तादिगुण^८ पुण्यं परदत्तालुपा-
 208 लनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं ^९निस्फलं भवेत् । (॥)[१०९*] स्वदत्ता परदत्तां
 209 वा यो हरेति^{१०} वसुंधरा । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि^{११} विष्टायां जायते क्रि(ज्ञ)-
 210 मिः(॥)[११०*] ऐ(ए)कैव भगिनी लोके सर्वपाप्मेव भुभुजां । न भोज्या न करग्रा-
 211 ह्या देवदत्ता वसुंधरा । (॥)[१११*] सामान्यो[य] धर्मसेतुनृपाणां^{१२} काले काले
 212 पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्राभूयो भूयो याच-
 213 ते रामचंद्रः॥ [११२*]
 214 श्रीविरूपाक्ष^{१३}

^१ Read सिध्वंत.^२ Read वणितेयशेसी.^३ Read वेस्त्रीक.^४ त is corrected from the secondary s of the letter that follows, which was begun wrongly in the place of त.^५ Read विष्ठा.^६ Read शरासन.^७ Read दाशरथी.^८ Read लिखताय.^९ Read दानास्वर्ग.^{१०} Read दत्तादि.^{११} Read निष्फल.^{१२} Read हरेत्.^{१३} Read षष्टि व.^{१४} Read सेतुनृपाणां.^{१५} In Kannada characters.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION

Verse 1 invokes Śambhu, v 2 the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, and v 3 Gaṇēśa

Vv 4-5 trace the genealogy of the family from the Moon

(Vv 6-7.) In his (i.e. Turvasu's) line was born the husband of Dēvakī king Timma, as famous among the Tuluvas as Kṛishna was among the Yādus. To him was born king Īśvara, a jewelled crown of virtues to kings, (and) the husband of Bukkamā.

(V 8) To him, the son of Dēvakī, was born king Narasa, as Kāma (was born) from the son of Dēvāī (Kṛishna).

Vv 9-10 describe his generosity and his conquest of the kingdom of Tamcha (i.e. the Chōla country) and Śrīrangapaṭṭana.

(V 11) Conquering the Chēra and the Chōla, Mānabdhūsha, the Pāndya king of Madura, also the fierce Turushka, king Gajapati and others from the Ganges to Laṅkā, and from the Eastern to the Western mountains, he made all kings bear his commands on their heads as flowers on their crowns.

(Vv 12-14.) Of Tippāji and Nāgalādēvi, like Rāma and Lakshmana of Kausalyā and Samitrā to Duśaratha, were born to him two sons Vira-Nṛsiṃha and Kṛishṇarāya who were brave and modest. To him were also born of Olāmbukā two (more) sons able in protecting (the subjects), Rangakshatindra and Achyutadēvaraya.

(V 15) Vira-Nārasimha, seated on the jewelled throne at Vijayanagara, eclipsing by fame and policy Nṛga, Nala, Nahusha and others of the world, praised by the Brāhmanas from Sēta to Mēra, from the Eastern to the Western mountains, ruled the kingdom pleasing the hearts of all people.

(Vv 16-18) His praises

(V 19) Having ruled his large kingdom without obstacles, the king of the earth, famous for his virtues, went to heaven as if to rule the kingdom of heaven.

(V 20) After him, king Kṛishṇarāya, of unaltered valour, bore the whole of the earth on his shoulders with as much ease as a jewelled bracelet.

(Vv. 21-23.) Praises of Kṛishṇarāya.

(V. 24.) When Kṛishṇarāya had taken for his part the world of the *dēvas* (i.e. had died) his younger brother Achyutēndra, doer of good deeds, conqueror of foes, worshipper of Viṣṇu, who made gifts satisfying the desires of the learned, got for his share the whole of this earth.

(Vv. 25-26) Praises of Achyutēndra.

(V 27) When, having set up on earth a body in the form of his fame, Achyutēndra reached Viṣṇu's abode, his brave son Vēṅkaṭarāya ascended the throne.

(Vv 28-30) He who was like the flower-arrowed Kāma, and was ruling his kingdom (well), owing to the bad luck of his subjects, soon went to the city of Indra. The son of Rangakshatindra and the precious pearl of the sacred womb of Tummāmbā, king Sadāsivarāya, who was like the *santāna* tree on the hill of *dēvas*, was duly installed on the throne that was the jewel of the prosperous town, Śrī-Vidyānagarī, by king Rāma, his sister's husband, the protector of the goddess Śrī of the great kingdom of Karpāta, who was an ornament to all Kṣatriyas, who was endowed with valour, nobility and kindness, and by the chief ministers.

(Vv 31-43) Praises of Sadāsivarāya.

(Vv 44-45.) On Monday, the new moon *tithi* of the dark half of the month Pausa, during the *Makara-saṅkṛamaṇa*, in the year Prabhava, (corresponding to) the Śaka year counted by the *māhī* (9), the *āraṇa* (8), the *śūḍa* (4), and *śūḍa* (1) (i.e. Śaka 1489) on the banks of the sacred river Kāvēri, in the presence of (the god) Baṅganātha, (thus grant is made)

(Vv. 46-57) By Kṛṣṇabhūpati, of sacred fame, the ocean of mercy, who was the jewel of the family of Kāśyapa; on whom much wealth was conferred by (the god) Viśvanātha, who was pleased with his devotion, who knew the truth about duty, who was always studying the art of protecting others; who was a wise man; whose mind was purified by truthfulness, who shone by his desire to do good actions, who possessed great wealth, who was endowed with the virtues of a wise man, who bore the title 'the lord of Kāñchīpura,' who was also the recipient of the famous title 'Mōkṣāpattavardhana,' who was also known as the 'Samaya-drōhara-gaṇḍa,' whose policy was like that of Maṇu, who also shone by the celebrated distinction 'Samayakṣāhala,' who was also entitled 'the lord of Aḷvālipura,' who by his valour deprived the insolent king of the Tiruvadi-rājya of the seven (component) parts (of his kingdom); who was famous as the 'Pāndyakulasthāpanāchārya,' who was the revered lord of the great Southern ocean; who was the grandson of king Nāgama; who was equal to Nala and Nābhāga in fame, who was the cool moon of the ocean named king Viśvanātha, who was the pearl of the oyster, *vs* the womb of the virtuous Nāgamā,—was built a temple at Kṛṣṇāpura, which was encircled by a wall of the shape of the *pranava* and a broad and lofty tower. It has a large *rañja-manḍapa* raised on a collection of beautiful stone pillars and adorned with rows of spouts (?). He built a car like the *Mandara* mountain and also broad roads round the temple, for the propitiation of the god Viṣṇu set up there (*śe* in the temple),

[(Vv. 58-66) Praises of the god set up in the temple of Kṛṣṇāpuram]

(Vv. 67-69) (For the worship of the god Viṣṇu) who shone in this place under the name of Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha, by means of burning incense, by lights, and by the offering of good food, cakes, *etc*, by means of offerings of several kinds of flowers, by illumination with many lights, by means of dancing, singing and music, with umbrellas, *chauris*, on days both ordinary and special, for the car festival at the beginning of each year, for the floating festival during the hot season, and for the *yātrōtsava*,

(Vv. 70-82) The excellent village known by the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇāpura, resplendent with cereals,—including the villages known as Puttanāri, Āryakulam, Kōṭakkulam, Kuttukkal, Muttār Rāmabḷḡam, Itampattū, Śiriyālaṅḡulam, Pātakkulam together with thirteen *bhū* in Muṛappu-nādu (and) Āḷikudi, which is situated in the Kilavēmbu-nādu belonging to the Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala, on the banks of the pure river Tāmraparai, in the *chōvaḷi* known as Śrīvallamangalam, and which is situated to the north-east of the road commencing with the Arddhaśrī tree, *etc*, east of Villamarāya's charity and the famous Nedunḡulam and of the extreme limits of Śrī-Śaivalakkāraṅḡulam; south-east of Puḷiyāṅḡa-ōḷa, Kulappurāyankulam and of the extreme limits of Bhūsura taṭṭaka; south of the extreme limits of Kaḷḷikkulam, south-west of the Vēlaṅḡula channel, west of Śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍya's new channel; north-west of the extreme limits of Amāḷulam; north of the extreme limits of Śrīkulam, Ēṇṇāra-Peryālaṅḡulam and of Kokkantāmpaḡa and Panayaṅḡulam; and north-east of the hill known as Muttūrmala—is to be enjoyed by (*this god*) Vēṅkaṭāśa as a *sarvamaṇya*.

(Vv. 96 and 102 to 104.) Having been requested by Kṛṣṇabhūpati, the fruit of the long penance of Viśvanātha, whose eyes are the ocean of mercy, Tirumala Rāja respectfully requested Sadasivārāya, the respected of the learned men, who, surrounded by his staunch friends, priests, followers, all kinds of learned men, and ambassadors and by their advice, made this gift joyously with gold and pouring of water.

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Line 214. The signature 'Śrī Virūpākṣa' in the Kannada alphabet

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the *Bhṛḡavata* and other works. There are numerous legends about it, one of the most picturesque assigning the origin of the Sōn and Narinadā to two tears dropped by Brahmā, one on either side of the Amakantak range. Its waters possess great sanctity, the performance of *sandhyā* on its banks ensuring absolution and the attainment of heaven even to the slayer of a Brāhman.¹ This must therefore be the river, the third in India, as recorded by Arrian, whence Bhīmasēna issued his charter, and not another Sōn flowing in the south of the Bilāspur district, falling into the Bora which joins the Mahānadi. As for Dōṇḍā and Vāṭapallikā, the latter of which must be looked for in a form such as Baḍapālī or Barapālī, there are so many places in Chhattīsgarh bearing these names that it is difficult to say which particular ones were meant. The nearest Dōṇḍā or Dupḍā, as we now find it, is one situated 25 miles west of Ārang, where the plate was found, and the nearest Barapālī is 30 miles east of Ārang and about 50 miles east of Dupḍā. It is included in the present Kaudā Zaminḍārī on the other side of the Mahānadi. It would then appear that Ārang also was in those days included in the Dōṇḍā district, and the donees, if they were residents of Ārang, lived half-way between the headquarters of the district and the village granted to them.

TEXT.²

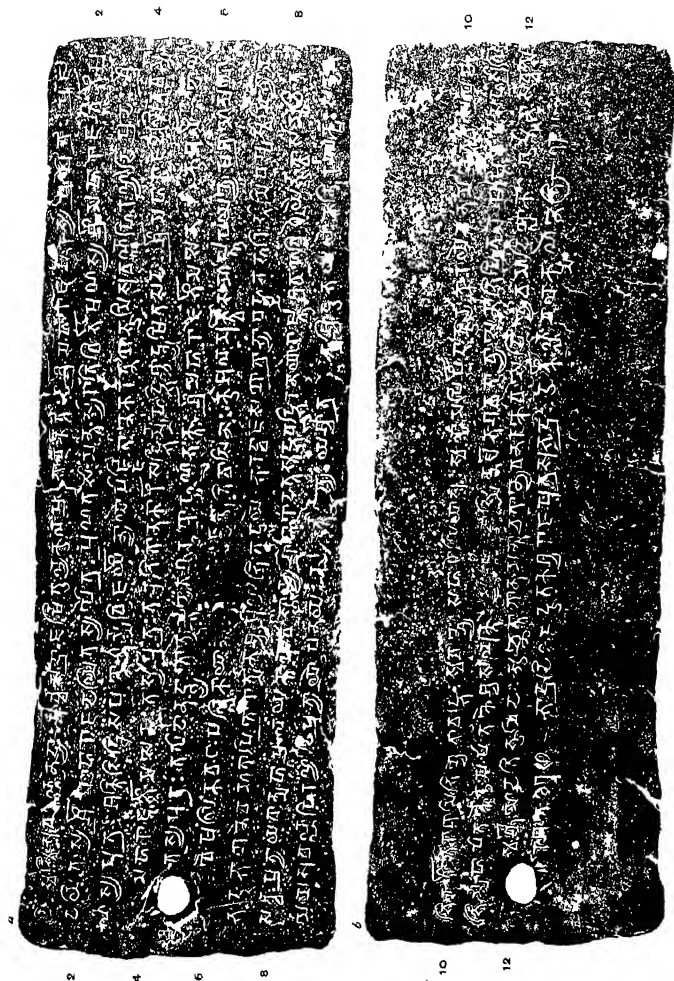
Seal.

Śrī-mahārāja-Bhīmasenāya

First Side

- 1 Ōm³ svastā [||*] Suvarṇṇanadīyāḥ [sa]rvva⁴ sadrājārṇhi-tulya-kula-prabhāva-kṛtīḥ
śrī-mahārāja-Śūrasya praputrah prajā-
- 2 dayitasya śrī-[ma]hārāja-Dayitasya putrah praputa-sāmantasy-ārātī-vibhīṣaṇasya
śrī-mahārāja-Vibhīṣa-
- 3 ṇasya putrah śakti-siddhi-sampannō dharmma-vīrya⁵ nyāy-ōpārjīti-ānēka-raṇa
gō-bhūmi-suvārṇṇa-hiraṇy-ādi-pradaḥ śrī-
- 4 mahārāja-Bhīmasenāḥ tasya putrah ta[ra]h[ī]t-ānukārī sadbhīr-mahadbhīr-cha-
Addhyashtasadaḥ⁶ śrī-mahārāja-Dayitavarmṇa
- 5 tasya pu[tra]ḥ tat-pād-ānuddhyātō-tya[uta]-dēva-guru-brāhmaṇa-bhaktāḥ śrī-mahārāja-
Bhīmasenāḥ kuśalī Dōṇḍā-
- 6 vaiśyaika-Vāṭapallikāyām [brāhmaṇādiu-pra]tīvāsīnāḥ [ka]śalam-uktva⁷ samājñā
payaty-ēsha grāmō mayā
- 7 bhadrā-bhōgeṇ-aiva matāpitrōr-ātmanā-cha puṇyā-bhivṛddhayaḥ Dharaḍvāja
sagōtābhīyām Bahvriḥa-Harivāmi-Bappasvāmibhyām
- 8 sarvva-pratyāyavān-mahāpralaya-kā[ra]-vasthā[pya]-grahārō dattas=tad=bhavadbhir-
anayōr-ājñā-śravapa-vidhēyair-bhūtvā samuchita-
- 9 m-ēya⁸ suvarṇṇa-hiraṇy-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanasyaḥ kartavyaḥ [||*] yas-cha-ātra [ka]śchid-
ubhaya-lōka-nirapēkshaḥ san-daśa-

¹ See article on Sōn in the new Imperial Gazetteer.² From the original plate.³ [I read pāruca.—S. K.]⁴ Expressed by a symbol.⁵ Read vch-addhyashtā.⁶ Read -mēva [or -mēya- as in l. 16 of the Broom copper-plate of Sadgamaśiṣha (J. Bo. B. R. A. S. Vol. XX p. 214, text-line 8)—S. K.]



STEN KONOW

SCALE 75

W. GR. GGS. PHOTO-LITH

Second Side

- 10 *bhur=attitair=āgāmibhūṣ=ch=aitāvadbhūṣ svavāṣy[ai]p¹ sah=ādhō [y]iyāsuḥ svalpām=api*
pidān=ku[r̥yāṣ]t²=kārayād=anumanayēta vā sa pañcha-
 11 *bhur=mmahāpātakaic=upapātakaś=cha sa[m]yuktah [syāt punaś=ch=ā]sminn=arthō*
bhagavatā Vyāsēn=ābhūntam shashtim varsha-sahasrāpi
 12 *svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [i*] āchchhētā oh=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē*
vasēd=ity=ēvamādī=ślōkāḥ Guptānāḥ samvatsa-
 13 *ra=śatē 200 80 2 Bhādra di 10 8³ dātakaś=cha rajaputra-Subhadrah*
utkirṇam cha Lakshmaṇē=ēti || ||

TRANSLATION

(Ll. 1 to 4) Om! Hail! From Suvarṇanadi; the illustrious *Mahārāja* Bhimasēna, possessed of power and success, triumphant with virtue (and) giver of many lawfully acquired jewels, cows, land, gold, precious metals, etc (*was*) the great grandson of the illustrious *Mahārāja Śūra*, (*who was*) equal to all virtuous royal sages in lineage, power and fame, the grandson of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Dayita, beloved of his subjects, the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Vibhishana to whom feudatory kings bowed (*and who was*) terrific to his enemies.

(Ll 4 to 6) His son (*was*) the illustrious *Mahārāja* Dayitavarman, the follower of his (father's) conduct, whose court was attended by great and good (*personages*) His son (*is*) the illustrious *Mahārāja* Bhimasēna, who meditates on his (father's) feet and is extremely devoted to the gods, preceptors and Brāhmins (*He*) being in good health (*and*) wishing good luck to Brāhmins and other (*inhabitants*) of Vatapallikā in the district of Dāndā, orders (*as follows*) —

(Ll. 6 to 8.) This village is given by me, while ruling prosperously, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*my*) mother, father and myself, to Harisvāmin and Bappa-svāmin (*both*) of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, (*students*) of the R̥gvēda, as an *agrahāra*,⁴ with all taxes, and lasting up to the time of the great dissolution of the universe.

(Ll. 8 to 13.) Therefore, being obedient to their commands, you should render (*to them*) in proper manner the taxes such as gold and bullion, etc If anybody, being regardless of the two worlds⁵ and wishing to go to hell with ten past and (*a similar number of*) future (*generations*) of his family, does, causes to be done, or assents to even a small harm to this (*charity*), he would become joined with five great⁶ sins and also minor sins Moreover, in this matter it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa. "the giver of land enjoys in heaven for sixty thousand years, (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*) and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*) shall dwell for the same number of years in hell," and so forth (in other) verses In the year of the Guptas in hundreds 200, 80 2 (*in the month of*) Bhādra on the day 10 8(⁷). Prince Subhadra was the *dātaka* (officer carrying the king's orders) Engraved by Lakshmana

¹ Read *vaṣṭyāḥ*.² Read *pidān kuryāti*.³ I am indebted to Dr Konow in helping me to elucidate these somewhat curiously formed figures⁴ A grant made in favour of a god or a Brāhmana⁵ I.e. regardless of the consequences which may follow in this and the next world⁶ For these see *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, verse 227 of the Prāyaścittādhyāya They are killing a Brāhmana, drinking, theft, visiting a preceptor's wife, and association with any of these offences The minor offences are enumerated further on from verses 234 to 242

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¹ The figures refer to pages; 'n' after a figure, to footnotes; and 'add' to the Additions and Corrections on pp. vii and viii. The following other abbreviations are used:—ch. = chief, co. = country, di. = district or division, do. = ditto, dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; f. = female; k. = king, m. = male; mo. = mountain; vi. = river; s. a. = same as; sur. = surname; te. = temple; vi. = village or town, W. = Western.

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